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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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THE CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1765-1776

By PAUL CONKIN

The near myth about religious freedom has given an attractive halo to the popular conception of American colonial history, although such freedom, had it existed, would have been almost inexplicable. Most of the immigrants to America brought with them the current European ideas of a state church. Puritans in New England and Anglicans in North Carolina alike desired a privileged legal status for their religion. In many of the colonies, and particularly in North Carolina, liberalizing influences tended to change the form of the established religion from that found in Europe. In North Carolina religious toleration, which was initially offered as an inducement to settlement, and the almost complete religious freedom found on the unassimilated and constantly retreating frontier left a heritage of local religious independence which was hardly reconcilable with a strong establishment.[1] In the period from 1765 to 1776 many people in North Carolina, both those who were for and those against the English political rule, persistently resisted the efforts of the royal authorities, the Anglican clergy, and sometimes the local officials to secure an effective church establishment of the English type. Because it paralleled a most important period of political unrest and because it represents the climax of one of the several state-wide struggles for religious freedom, this religious discontent reveals a significant phase in the development of the American mind and the institutions which are its concrete manifestations.

[1] Evarts B. Greene, *Religion and the State* (New York, New York University Press, 1941), 47-73.

The Episcopal Church was always, or at least nominally, the official religion of colonial North Carolina, although the Anglican clergy had no regular and certain establishment until the Vestry and Orthodox Clergy Acts of 1765.[2] Though the English Church was recognized as the legal or state church in the early proprietary charters, the proprietors were given permission to, and did, grant freedom of conscience.[3] Several vestry acts were passed in the colony, the first in 1701, but there is little evidence that they were ever strictly enforced. After the arrival of the first royal governor in 1730 with instructions to secure an adequate religious establishment, it was eleven years before an apathetic colonial Assembly passed a vestry act. This law proved inadequate to the purposes of the clergy and the Crown, and a more effective act was passed in 1754. When this act was disallowed by the Crown in 1759 because it gave too much power to the local vestry, a five year legislative struggle ensued before the Assembly was persuaded to pass a vestry law that met the demands of the English Government.

While in 1759 there was a common sentiment in North Carolina that the Protestant religion should be legally established, there was a wide difference of opinion as to the form the Establishment should take. The source of the legislative struggles after 1759, as well as much of the later religious dissention, was the Crown's insistence on a stronger establishment than that desired by either the dissenters or Anglicans. The Crown wanted a centralized ecclesiastical system which could be strictly enforced by the colonial governor. The dissenters wanted to retain almost complete religious freedom within an establishment that would do little more than definitely exclude Catholics. The Anglicans desired the establishment of their own church, yet at the same time, wanted to retain a firm local control over their own ecclesiastical affairs. The various vestry acts passed between 1754

[2] William L. Saunders, editor, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: Josephus Daniels, 1890), VII, 490. Hereafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records.*

[3] Stephen B. Weeks, *The Religious Development in the Province of North Carolina (John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science,* Tenth Series, Baltimore, 1892), 14*n.*

and 1765 exhibited both the latitudinarian ideas of the dissenters and the independence of the Anglicans.

The Vestry Act of 1754 left the right of presentation of clergymen in the hands of the local vestry. This situation was unsatisfactory to Governor Dobbs who, since it merited the disapproval of the Bishop of London, secured its disallowance in 1759.[4] The problem of presentation, more than any other issue, created a division of interests between the Crown and staunch Anglicans. According to English practice, the Crown had the authority to induct, or appoint, ministers into parishes, although in practice always on the advice of the church officials. In North Carolina the general practice had been for the local vestry to hire its own minister, if one were available. In the absence of an American bishop, the governor was the supreme representative of both the Crown and the Church and was ready to claim his prerogative and induct ministers into parishes as he wished. Until the Revolution this problem of presentation or induction remained a source of friction.

When the fate of the Vestry Act of 1754 was known in North Carolina, Dobbs asked for a new act, this time giving the Crown its right of presentation. The Assembly expressed its official sorrow that the last act had met with royal disapproval, complained of its lack of representative in London to explain the peculiar circumstances of the colony, and promptly passed twin church laws, a Vestry and an Orthodox Clergy Act, which were even more obnoxious to the Crown than the act of 1754.[5] Not only was the right of presentation definitely retained in the vestry, but also other unsatisfactory conditions were affixed. In keeping with the desire of the dissenters for a lax establishment, these acts required that a prospective vestryman take an oath that he would *not oppose,* instead of the usual *conform to,* the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. The Bishop of London avowed that this oath could be taken by a Jew or pagan.[6] Furthermore, the acts excluded the minister from member-

[4] Saunders, *Colonial Records,* VI, 15-16.
[5] Saunders, *Colonial Records,* VI, 139.
[6] Saunders, *Colonial Records,* VI, 714-716.

ship in the vestry, contrary to English church practice.[7] The men of North Carolina had already found it advantageous to discuss their minister's salary and conduct without his disturbing and embarrassing presence. Finally, if a minister were immoral or committed a crime, he had to face trial in the local or secular court instead of in an English ecclesiastical court.[8] Needless to say, these vestry laws of 1760 were disallowed.[9]

In 1762 the Assembly passed two more church laws, each retaining the same objectionable features as the last ones. Governor Dobbs immediately vetoed the Vestry Act, but reluctantly approved the Orthodox Clergy Act in order that the ministers might have a salary. At last, in the legislative sessions of 1764-65, Governor Dobbs, ill, tired, and already planning to relinquish his job to William Tryon, succeeded in pushing through the Assembly two church laws which satisfied both him and the Lord Bishop of London. These remained in operation until the Revolution. Perhaps significantly, the first of these laws, the Vestry Act of 1764, was passed by an Assembly greatly dwarfed by the absence of all but four of the ordinarily recalcitrant northern members.[10]

The Vestry Act of 1764 provided for the support of the clergy, for education, and for poor relief. On every third Easter Monday twelve vestrymen were to be elected in each parish by the qualified voters. Each year before November 1 the sheriff was to collect a poll tax of not more than ten shillings from each taxable to support the Parish. If he could not collect the tax in a period of five days, he was empowered to sell a compensatory amount of the goods and chattels of the defaulting person. The vestry was liable for all damages to an underpaid minister in accordance with the fees and salary set by law.[11] Most important in later controversies, the act provided that any dissenter, and later by amendment any

[7] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 720-722.
[8] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 714-716.
[9] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 723.
[10] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 1035.
[11] Walter Clark, editor, *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, M. I. and J. C. Stewart, 1895-1906), 106-107. Hereafter cited as Clark, *State Records*.

one at all, who refused to qualify when elected a vestryman was subject to a fine of three pounds.[12]

The Orthodox Clergy Act of 1765 provided the parish minister a salary of £133.6.8 proclamation money, and a glebe of 300 acres or a compensating £20 extra salary. He was to receive twenty shillings for a marriage by license, five shillings for a marriage by banns, and forty shillings for a funeral.[13] Although complete religious jurisdiction was given to the Bishop of London, the governor was empowered to suspend an indicted minister while awaiting the verdict of an English ecclesiastical court. The minister could preach out of his parish only with the consent of his vestry. Most significant, the right of presentation was not mentioned.[14] As a result, both the governor and the Bishop of London interpreted the act as giving the right to the crown by implication.[15] With these two acts, North Carolina now had as strong a legal establishment as any other colony.

Unfortunately for the Establishment, Governor Dobbs left the Church little more than two strong vestry acts in 1765, for the church was, if anything, weaker than it had been in at least a decade. There were only six ministers to serve twenty-nine county-wide vestries in a colony with a white population of about 100,000;[16] of these six ministers only four were doing good work. The lack of ministers is revealed by the fact that when Governor Dobbs died unexpectedly in 1765 he had to be buried without benefit of clergy in southerly Brunswick County. In the whole colony there were only ten Anglican church buildings, with a few outlying chapels.[17] On the credit side, a few of the counties had functioning vestries, which were helping to support the clergy. The church was also strengthened by aid from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts[18] which sponsored most of the ministers as missionaries.

[12] Clark, *State Records*, 759-760.
[13] Clark, *State Records*, 583-585.
[14] Clark, *State Records*, 660-662.
[15] Arthur Lyon Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and The American Colonies* (New York, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1902), 243.
[16] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 1027, 1039-1041.
[17] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 102-104.
[18] Hereafter to be abbreviated as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

A more personal view of the Established Church can be had from the letters of the North Carolina Clergy to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the years just before 1765. With some exaggeration they reveal the trials of a minister in the sinful wilds of a small but growing colony. From Craven County, James Reed, one of the most famous colonial ministers, reported extreme difficulty in collecting his salary, deplored the many dissenters and infidels in his parish, and constantly begged for religious pamphlets to combat the "New Lights." Their "crying-out, . . . falling down as in fits, . . . awakening in extacies, . . . and impulses, visions, and revelations;" [19] their "preaching the inexpediency of Human Learning & . . . the great expediency of Dreams Visions & immediate Revelation" [20] must have shocked the dignified and literate Reed. In Beaufort County, Alex Steward worked hard and seldom complained, although he was sincerely worried over the lack of ministers in neighboring counties. By 1765 he was living in the first glebe to be furnished a minister in North Carolina. He desired pamphlets to fight the rash doctrines of the Anabaptists and blushingly admitted that in order to retain for the church some of the more dupable members he had baptised one man by immersion.[21] In Chowan County, Daniel Earl performed his duties, was influential in education, but reputedly divided his love between his ministry and his herring fishery. James Moir was preaching occasionally in various counties, always deploring his inability to accumulate a fortune, and at every opportunity criticising Governor Dobbs and the whole ecclesiastical system.[23] The most tragic story of hardship was told in the letters of James McDowell of Brunswick County. Though his parish contained the largest church constructed

[19] G. W. Paschal, "Morgan Edwards' Materials Toward a History of the Baptists in the Province of North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VII (1930), 383. Hereafter cited as Paschal, "Morgan Edwards' Materials."

[20] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 565.

[21] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 315-316, 734-735.

[23] Bennett H. Wall, "Charles Pettigrew, First Bishop-Elect of the North Carolina Episcopal Church," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXVIII (1951), 17.

[23] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 1051.

in colonial North Carolina[24] and also the leading families, including Governor Dobbs, McDowell complained of the capricious weather, the long, hard trips to outlying chapels, his financial misery, his exclusion from vestry meetings, and the fact that he had only two slaves while other ministers in the province had twenty.[25] When his wife died in childbirth and the roof of his big, new church fell in, McDowell was ready to leave the colony in despair. In 1763 he died while still a minister in Brunswick.

The most recurrent complaint of the ministers was about the dangerous growth of dissenting denominations. James Reed's listing and evaluation of these groups is a classic of brevity: "The Anabaptists are obstinate, illiterate & grossly ignorant, the Methodist [really New Light Baptists], ignorant, censorious & uncharitable, the Quakers, Rigid, but the Presbyterians are pretty moderate except here & there a bigot or rigid Calvinist."[26] This is a fairly complete list, for, other than the German denominations, these four dissenting groups were alone significant in colonial North Carolina. The Moravians, by acts of Parliament and the North Carolina Assembly, were given equal rights with Anglicans and had a separate parish.[27] Beginning about 1750 a heavy German migration from Pennsylvania brought the Lutheran and German Reformed churches into the Piedmont region, notably along the Yadkin. These two German speaking denominations received many special religious privileges and, in return, were always completely law abiding.[28] Quakers had been among the earliest settlers in North Carolina and in 1765 were very numerous in the Northeast, particularly in Perquimans and Pasquotank counties. They were exempt-

[24] The Brunswick church was seventy-six feet and six inches long, fifty-three feet and three inches wide, and was twenty-four feet and four inches high. It had eleven windows, three large doors, and brick wall three feet thick. Marshall D. Haywood, *Governor William Tryon, and His Administration in the Province of North Carolina*, 1765-1771 (Raleigh: E. M. Uzzel, Printer, 1903), 24. Hereafter cited as Haywood, *Governor William Tryon and His Administration.*

[25] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 236-237, 729-730.

[26] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 264-266.

[27] Adelaide L. Fries, "The Moravian Contribution to Colonial North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VII (1930), 14.

[28] William K. Boyd and Charles A. Krummel, "German Tracts Concerning the Lutheran Church in North Carolina During the Eighteenth Century," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VII (1930), 81.

ed from military service and all oaths, yet were sometimes strongly in opposition to the Establishment.[29]

The largest dissenting elements were the principal Baptist sects and the Presbyterians. After 1751 the Particular or Regular Baptists, strongly Calvinistic and the predecessors of the present day Primitive Baptists, absorbed most of the earliest Baptist group, the General or Free Will Baptists, and in 1765, the year of the strong vestry acts, united their several churches in the Kehukee Association. After 1755 an extremely Arminian sect, the New Light Baptists, began to gain many adherents whose extreme emotionalism rendered them anathema to the Anglicans. They were most numerous in the western counties of Orange, Guilford, and Rowan, where they were organized in the Sandy Creek Association.[30]

The Presbyterians were almost as influential in colonial North Carolina as the Anglicans. Claiming all the privileges of the Scottish Church, many Presbyterians refused to consider themselves dissenters. Except for a small colony in Duplin County and about four congregations in Cumberland County, the Presbyterians were mostly in the, then, western counties of Orange, Mecklenburg, Rowan, Tryon, Guilford, Bute, Wake, Surry, and Granville. They were largely Scotch-Irish immigrants who had filtered down from Pennsylvania or had come up from Charleston. They made outstanding contributions to education and furnished a good share of the political leadership.[31] Living in frontier counties, these Presbyterians had been accustomed to an almost complete religious freedom before 1765 and were quick to devise ways of evading the church laws whenever they were about to be enforced in their midst.

It is difficult to give even an approximate statistical breakdown of the religious picture in North Carolina in 1765. The colony was growing rapidly; the total white and colored population rose from about 120,000 in 1759 to between

[29] William L. Grissom, *History of Methodism in North Carolina* (Nashville, Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1905), 9-11.

[30] Paschal, "Morgan Edwards' Materials," 371.

[31] William H. Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina* (New York, Robert Carter, 1846), 188-189. Hereafter cited as Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina.*

200,000 and 250,000 by 1771.[32] With the growth in population, the dissenting denominations were rapidly increasing, both by immigration and conversions. The German Reformed and Lutheran groups contained only 3,000 families in about twenty congregations in 1771. The total German population, including the Moravians, could not have exceeded 20,000 in that year; it was without doubt less in 1765.[33] After the Revolution the Quakers scarcely numbered over 5,000. If Morgan Edwards, a Baptist minister visiting North Carolina in 1772, is correct, the Baptists had sixteen churches as early as 1754 and by 1772 had thirty-two churches plus several more meeting places. In the latter years he estimated that 39,750 people worshipped in Baptist congregations.[34] There are few clues as to the number of Presbyterians in North Carolina in 1765. They were probably almost as numerous as the Baptists and in some western counties were in a heavy majority. Always growing rapidly with the influx of Scottish immigrants, the Presbyterians had approximately thirty churches by the time of the Revolution and perhaps a dozen ministers, some of whom were very famous. Despite the more rapid growth of some of the dissenting groups, the Anglican Church remained the largest denomination in the colony until the Revolution. In the eastern and north-central counties the Anglicans were well established; even in Orange and Rowan counties there were substantial congregations. The small number of churches and ministers in 1765 belies the potential strength of the established religion, for there were numerous congregations, sometimes several in a single county, worshipping in small chapels or homes and only occasionally receiving the sacraments from a visiting clergyman.

Though Governor Dobbs gave the Anglican Church a strong legal basis, Governor William Tryon tried to make the Establishment a living reality. With his administration

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[32] Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1932), 158-159.

[33] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 630-632.

[34] Paschal, "Morgan Edwards' Materials," 369, 394-395.

a new era in ecclesiastical affairs began.[35] Tryon was not a bigot in any sense; but he was very closely connected with the Episcopal Church, himself becoming a member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Recognizing the great need for ministers in the colony, he used his influence to get young ministers to come to North Carolina. By April, 1767, he could report in one of his many succinct and literary communications to the Society, that there were now thirteen ministers instead of six.[36] By 1771 there were eighteen ministers, meaning that fully half the parishes had a full time parson. But Tryon, in his determined support of the Establishment, inevitably encountered the opposition of the dissenters and the more independent Anglicans.

The fact that North Carolina had a decentralized ecclesiastical system before 1765 very much influenced the reaction to a Crown-enforced establishment under Tryon. The vestry laws passed before 1765 had, it is true, embodied many of the restrictive clauses of the acts of 1765, but they had not been universally enforced, as only part of the parishes had been active or even organized. In addition, the direction of church affairs had been in the hands of the local vestry. When Tryon personally took over the direction of ecclesiastical affairs and began sending ministers into more and more counties, some times against the wishes of a majority of the inhabitants, the Establishment seemed very oppressive to many groups. It should be kept in mind, however, that despite the limitations on personal freedom and the economic burden resulting from the Establishment, complete freedom of conscience was always granted to all Protestant groups in North Carolina. Anyone could worship as he pleased even though he were forced to fulfill certain obligations to the state church, such as paying his vestry tax.

There were two types of resentment against the Establishment in North Carolina, each resulting from a different feature of the vestry laws. First, the vestry acts were passed by the North Carolina Assembly and the Establishment was

[35] Joseph B. Cheshire, "The Church in the Province of North Carolina," in *Sketches of Church History in North Carolina*, edited by Joseph B. Cheshire (Wilmington: William L. DeRosset, Jr., Publisher, 1892), 75. Hereafter cited as Cheshire, "The Church in the Province of North Carolina."

[36] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 456-458.

a North Carolina institution, favored, it seemed, by at least a majority of the province's leading citizens. Thus, among many dissenters, the burden of an established clergy could be blamed largely on the predominantly Anglican aristocracy within the state, or the office holding classes. But the Establishment was also a policy of the Crown. It was the governor, who as an agent of the Crown, pressed for, and finally was granted by a reluctant Assembly, an establishment which gave the Anglican clergy and the governor himself privileged positions. It was the British governor who enforced the Establishment and who assumed the power of inducting ministers into vacant parishes. It was the British Crown that persistently disallowed more liberal religious laws and which refused to recognize the peculiar circumstances of the colonial church. Thus a great amount of the resentment against the Establishment among the dissenters, and almost all the resentment among the Anglicans, was directed against the English Crown, represented in most cases by the governor.

Tryon assumed that the Orthodox Clergy Act of 1765, by not mentioning the right of presentation, gave him the authority to induct ministers into vacant parishes, and began to distribute the newly arrived clergymen into the most needy parishes. He early met difficulties. For a long time there had been a growing resentment of British rule in the eastern, predominantly Episcopal counties. The people of North Carolina felt that they had certain well established rights which were being encroached upon by the British Parliament. One of these rights was taxing themselves; another was choosing their own minister. The governor's usurpation of ecclesiastical power not specifically granted him was ranked along side the hated Stamp Act as another example of increasing British tyranny. For this reason Tryon, instead of inducting a certain Cosgreve into Pitt County, sent him on a three months probation, an action which he apologetically explained as follows to the Lord Bishop of London:

> This probation I think for the interest of the cause of religion in these parts. the inhabitants seeming as jealous of any restraint put on their consciences as they have of late shewn for

that on their property: Many persons have industriously spread among the parishes and vestries that as the patronage to livings is not specified in the above Act, the Crown cannot claim the patronage; some delicacy therefore your Lordship I hope sees is necessary in the establishment of the clergy here, where the minds of the larger body of inhabitants thro' the want of the means of culture are incapable of entertaining generous principles of public utility.[37]

In January, 1766, Tryon reported that a new minister, the Rev. Barnett, had taken up duties in Brunswick County.[38] There the vestry promised him the regulation salary, but two years later Barnett remained in Brunswick only by the vestry's wishes, never having been officially inducted. In June, 1768 he wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel explaining his plight:

> The people of this Parish do still so violently oppose the presentation of the Crown to the Living, that I believe it will be found necessary for me to remove to another part of the province. . . . Permit me Sir to assure the Venerable Board that the people are so desirous of my stay with them on the usual terms, of an annual reelection as I have been informed, to be willing to make some addition to my former salary. . . .[39]

Governor Tryon was prepared to force induction of Barnett against the vestry's wishes, but Barnett, not wishing to stay in the county under those conditions, removed to Northampton. He was followed in Brunswick by a certain Cramp, whom Tryon proposed to present to the vestry. Cramp was fearful that he would starve if he were inducted, for, as he reported to Tryon, "none like the inducted parson." [40]

Tryon had similar troubles in Duplin and New Hanover counties. He reported to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that he feared the Rev. Briggs, whom he inducted into Duplin, would find his residence most disagreeable because of the resentment to inducted ministers.[41] When he sent a certain Wills to New Hanover County, preparatory to

[37] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 261.
[38] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 158.
[39] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 789-790.
[40] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 12-16.
[41] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 12-16.

induction, the vestry sent him a letter of protest, praising Wills as a "gentleman worthy of his sacred Function" but denying the right of presentation on the part of the governor, on the grounds that the Act of Assembly did not specifically grant him that power.[42] This time Tryon proceeded to induct in spite of their protests, but begged the parish to extend good services to Wills until a new Clergy Act clearly granting the right of presentation could be passed.[43] Thus, in four or five instances at least, the people most heartily in favor of an establishment, the churchmen themselves, refused to give up their cherished right of choosing and dismissing their own minister even at the expense of having no minister at all.

A stronger opposition of a different type greeted the Establishment in the western counties where in a predominently Presbyterian and Baptist region, the Vestry Acts were never effectively enforced. The Rev. Eli W. Caruthers, biographer of David Caldwell, aptly summarized the religious situation in that area before the Revolution:

> Presbyterian ministers, and probably others too, were celebrating marriages without asking leave of the parish minister, and building churches, holding meetings, and administrating ordinances without consulting the Bishop of London, or obtaining license from any human authority; the people, without any serious apprehension of consequences, were setting at naught the enactments of arbitrary power, by electing for vestrymen such men as they know would not serve, or by staying away from the polls and electing no vestrymen at all; and in some counties . . . they were compelling the Assembly to rescind their vestry acts.[44]

The citizens of Mecklenburg County did not want an established minister. In 1766 Andrew Morton arrived in New Bern, planning to go on to Mecklenburg as a minister and missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Tryon persuaded him against continuing his journey, doubting if he would get any favorable reception or any hearers among the many Presbyterians in Mecklenburg, who always managed to elect vestrymen from their own number,

[42] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 119.
[43] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 219-220.
[44] Eli W. Carruthers, *A Sketch of the Life and Character of the Rev. David Caldwell, D.D.* (Greensborough: Swain and Sherwood, 1842), 75.

only to have them disqualify.[45] After changing his plans and going to Northampton County, Morton wrote the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that the people in Mecklenburg

> . . . had a solemn league and covenant teacher settled among them That they were in general greatly averse to the Church of England—and that they looked upon a law lately enacted in this province for the better establishment of the Church as oppressive as the Stamp Act and were determined to prevent its taking place there, by opposing the settlement of any Minister of the Church of England.[46]

In 1769 the citizens of Mecklenburg sent a petition to the governor setting forth their religious position. According to it, 1,000 loyal freemen in the county held to the Church of Scotland and were entitled to all the rights and privileges of any British subject, either English or Scottish. In Scotland the Presbyterian Church was the state church with privileges similar to the Church in England; moreover, they claimed additional rights granted by the original North Carolina Charter. In view of these rights they felt it a burden to be taxed to support an Episcopal clergy, especially when they had two Presbyterian ministers to support and when only one twentieth of the people were Episcopal. They petitioned that each group be allowed to worship God according to conscience, and that each pay its own clergy. They stated that an inducted minister would be useless, that ten shillings per taxable was an enormous sum to put under the power of the vestry, being more than it took to run the county government, and that the vestry law, as a whole, was curbing settlement in the back country and would always remain a grievance.[47] Many of the immigrants to the region were virtual refugees from the stricter religious conformity of Virginia, and were very fearful of losing the early freedom they found on the frontier. Actually, the people were never forced to support an established clergyman; none ever came to Mecklenburg, and with reason.

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[45] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 241-242.
[46] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 252-253.
[47] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 1015-1017.

A unique petition arrived in New Bern in 1769 from the huge frontier county of Rowan, then stretching an indefinite distance westward into the Smokies and the Cherokee country. A small number of Episcopalians in Rowan were aggrieved because the vestry acts were not being enforced in their county. They complained that Rowan contained people of every nation and creed and that the many dissenters elected as vestrymen such of their own number "as evade the Acts of Assembly and refuse the oaths whence we can never expect the regular enlivening beams of the Holy Gospel to shine upon us." [48] In another petition they asked Tryon to appoint their list of vestry candidates even though they were defeated in the election. They also asked him to induct their newly arrived minister, the Rev. Theodorus Swaine Draige, into their parish, which had no active vestry.[49]

It can be wondered why Governor Tryon, who would not give Andrew Morton leave to go to Mecklenburg County, would allow Draige to go to neighboring Rowan as an established clergyman. Here, among numerous dissenters and virtually on the frontier, poor, gentle Draige became a self-styled martyr to the cause of his church and to the laws of his country. He tried to allay the alarm caused among the dissenters by his arrival, by conceding them the right to continue performing marriages and funerals without giving him all the fees as required by the Vestry Act. He asked only that they receive his permission before performing the ceremony. Much to Draige's distress, the dissenting ministers and the magistrates continued to marry and bury as before, without permission from anyone. It finally became clear to Draige that he was not wanted in Rowan by more than a small minority of the inhabitants, he explained his situation as follows:

> They say not in words only but wishing that as they have opposed England in endeavoring to intrude on their civil rights, they also shall, and have a right to oppose any intrusion on their religious rights, a Maximum I presume dangerous in itself not with respect to this county and the neighboring counties, but to the whole Back Frontier of America, principally settled

[48] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 219.
[49] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 154-155.

with Sectaries, and is deserving of the attention of Government, before power is added to inclination.[50]

Draige had no vestry in Rowan and could not secure the election of one. At each vestry election the dissenters made use of a very common method of nullifying the law. Since they were a majority, they elected dissenters as vestrymen; then the elected list of dissenting candidates would refuse to take the prescribed oath and automatically disqualify themselves, leaving no vestry. To disqualify they had to pay a rather stiff fine of three pounds each, but in Rowan the dissenters did not mind this. They had built up a permanent fund from which to draw the disqualification penalties by informing against law violators and collecting one half of the fine.[51] In the vestry election of 1770 the dissenters effectively used this tactic despite Draige's attempts to persuade a majority to vote for his list of candidates. Helpless to do anything more himself, Draige misrepresented the conditions in Rowan while begging Tryon to intervene. He continued a short time in the county on voluntary contributions, handled by an unofficial or rump vestry made up of the defeated list of candidates.[52]

In Guilford County, which was strongly Presbyterian and Baptist the same method of evasion was used as in Rowan. In 1772 the Assembly at the insistence of the Presbyterian delegates dissolved a vestry in Guilford on the grounds that it was illegally elected, probably somewhat like Draige's rump vestry.[53] In Wake County, another strong dissenting area, the same situation occurred. When the Assembly became cognizant of these several effective evasions of the vestry law, it passed different local bills, each permitting a special vestry election in a designated county. In the special election the Anglicans had another chance to get a qualified vestry. At least the dissenters had to pay more fines for disqualifying. The Presbyterian members of the Assembly later had these local bills annulled on the grounds of illegal discrimination. Presbyterians in the counties specified by the

[50] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 180.
[51] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 179-181.
[52] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 202-204, 205-210, 502-506.
[53] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 661.

acts were put at a disadvantage as compared with their brethren in such counties as Rowan, where evasion of the vestry act remained legal and effective. Governor Martin, who followed Tryon in 1771 and who lacked his respect for the Presbyterians, avowed that he would pass an act universally excluding Presbyterians from vestries.[54]

The Quakers and Baptists joined the Presbyterians in opposing the Establishment. Tryon explained the reason that the Rev. Fiske could not collect his pay in Pasquotank County in 1769 as follows:

> I am told his parish is full of quakers and anabaptists, the first no friend, the latter an avowed enemy to the mother church. It is certain the preeminence the Church of England has obtained over the sectaries by legislative authority has drawn upon her their jealousies.[55]

In 1771 the vestry of Pasquotank refused to serve and the Assembly had to pass a special act to provide for the poor. The Quakers were also intransigent in Perquimans County just before the Revolution. The Rev. Pettigrew reported that they would neither hear nor contribute to the established minister. As a result the Perquimans Vestry decided to pay Pettigrew by voluntary contributions rather than by trying to extort anything from the Quakers.[56] From 1765 until 1776 there were almost constant evasions or criticisms of either the vestry acts or the governor's interpretation of them. When enforced against the will of the people, these acts were part of the bitter fruits of an established church.

The vestry acts were not the only oppressive aspects of a state religion. Certain privileges were given to the Anglican Church and denied other denominations. The two most important were the right of performing marriages and the right to operate chartered schools. The marriage provision was incorporated into the Marriage Act of 1741 and in later amendments to it. By this act only orthodox clergymen or, in their absence, magistrates could perform the marriage ceremony.

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[54] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 341.
[55] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 14.
[56] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 496.

Perhaps, as the Rev. Joseph B. Cheshire pointed out, there were few organized dissenters in North Carolina in 1741 and no dissenting minister who claimed any authority to perform the marriage ceremony.[57] Certainly the picture had changed by 1765. Foote believed that one of the reasons the Rev. Alexander Craighead, first Presbyterian minister in western North Carolina, removed from Virginia to Mecklenburg County was to get away from the intolerant church laws of Virginia and to a place where, remote from all authority, he could marry his people in conformity with Presbyterian practice.[58] Presbyterian ministers were well known to be performing marriages according to their own customs throughout western North Carolina. The Governor's Council proposed a cruel amendment to the Marriage Act in 1762 because of this breach of the law. It would have placed on any "dissenting minister whatsoever" who performed a marriage, a fine of fifty pounds proclamation money recoverable by anyone suing for same.[59] This harsh amendment was blocked by the more tolerant Assembly, probably averting much trouble.[60]

In 1766 the Assembly faced up to what could have been an embarrassing *fait accompli.* Legally or not, many couples in North Carolina had been married by dissenting clergymen, primarily Presbyterians. An amendment to the act of 1741 provided that, as the Presbyterians did not believe themselves included in the marriage act and had endangered the validity of their marriages by marrying without license or banns, all such marriages performed before the first of 1767 would be recognized as legal. Thereafter all marriages performed without a license or banns were to incur a fifty pounds penalty. As a special boon to Presbyterians they alone among dissenters were granted the right of performing marriages, but only with license and on the condition that the whole fee be given to the orthodox minister if he demanded it.[61]

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[57] Cheshire, "The Church in the Province of North Carolina," 68-69.
[58] Foote, *Sketches of North Carolina,* 186-187.
[59] Saunders, *Colonial Records,* VI, 881.
[60] Saunders, *Colonial Records,* VI, 884.
[61] Clark, *State Records,* XXIII, 672-674.

Although the amendment was passed partly as a favor to them, the Presbyterians were quick to resent its wording and intent. In a petition of 1769 the citizens in Mecklenburg declared that the act scandalized Presbyterian clergymen and tended to promote immorality by obstructing the "natural and inalienable right" of marriage.[62] The citizens of Tryon County condemned the amendment for not allowing Presbyterians to marry by banns. They declared this a privilege never heretofore denied in America.[63] But the strongest petition came from Orange and Rowan counties:

> And may it please you to grant us a Repeal of the Act, prohibiting Dissenting Ministers from marrying according to the Decretals, Rites and Ceremonys, of their Respective Churches: a priviledge they were debarred of in no other part of his Majesty's Dominions; and as we humbly conceive, a priviledge they stand entitled to, by the Act of Toleration, and in fine, a priviledge granted even to the very Catholics in Ireland, and the Protestants in France.[64]

For once the grievances of the Presbyterians were heard. In the Regulator troubles of 1769-71, the higher echelons to the Assembly remained loyal to Governor Tryon in his extreme measures to suppress the revolts. As a reward for this loyalty, and to appease some of the Regulators, he approved two very lenient acts passed by the Assembly in 1770 and 1771. One was an amendment to the marriage law; another was a charter to Queen's College. The former act modified the marriage law to allow Presbyterians to perform marriages in their own way and without any fee to the established clergy.[65] Another act to allow Presbyterians to wed without license was vetoed by Tryon because it was directly against his instructions from the Crown.[66] His veto was unimportant anyway, for the Crown refused to accept even the first concession because of its encouragement to dissenters and because of its possible weakening effect on the Establishment. The Rev. James Reed wrote to the Society for the Progagation of the Gospel that, should the act receive Royal consent,

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[62] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 1015-1017.
[63] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 80b.
[64] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 82-83.
[65] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 322.
[66] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 469.

"it would be a fatal blow to the Church of England." [67] On the further recommendation of the Board of Trade, the law was disallowed in 1771, leaving a deep grievance among Presbyterians.[68] It is notable that one of the first acts passed after the adoption of the State Constitution of 1776 was one to permit any regular minister of any denomination to perform marriages.[69]

Only a small bit of favoritism to the Anglican Church carried over into the field of education in North Carolina. Pre-revolutionary education in the province was almost entirely private and church sponsored. The Presbyterians were pre-eminent in education and conducted their schools without restraints of any kind. Only in a few state-chartered schools was there any discrimination in favor of the Anglicans; New Bern Academy is one example. In 1764 a certain Tomlinson from England began teaching school in New Bern, mainly because of the efforts of the Rev. James Reed. Tomlinson was himself an Anglican and annually received fifteen pounds from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for his academic labors.[70] In 1766, by an act of assembly, the state virtually adopted New Bern Academy, giving it a charter and providing for additional revenue. The act required the master of the school to be a member of the Church of England. To provide extra revenue it permitted a tax to be placed on all rum entering the Neuse River, thus, in a sense, taxing dissenters as well as churchmen for an Anglican school. It should be noted that the school was begun by an Episcopal master in a strong Anglican area and was well established before receiving state help and continued to receive aid from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. After the Revolution the master continued to be an Episcopalian without any requirement to that effect. Finally, as the school had a religious as well as a secular purpose, there was very little room for objection by the dissenters, or actually, even by the rum drinking dissenters.[71]

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[67] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 6.
[68] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 7, 284-285.
[69] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 997.
[70] Charles Lee Raper, *The Church and Private Schools of North Carolina* (Greensboro: N. C., Jos. J. Stone, Book and Job Printer, 1898), 25.
[71] Rev. Robert B. Drane, "Colonial Parishes and Church Schools," in *Sketches of Church History in North Carolina*, 177-178.

In 1770 the North Carolina Assembly passed an act chartering an academy at Edenton. Reluctantly, and only after a veto by Tryon of a former act, the members of the Assembly agreed to pass this act though it required the master of the school to be an Episcopalian. As it received no aid from the state, Edenton Academy remained a private school for all practical purposes.[72]

The most ambitious educational project in colonial North Carolina was Queen's College in Mecklenburg County. The forerunner of this college was a school taught in 1767 at Sugar Creek, a few miles from Charlotte, by Joseph Alexander, a Princeton graduate. When the citizens of Mecklenburg decided to enlarge the scope of Sugar Creek School, Queen's College became its successor and answered a real need for an institution of higher learning in central and western Carolina.[73] In addition to his concessions to the Presbyterians in the form of a better marriage law, Tryon also approved an act for establishing Queen's College. By the terms of the act the president of the college had to be of the Established Church,[74] but it was presumed that all the other masters and the trustees would be Presbyterian, as it was in a Presbyterian region and received most of its support from that denomination.[75] The college was to be financed by private endowments and by a duty of six pence per gallon on all rum and spirituous liquors brought into and disposed of in Mecklenburg County for a period of ten years.[76]

Governor Tryon urged the Board of Trade to accept the act in view of the Presbyterian's assistance in the Regulator controversy, but his appeal was in vain. The Board of Trade felt that the act should be disallowed because it favored Presbyterians and hindered the Establishment at a time when the King could not safely give encouragement to toleration. The act was disallowed in the same year, 1771.[77] A later act

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[72] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 591, 632-633.
[73] Charles L. Smith, *History of Education in North Carolina* (Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1888), 32-33. Hereafter cited as Smith, *History of Education in North Carolina.*
[74] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 448.
[75] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 525-527.
[76] R. D. W. Connor, "The Genesis of Higher Education in North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXVIII (1951), 5.
[77] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 249-251, 284-285.

for the same purpose was also disallowed, leaving a cause for bitterness against the Crown on the part of the people of Mecklenburg.[78] About 1775 the name Queen's College was changed, perhaps, spitefully, to Liberty Hall Academy. Also in 1775 the citizens of Mecklenburg were leaders in the struggle for American independence.

Since the resistance to North Carolina's religious establishment paralleled a series of events leading to the Revolution and since the Establishment ended in the constitutional changes accompanying the revolution, the connection between the political and religious discontent might be assumed to be very close. The simplest and most logical story would have the Revolution beginning with the Regulator troubles and resulting from both political and religious oppression.[79] A close study of available evidence shows the great complexity of this period in North Carolina's history and indicates the following conclusions: first, the Regulator trouble was not directly related to the Revolution and was primarily caused by economic and not religious grievances. Secondly, the Revolution was only slightly influenced by religious oppression. Thirdly, the ending of the Establishment in 1776 was as much an accompaniment of the political disturbances as the result of a long series of struggles for religious freedom.

The Regulator revolt, beginning in 1768 and ending with the Battle of Alamance in May, 1771, was not a revolt against the form of government but against certain unfair agents who administered the constitution. It was not a movement for freedom, but a popular upheaval, or a yoeman's revolt. It was suppressed by North Carolina soldiers under many of the same officers who later led the colonial troops in the Revolution. Most important for this study, the Regulation was not a religious movement; the primary grievances were purely economic. Those grievances were excessive taxes in a time of scarce currency, dishonest sheriffs and other county

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[78] Smith, *History of Education in North Carolina*, 33.

[79] This general explanation is implied in Stephen B. Weeks, *Church and State in North Carolina* (John Hopkins University Studies, Series XI, 1893), 46.

officials, including judges, and the extortionate fees extracted by unscrupulous lawyers and officials.[80]

Nor can it be said conclusively that religious grievances did not have any bearing at all on the Regulators. Certainly the Marriage Act of 1766, by requiring a license costing ten shillings for any marriage performed by a dissenting minister, worked an added economic hardship in the predominantly Presbyterian and Baptist regions of Orange, Rowan, and Anson counties. In his *Impartial Relation,* one of the better first hand accounts of the Regulators, Herman Husbands denounced an establishment or any other organized religion which joined the magistracy to become lords over the people.[81] Although the Regulators did not complain about vestry dues, this added tax, if it were collected in any of the Regulator areas, must have seemed an added burden. Other than petitioning Tryon to allow their ministers to marry according to forms prescribed by their respective churches, the Regulators were usually complaining about intolerable economic conditions, which they felt to be directly ascribable to the dishonesty of their own county and state officials.

All the organized religious groups denounced the methods of the Regulators. The area around Orange and Rowan included four leading Presbyterian ministers—Hugh McAden, James Creswell, Henry Patillo, and David Caldwell. These ministers addressed a letter to all Presbyterians, pleading for obedience to law and order.[82] They also pledged their loyalty in a letter to Tryon.[83] These ministers knew that many Presbyterians were in the ranks of the Regulators and were themselves sympathetic with the cause of the Regulators, only denouncing their use of force. Dr. Caldwell tried to negotiate some peacful settlement up to the very day of the Battle of Alamance. The German churches denounced the Regulators in accordance with their belief in subordination

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[80] John Spencer Bassett, "The Regulators of North Carolina," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1894,* 142-150; also see Haywood, *Governor William Tryon and His Administration,* 78.

[81] Herman Husbands, "An Impartial Relation of the First Rise and Cause of the Recent Differences in Public Affairs," *North Carolina Historical Review,* III (1926), 302-303.

[82] Saunders, *Colonial Records,* VII, 814-816.

[83] Saunders, *Colonial Records,* VII, 813-814.

to the state. The Quakers were as usual pacifists.[84] The Sandy Creek Baptist Association resolved that: "If any of our members shall take up arms against the legal authority or aid and abet them that do so he shall be excommunicated &c." [85] Although the Regulators included men from every denomination, the New Light Baptists, largely representing a low economic class, probably furnished more than their proportionate share. This is indicated by the fact that, according to Morgan Edwards, all but eight of the members of Great-Cohara Church moved away from North Carolina because of the Regulator troubles. Sandy Creek Church dropped in membership from 606 to 14 when many families, despairing of better times after the rout at Alamance, left the province.[86]

Another indication that the Regulators were not revolting against the Establishment is the fact that many Regulators were Anglicans. Husbands said the most trusted Regulators "were of the Church of England Communion." [87]The established ministers naturally opposed the Regulators. When Tryon first brought troops westward in 1768 to quiet the first series of disturbances, the established clergyman in Orange County, old Parson Micklejohn, preached a fiery sermon to the assembled troops, using Romans 13: 1-2 as a text—a text obviously aimed at the Regulators:[88]

> Let every Soul be subject unto the higher powers; for there is no Power but of God; the powers that be are ordained by God.
> Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.

Not to be outdone in loyalty, the Rev. James McCarty, newly arrived clergyman in Granville County, preached a sermon to the second expedition on the text: "He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one." [89]

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[84] Haywood, *Governor William Tryon and His Administration,* 189.
[85] Paschal, "Morgan Edwards' Materials," 396.
[86] Paschal, "Morgan Edwards' Materials," 381, 385.
[87] Haywood, *Governor William Tryon and His Administration,* 189.
[88] William K. Boyd, "Some North Carolina Tracts of the Eighteenth Century," *North Carolina Historical Review,* III (1926), 462.
[89] Haywood, *Governor William Tryon and His Administration,* 102.

In the Revolution the same group of men, lawyers, sheriffs, and officeholders, who had been oppressing the regulating groups in the West were the leaders in the fight against England, while the name Regulator became almost synonymous with Tory.[90] The Regulation was primarily a yeoman's revolt; the Revolution was more a revolt of the middle class. The Regulators were desperately fighting for relief from impoverishing internal conditions. The leaders of the Revolution were debating lofty political principles and resisting a restrictive and annoying British authority. As much as the Regulators had religious grievances, they were directed against a class of men within the colony who enforced, and sometime profited from, the vestry and marriage laws. To the extent that the Revolution was fought because of religious grievances, the enemy was always the British Crown.

The earliest settlers in North Carolina lent that province a distinctively independent attitude—an attitude which often vented itself in turbulence. Under the guise of beautiful words, the Assembly had a long history of opposition to the Crown. The delegates had always been quick to drag up their old Charter as a virtual bill of rights. After 1765 this independence was further awakened by a series of events. The Stamp Act was abhorred in North Carolina; the agent was made to swear he would not attempt to execute the law. Governor Tryon, with his royal bearing and pompous display, was well liked by the aristocratic elements in the state, but he left a legacy of trouble for Governor Martin. His extravagance in building a £15,000 palace, in leading a costly expedition to survey the Cherokee boundary, and in his ostentatious expeditions against the Regulators had left a huge debt. When Tryon left North Carolina the bond between the governor and ruling class was broken, for Governor Martin was plain, blunt and obviously in sympathy with the Regulator class. The break between Martin and the Assembly was soon complete. Martin tried to collect several special taxes, some to redeem paper currency issued as far back as 1748. He proposed to carry out, at the people's expense,

[90] Haywood, *Governor William Tryon and His Administration*, 166, 177.

the Crown's advice on the boundary dispute between North and South Carolina, which deprived North Carolina of much valuable land. Finally, when he arrogantly refused to accept any Court Bill which included a foreign attachment clause, the Crown government was virtually at an end. The lawyers, out of a job when the Assembly refused to pass any Court Bill at all, became the leaders of the revolutionary movement.[91] Sympathy for other colonies bolstered North Carolina's determination to resist British authority. Committees of Safety were formed all over the state. In the midst of all these happenings, the religious questions became secondary considerations. The governor's insistence on the right of presentation was one of the many past grievances which had added to the growing dissatisfaction. In one location, Mecklenburg County, the seedbed of the Revolution in western North Carolina, the royal disallowance of the charter of Queen's College and of the Marriage Act of 1771 undoubtedly had a great influence in driving these Presbyterians to open rebellion.[92]

The evidence indicates that the early dissatisfaction with British rule did not grow out of opposition to the idea of an Anglican establishment, however it did partly spring from what was believed to be a usurpation of ecclesiastical power by the governor. Many of the leaders of the Revolution, if not most, were Anglicans and many of the vestries went along with the colonial policy. For example, in June, 1776, the Vestry of Chowan County subscribed to the revolutionary oath, swearing support to the Continental and Provincial congresses.[93] In Pitt County the Committee of Safety decided to sell at public auction any fire arms taken from Negroes and give the money to the parish.[94] When the Committee of Safety of New Bern ordered a day of "fasting, humiliation and prayer," the Episcopal minister, James Reed, was asked to perform divine services.[95] On the other hand, most of the

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[91] Enoch Walter Sikes, *The Transition of North Carolina from Colony to Commonwealth* (John Hopkins University Studies, Series XVI, 1898), 7-41.
[92] Charles Lee Raper, *North Carolina—A Study in English Colonial Government* (New York, The MacMillan Company, 1904), 227.
[93] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 612.
[94] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 63.
[95] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 115-116.

Royalists were from the back country and were largely dissenters. The newly arrived Scottish Presbyterians supported England all through the war. Most revealing of all, in 1774, the men who were soon to assume the leadership in the Revolution and were already defying Governor Martin on the important court issue, re-enacted the Vestry Act for ten more years.[96] The old act had expired two years before and Governor Martin begged that it be extended. If the members of the Assembly had desired the Establishment to end in 1774, they would surely have taken this perfect opportunity to neglect to renew the act. Certainly, with the ill feeling between Martin and the Assembly, the act was continued only because the delegates wanted it continued.

If there was still enough sentiment to continue the Establishment in 1774, why did it end with the State Constitution of 1776? In the first place, the Episcopal Church declined under Martin. The political controversies hurt the church and without any court law of any kind the minister could not force the payment of his salary.[97] The dissenters were growing rapidly; the Methodists were beginning to become important in the state. Much more important was the fact that the largest share of the established ministers, several still receiving annual stipends from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, remained loyal to the British.[98] If the leadership of the Anglican Church had firmly supported the Revolution, the sentiment against the Establishment at the Constitutional Convention in 1776 might not have been sufficient to overthrow it. With the relaxing of the vestry laws, and with the ignominious arrest and suspension of several of its clergymen, the Anglican church, stigmatized alike by name and origin, did not have the strength to survive the political changes of 1776.

It is impossible to gauge the exact amount of sentiment that had long been forming against the Establishment. The numerous complaints and evasions among the dissenters indicate the oppressive nature of favoritism to one church and one clergy. It is clear that the majority sentiment, per-

[96] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 861.
[97] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 1251.
[98] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 1003-1004.

haps even among Episcopalians, was against a rigid marriage law and narrow educational restrictions. Although the Church achieved its maximum growth under Tryon, the establishment was not a success. The Vestry Act gave so much power to the governor that even Anglicans protested. The Vestry and Orthodox Clergy Acts remained so incapable of enforcement that many parishes paid their minister by voluntary contributions. When the revolt became a movement for complete independence, many people who, while approving an establishment of the Protestant religion, detested the restrictive and unfair aspects of the current ecclesiastical system. At last they had their opportunity to overthrow the *English* Establishment which they accomplished.

To their delegates to the Provincial Congress, which took over the government in 1775, Mecklenburg County gave instructions to support an establishment of Protestantism, with a confession and profession of that religion to be necessary for any person holding public office. Other than this, the delegates were advised to "oppose to the utmost any particular church or set of Clergymen being invested with power to decree rites and Ceremonies." They were also to "oppose the establishment of any mode of worship to be supported to the opposition of the rights of conscience." [99] In 1776 Mecklenburg instructed its delegates to the Constitutional Convention to see that

> In all times hereafter no professing Christian of any denomination whatever shall be compelled to pay any tax or duty toward the support of the clergy or worship of any other denomination.[100]

After the adoption of the State Constitution the Mecklenburg delegates were to urge the passing of two laws, one to abolish all vestry and marriage acts, and the other to allow any minister to perform marriages after publication of banns.[101] The only other set of instructions came from Orange County, and on religious matters, closely paralleled those of Mecklenburg.

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[99] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 241.
[100] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 870d.
[101] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 870e.

The State Constitution of 1776 embodied the same religious principles as the above instructions. Article XIX of the Bill of Rights read: "That all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God, according to the dictates of their own consciences." Articles XXXIV of the Constitution further clarified the religious question:

> That there shall be no Establishment of any one religious Church or Denomination in this State in Preferance to any other, neither shall any person, on any pretense whatsoever, be compelled to attend any Place of worship contrary to his own Faith or judgment, or be obliged to pay for the Purchase of any Glebe, or the building of any House of Worship, or for the maintenance of any Minister or Ministry, contrary to what he believes right, or has voluntarily or personally engaged to perform, but all persons shall be at Liberty to exercise their own mode of Worship. Provided, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to exempt Preachers of treasonable and seditious Discourses, from legal trial and Punishment.[102]

The idea of a lax Protestant establishment, already embodied in the Mecklenburg instruction, was hotly debated in the convention and finally accepted in a mild form in Article XXXI. The Rev. David Caldwell is reputed to have authored and defended this clause:

> That no person who shall deny the Being of God, or the truth of the Protestant Religion, or the divine authority either of the Old or New Testament, or shall hold religious Principles incompatible with the Freedom and Safety of the State, shall be capable of holding any office, or Place of Trust or Profit, in the civil Department within this State.[103]

An effective religious establishment came late to North Carolina. In the strong form that it assumed as a result of a consistent but unrealistic Crown policy, the Establishment met various types of opposition from both Anglicans and dissenters. This opposition was neither an important issue in the War of the Regulators nor a major cause of the Revolution, though it did reflect, along with the many political controversies, a determined insistence by North Carolinians on local autonomy. This dislike of centralization was to be

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[102] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 1011.
[103] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 1011.

again reflected in North Carolina's failure to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1788. The religious provisions of the State Constitution of 1776 can be explained by this desire for local religious autonomy, coupled with the steady growth of dissenters and the unpopular role played by the Anglican clergy in the Revolution. It was unfortunate for the Anglican Church that the Establishment became stronger and more fettering at the very time the colony was in the mood for asserting its own independence, for with the ending of political support the church was so helpless that it barely survived. It was another generation before the Episcopal faith could live down the stigma of having been the state church, or could, on the other hand, become strong enough to prosper without the state's help.

THE ELECTION OF 1836 IN NORTH CAROLINA

By William S. Hoffmann

The election of 1836 was one of the most significant in the history of the United States. Though generally neglected by historians it is unique in American history. It is the only election in which a political party deliberately ran more than one presidential candidate. The Democrats had a national candidate, Martin Van Buren, who was not especially popular in any section of the country; the Whigs had three sectional candidates, Hugh Lawson White, William Henry Harrison, and Daniel Webster. White ran only in the South; Webster, in parts of New England, and Harrison, in the remainder of the East and Northwest. Supporters of each of the Whig candidates could appeal to the people of each region and tell them that the Democratic candidate was an enemy of their section. They hoped to keep Van Buren from securing a majority of the electoral vote, so that the House of Representatives, voting by states, could elect one of the Whig candidates as president. Had their plan succeeded such strategy would probably have continued, and presidents would have been chosen by the House instead of by the people.

The presidential contest of 1836 was not a national election, but a series of state campaigns. As 1836 dawned the two parties had about equal strength. In North Carolina, as in the United States, the people were about evenly divided between the two parties.

In the state, as in the nation, the great personal popularity of Andrew Jackson gave the Democrats an important advantage.[1] Since 1815 the people of North Carolina had demonstrated their hero worship of the victor of New Orleans, and in 1823 when a few leaders of the state asked the voters to support Jackson they found a ready response.[2] A group

[1] Willie P. Mangum to David L. Swain, December 22, 1833, Henry T. Shanks (ed.), *The Papers of Willie Person Mangum*, (Raleigh, State Department of Archives and History), II (1952), 52. Hereafter cited as Shanks, *Mangum Papers*.

[2] Albert R. Newsome, *The Election of 1824 in North Carolina, The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science* (Chapel Hill, XXIII, 1939), 20-39 and *passim*. Hereafter cited as Newsome, *Election of 1824*. Also see William S. Hoffmann, "Origins of the Jackson Party" (unpublished thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1950), 17.

of politicians originally supporting South Carolina's John C. Calhoun had formed an organization called the People's party. When events outside of North Carolina caused the South Carolinian to postpone his presidential aspirations and seek the vice-presidency, the leaders of the People's party pledged themselves to support Jackson and Calhoun. The dominant politicians in the state supported William H. Crawford of Georgia for the presidency, but the electoral ticket of the People's party was victorious. It defeated the Georgian's ticket by 20,214 votes to 15,621.[3] Between 1824 and 1828 most of Crawford's supporters somewhat reluctantly shifted to Jackson primarily because they considered him a lesser evil than John Quincy Adams.[4] In the election of 1828, Jackson received 37,875 votes while Adams received only 13,918.[5] During Jackson's first term his popularity increased among North Carolinians. The former supporters of Crawford enthusiastically applauded the Maysville veto and Jackson's other state rights pronouncements and became loyal members of the Democratic party.[6] In 1832 Jackson won his greatest electoral victory in the state, receiving eighty-four and one-half per cent of the total vote. An electoral ticket for Jackson and Van Buren received 21,007 votes, one for Henry Clay and John Sergeant received 4,563 votes, and one for Jackson and Phillip Pendleton Barbour of Virginia received 3,855.[7] Although Jackson lost some supporters during his second term the admiration which the majority of people felt toward him continued. The Democrats realized that they could transfer some of Jackson's popularity to Martin Van Buren, but their chance of victory was not so great.

The Whigs had many factors in their favor. Many respectable leaders of the state, especially former Federalists, had

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[3] Newsome, *Election of 1824*, 48-89 and *passim*.

[4] William S. Hoffmann, "North Carolina Politics in the Jackson Period, 1824-1837" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1953), 21-42. Hereafter cited as Hoffmann, "North Carolina Politics."

[5] *Yadkin and Catawba Journal* (Salisbury), December 9, 1828.

[6] Hoffmann, "North Carolina Politics," 65-91; William S. Hoffmann, "Andrew Jackson: State Rightist: The Case of the Georgia Indians," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Nashville, December, 1952), XI, 329-334.

[7] *North Carolina Journal* (Fayetteville), November 7, 1832.

supported Adams in 1828 and were the nucleus of the Whig Party.[8] In 1831, as a final act in the controversy concerning Peggy Eaton's social position, Jackson had asked for the resignation of Secretary of the Navy, John Branch. The ousted Secretary returned to North Carolina and declared open warfare on Martin Van Buren. He found many followers who were secret enemies of Jackson, who worked with him in organizing a new political party.[9] They promised to support Jackson for president and Barbour for vice-president. Sectional prejudice was aroused against Van Buren, and in the spring and early summer of 1832 this appeared to be the strongest group in the state. Due to Barbour's belated withdrawal and to their own association with nullification a very poor showing was made in the election.[10] They remained together as an effective political organization, and their private hatred for the President was increased when Jackson took a strong nationalistic stand during the nullification controversy.[11] Although most of them had opposed the national bank on constitutional grounds, when Jackson transferred federal funds from the national bank to state banks it served as a signal to join openly the anti-Jackson ranks. Together the Branch group and the original anti-Jackson men had more party journals than their rivals, and more important political leaders supported their cause. North Carolina was considered a doubtful state, and in many respects the state campaign was typical of the nation.

Since early 1834 the North Carolina newspapers had been filled with discussions of partisan issues. The Whig politicians and editors raised their voices in righteous indignation at Jackson's removal of deposits from the national bank.[12]

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[8] Hoffmann, "North Carolina Politics," 45-50.

[9] Hoffmann, "North Carolina Politics," 92-110; John Branch to "A Gentleman in this City," *New Bern Spectator and Literary Journal* (New Bern), May 21, 1831; John Branch to James Iredell, Washington, March 31, 1832, James Iredell Papers, Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina.

[10] Hoffmann, "North Carolina Politics," 111-133.

[11] Hoffmann, "North Carolina Politics," 134-154.

[12] *Raleigh Register*, October 1, 22, 1833, quoting the *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury); *The Star* (Raleigh), September 27, 1833; Lewis Williams to Edmund Jones, Washington, December 8, 1833, Edmund Jones Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

When the Senate censured the President for his actions the Whigs praised the body for its "courageous stand against executive usurpation" and Democrats denounced the Senate as supporters of a "monstrous institution."[13] When Jackson answered the censure with an official protest many Whigs likened this "additional usurpation" to a tyrant's message from the throne, but Democrats applauded and agreed with Jackson that the Senate had no constitutional right to pass the resolution of censure.[14] The opponents of Jackson compared his tyranny to that of George III and occasionally took the name, Whig, to signify their opposition to executive tyranny.[15] Generally, both parties continued to call themselves Republicans, and both insisted that they were defending Republican principles.

The national bank called in loans and this seems to have been one factor in bringing on a depression. The Whigs denounced Jackson for not restoring the deposits and thereby ending the depression. The North Carolina Democrats denied that any depression existed and declared that the state had never been more prosperous.[16] The Whig voice was loud, and Democratic Senator Bedford Brown declared:

> Every day the accents of distress . . . sounded . . . Different kinds of distress prevail. . . . Not among the least distressed was that class of politician . . . distressed because their opponents were *in* power, and they themselves were *out* of power.[17]

Brown's support of the President's policy caused the Whigs to try to secure his removal. Mass meetings were called which instructed Brown to support restoration of the de-

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[13] *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury), March 15, 1834; *Free Press* (Tarboro), April 13, 1834.

[14] *Western Carolinian*, May 17, 1834; *Raleigh Register*, April 29, 1834; *Miners and Farmers Journal* (Charlotte), May 3, 1834; *Free Press*, May 4, 1834.

[15] "Sidney" in *Raleigh Register*, December 23, 1834.

[16] *Western Carolinian*, March 22, 1834; Nathaniel Macon to Martin Van Buren, May 23, 1834, Elizabeth McPherson, "Letters from North Carolinians to Martin Van Buren," *North Carolina Historical Review* (Raleigh), XV (January, 1938), 174; Bedford Brown to Martin Van Buren, September 24, 1834, William K. Boyd, "Some Selections from the Correspondence of Bedford Brown," Trinity College Historical Society, *Historical Papers* (Durham), VI (1926), 88.

[17] Brown's speech in the Senate, *Raleigh Register*, January 21, 1835.

posits or resign from the Senate. Whig Senator Willie P. Mangum presented one such resolution to the United States Senate and referred to it as the voice of North Carolina. Brown declared that he would obey the real will of his constituents or resign. He pointed out that the meeting had been called by a disappointed aspirant and that only a handful of partisans had been present. The Whig press called Brown's statement a denial of the right of instructions and declared that his refusal to obey made him unfit to hold public office. During the legislative elections of 1834 the Whigs urged all men who believed in the "Republican principle of instructions" to vote only for legislators who opposed Brown's re-election.[18]

The Democrats could also play the game. They in turn urged the voters to cast their ballots only for candidates who pledged themselves to support Brown.[19] The Democrats gained a slight majority and succeeded in re-electing Brown.[20] After a bitter debate the legislature passed a resolution declaring that a Senator should support instructions from the legislature or resign. They then instructed the two Senators to support a resolution expunging the Senate's censure of Jackson.[21] Brown, of course, already favored the expunging resolution and needed no instructions. Mangum refused to obey, and fearing that his resignation would give the Democrats control of the Senate he refused to retire.[22] He declared that a Senator should obey instructions from the people or resign, but he denied that the legislature was the proper body to speak for the people.[23] Until Mangum finally resigned and was replaced by Robert Strange— three months before his term expired the Democrats constantly attacked the "disobedient" Senator for his action.[24] The

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[18] *Miners and Farmers Journal*, March 1, July 12, 1834; *Carolina Watchman*, March 8, 1834; *Raleigh Register*, February 25, March 18, April 15, 1834; Copy of Burke County Resolutions, March 27, 1834, Shanks, *Mangum Papers*, II, 54.

[19] *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), November 7, 14, 21, 1834.

[20] *Raleigh Register*, November 25, 1834.

[21] *Raleigh Register*, January 27, 1835.

[22] Willie P. Mangum to William A. Graham, Washington, December 17, 1834, William Alexander Graham Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh North Carolina.

[23] Mangum's speech in the Senate, *Hillsboro Recorder*, March 20, 1835.

[24] *North Carolina Standard*, June 11, 1835, and *passim*.

Whigs, forgetting the origin of the instruction fight, declared that the instructions were part of the "Jacksonian reign of terror" to put down all who differed with them.[25] Neither side gained or lost much support because of the instruction battle, but it kept partisans on both sides active and aroused.

In 1835 the Whigs shifted the emphasis in their attack. National land policy had long been a minor issue. In 1833 Jackson vetoed a bill calling for annual distribution of the proceeds from federal land sales to all the states, but this caused only a feeble protest from the anti-Jackson men.[26] At that time Mangum had not openly broken with Jackson and had twice voted against the measure. Realizing that distribution would be popular in North Carolina and would embarrass the Democrats, he wrote Governor David L. Swain urging that the legislature instruct him to support the measure. He could therefore change his vote in obedience to instructions and not be condemned for inconsistency.[27] Although Mangum was destined to receive instructions of another nature, Swain did his part well.

In his inaugural message of 1834, Swain called distribution a panacea for all of North Carolina's ills, and the Whigs became ardent champions of the measure.[28] In January, 1835, the lower house of the legislature passed a resolution in favor of distribution, but the Democratic majority in the Senate refused their assent.[29] The Whigs constantly denounced the Democrats for blocking the distribution resolution, and Whig leader William J. Alexander issued a circular averring that the action of the Democrats had cost the people of the state five-million dollars annually.[30] At the next session of the legislature the house again assented to a Whig resolution favoring distribution, while the senate pass-

[25] Samuel Fleming's speech in the state legislature, *Raleigh Register*, December 23, 1834.

[26] *New Bern Spectator and Literary Journal*, March 15, 1833; Abraham Rencher's "circular" in *The Star*, May 10, 1833; Lewis Williams, *To the Citizens of the Thirteenth Congressional District of North Carolina*, Washington, February 12, 1833, 14. Hereafter cited as Williams, *Citizens of the Thirteenth District*.

[27] Willie P. Mangum to David L. Swain, December 22, 1833, Shanks, *Mangum Papers*, II, 54.

[28] Swain's inaugural address, *Hillsboro Recorder*, November 28, 1834.

[29] *North Carolina Standard*, January 16, 1835.

[30] *Raleigh Register*, March 10, 1835, quoting extracts from Alexander's circular, *Western Carolinian*, January 24, 1835.

ed a resolution which favored the distribution of an "unavoidable surplus" only.[31] The Whigs again condemned the Democrats for refusing to consent to annual distribution and repeated the arguments of the preceding year.[32] Distribution was popular in North Carolina, especially in the western part of the state. As Whig leaders pointed out, it would give the state millions of dollars annually which could be spent for much needed roads, schools, and railroads and would not cost the people one cent additional taxes. Whigs claimed that the Democrats were going to give the lands outright to the western states in order to bribe those states into voting for Van Buren.[33] The Democrats fervently denied this and could argue that distribution was unconstitutional and that the federal government instead of distributing surplus funds should lower the tariff.[34] They could make little headway, however, against the popular Whig advocates. Democratic opposition to distribution greatly aided the Whigs in the national campaign.

The Whigs of North Carolina considered many presidential candidates. Henry Clay was the favorite of the original anti-Jackson men, but national party strategy kept Clay from entering the race.[35] Nullifiers led by Charles Fisher wanted to nominate John C. Calhoun, but Willie P. Mangum succeeded in convincing them that Calhoun's unpopularity would throw North Carolina into the Van Buren camp.[36] In the fall of 1834, the *Raleigh Register*, organ of the original anti-Jackson

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[31] *Raleigh Register*, December 22, 29, 1835.

[32] *Raleigh Register*, February 2, 1836, quoting the *Fayetteville Observer*, Williams, *Citizens of the Thirteenth District*, May 17, 1836.

[33] Williams, *Citizens of the Thirteenth District*, Washington, February, 18, 1835, 2-5; Abraham Rencher, *To the Citizens of the Tenth Congressional District*, Washington, March 6, 1835, 1-2; Edmund Deberry, *To the Freemen of the Counties of Anson, Richmond, Cumberland, Moore, and Montgomery*, Washington, February 28, 1835; Edmund Deberry Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; Swain's annual message, *Raleigh Register*, November 24, 1835.

[34] *North Carolina Standard*, February 6 and December 15, 1835, quoting Richard Dobbs Spaight's inaugural address; Thomas Hall, *To the Qualified Voters of the Third Congressional District*, Washington, March 6, 1835.

[35] *Raleigh Register*, October 22, 1833; *New Bern Spectator and Literary Journal*, March 15, 1833.

[36] Willie P. Mangum to John Beard, Philadelphia, October 7, 1834, Fisher Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

men, and the *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), both urged that a state convention nominate a "Southern candidate" for president. The *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury), organ of the nullifiers, and the *New Bern Spectator and Literary Journal* warned that such a nomination might divide the party, so a convention was not held.[37] The *Western Carolinian* seconded the nomination by a New York paper of North Carolina's own, Willie P. Mangum, and the *Fayetteville Observer* declared that another North Carolinian, William Gaston of New Bern, was the ideal candidate.[38] James Graham, a Whig Congressman from Rutherford County, wanted the state to support a Democrat, Thomas Ruffin, Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court. He believed that if Ruffin could secure an appointment as Secretary of the Treasury, the North Carolinian would be able to defeat Van Buren and become President of the United States. For different reasons the state's Democratic manager, Romulus M. Saunders, was working to secure the appointment for Ruffin, but Jackson named another man for the position.[39] The one candidate who won general approval from the state Whigs was Hugh Lawson White of Tennessee.

White was acceptable to all factions of the party. In September, 1834, the *Western Carolinian* commented favorably on his nomination.[40] In January, 1835, the Alabama legislature nominated White, and soon the Whig press was filled with praise for the Tennessee Senator. On April 3, 1835, citizens of Statesville held the first White meeting in North Carolina. They declared that a southerner should be president and recommended White highly.[41] Similar meetings followed in other towns. The *Raleigh Register* suddenly dropped its nationalistic tone and declared, "The cause of

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[37] *Raleigh Register*, September 2, 1834, quoting the *Carolina Watchman*, September 20, 1834.

[38] *Western Carolinian*, September 30, December 6, 1834, quoting the *Fayetteville Observer*.

[39] James Graham to William Alexander Graham, Washington, January 5, 1834, William Alexander Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; Romulus M. Saunders to Thomas Ruffin, October 15, November 4, 1833, J. G. de R. Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, 4 volumes (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1918, 1920), II, 98, 105-107.

[40] *Western Carolinian*, September 27, 1834.

[41] *Raleigh Register*, February 2, April 14, 1835.

Judge White is the cause of the South."[42] On December 22, 1835, Whig legislators and others held a meeting at Raleigh and officially nominated White.[43] As 1836 opened, Whigs in almost every county were holding meetings and selecting delegates to name electors pledged to White.

The Democrats also began the contest early. In February, 1835, the *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh) the leading Van Buren organ, called on all Democrats to support the candidate of the national convention.[44] As in 1832, the enemies of Van Buren assailed the national convention. It was called a "caucus of officeholders," and the phrase became a greatly overworked cliché.[45] The Democrats defended the convention, and sometimes in county and district conventions which met to select delegates to the convention, they also named presidential electors.[46] The venerable Nathaniel Macon was named to their electoral ticket, and his name was an advantage to the party.[47] The Democrats were not going to lose the election through lack of energy.

Most of the state's Van Buren men preferred William C. Rives of Virginia as candidate for vice-president. In late 1834 the *North Carolina Sentinel,* a Democratic paper in New Bern, named Rives as its choice.[48] Romulus Saunders and Robert Strange, leaders of the state delegation at the Baltimore Convention, both favored the Virginian. At the convention Strange in an attempt to defeat the favored candidate, Richard M. Johnson, proposed that a two-thirds majority be required for a nomination. The convention assented to Strange's motion, and he and Saunders persuaded the minority of the North Carolina delegation to vote for Rives on the first ballot. Saunders and Strange promised

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[42] *Raleigh Register,* December 22, 1835.
[43] *Raleigh Register,* December 29, 1835.
[44] *North Carolina Standard,* February 13, 1835.
[45] *Western Carolinian,* May 16, 1836. The phrase appears four times on one page of the May 16 issue.
[46] *North Carolina Standard,* May 15, 1835.
[47] Clarence C. Norton, *The Democratic Party in Ante-Bellum North Carolina, 1835-1861,* volume XXXI of *The James Sprunt Historical Studies* (Chapel Hill, 1930), 86. Hereafter cited as Norton, *The Democratic Party.*
[48] *North Carolina Standard,* January 2, 1835, quoting the *North Carolina Sentinel* (New Bern).

to support the nominee of the convention. On the first ballot Johnson received four votes more than the necessary two-thirds and won the vice-presidential nomination. Saunders made a speech and admitted that he, personally, preferred Rives but urged all Democrats to support the Van Buren-Johnson ticket. Although North Carolina Democrats continued to say nice things about Rives they gave Johnson wholehearted support.[49]

The state meeting which had nominated White had failed to name a vice-presidential candidate. Shortly after North Carolina Whigs made their nomination, Maryland Whigs also nominated White and named John Tyler as his running mate. Tyler accepted the nomination, and North Carolina Whig leaders added his name to their ticket. Many Whig meetings passed resolutions praising Tyler. Meanwhile Rives' friends had gotten control of the Virginia legislature and instructed Tyler to support the expunging resolution. Tyler refused, but, unlike Willie P. Mangum, he accepted the doctrine of instructions and resigned. Weston Gales, editor of the *Raleigh Register,* called Tyler's resignation "the strongest rebuke to Whig principles," and he called on those who approved Mangum's course to revoke Tyler's nomination.[50] The *North Carolina Standard* stated that Tyler was to be dropped at the "mandate" of the party organ and commented that Gales' reasoning proved that Whig principles meant ignoring the will of constituents.[51] The *Star* (Raleigh), organ of the states rights branch of the Whig Party, supported Tyler, and although many Whigs hoped that the Virginian would withdraw, few were willing to follow the *Register's* suggestion and revoke the nomination. Even Editor Gales, calling Tyler's resignation an honest error, acquiesced in the Virginian's continuance on the ticket.[52] The vice-presidency was not very important.

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[49] *North Carolina Standard,* June 5, 1835, quoting the *North Carolina Sentinel,* June 5, 1835.

[50] *Raleigh Register,* March 8, 1836; Weston R. Gales to Willie P. Mangum, January 22, 1836, Shanks, *Mangum Papers,* II, 381.

[51] *North Carolina Standard,* March 10, 1836.

The North Carolina Whigs were more concerned with selecting a popular candidate for governor than for vice-president. The State Constitution had been amended the previous year, and in 1836 the governor for the first time was to be elected by the people. Four Whig candidates were prominently mentioned for the position. The *Examiner* (Oxford) suggested that Mangum be the party's candidate, but he was vulnerable on several accounts and did not make the race.[53] The *Carolina Watchman* named ex-Federalist William B. Meares of New Hanover County, but the Whigs of that county felt Edward B. Dudley would be a stronger candidate.[54] The National Republican wing of the party preferred Meares, but realized that his Federalism would make him vulnerable and accepted Dudley as a stronger candidate.[55] Thomas Polk of Salisbury was the choice of the Western Whigs, but he made a plea for party unity and stepped aside in favor of Dudley.[56] The *Register* called for a state meeting of White supporters to make a nomination for governor, and the assemblage unanimously named Edward B. Dudley as its candidate.[57]

Dudley accepted the nomination and showed that he intended to make sectional opposition to Van Buren the chief issue of the campaign. In his letter of acceptance he declared: "Mr. Van Buren is not one of us. He is a Northern man . . . in soul, in principle, and in action." [58] He said that Van Buren was an abolitionist who had supported the anti-slavery provisions of the Missouri Compromise and had granted Congress the power to abolish slavery. Dudley had been a member of the Branch group in 1832, and he repeated the charges made during the ill-fated Barbour campaign.

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[53] *Raleigh Register*, March 22, 1836; James Simmons to Willie P. Mangum, March 9, 1836; Robert Gilliam to Willie P. Mangum, April 1, 1836, Shanks, *Mangum Papers*, II, 403, 417.

[54] *North Carolina Standard*, December 15, 1835.

[55] *North Carolina Standard*, March 10, 1836; *Raleigh Register*, November 3, 1835, quoting the *Carolina Watchman*.

[56] Weston R. Gales to Willie P. Mangum, January 22, 1836, Shanks, *Mangum Papers*, II, 381.

[57] *Western Carolinian*, January 16, 1836.

[58] *Raleigh Register*, January 26, February 9, 1836.

[58] Edward B. Dudley to Weston Gales and others, February 17, 1836, *Raleigh Register*, February 23, 1836.

He was advised to tour the state, tell anecdotes concerning his own service in the War of 1812, and avoid controversial issues.[59] He traveled widely, spoke at public banquets, and carried on an active campaign. His early championship of state internal improvements and his campaign pleas for public education aided his candidacy.[60]

The Democrats attacked Dudley on several counts. Lauchlin Bethune, a former Congressman from Fayetteville, called a meeting and denounced Dudley's letter of acceptance as "illiberal, anti-republican, unconstitutional in spirit, and insulting to the pride and patriotism of the state."[61] The Democrats charged Dudley with deliberately stirring up sectional hostility.[62] Democratic editors published a letter Dudley had written in 1830 opposing forceful removal of two thousand Cherokees from North Carolina. They twisted his words and averred that Dudley "thought it the duty of all poor men in North Carolina to give their daughters in marriage to the Indian savage."[63] Only Democratic partisans could believe such an absurd charge, and Dudley was not harmed by his defense of the friendly Indians.

The Democrats had little choice in naming their candidate for governor. Their party in the legislature had just selected Richard Dobbs Spaight for governor, and they were virtually forced to recommend his re-election. In March the *Standard* endorsed his nomination as "springing spontaneously . . . from the Democracy of the state."[64] Spaight was a poor campaigner. He refused invitations to public banquets and did not travel extensively over the state: he was trying to create the illusion that he would neither seek nor decline public office.[65] Most candidates tried to make their entrance

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[59] James Graham to William A. Graham, Washington, February 7, 1836, William Alexander Graham Papers, University of North Carolina.

[60] *Raleigh Register*, June 30, 1836, quoting the *New Bern Spectator and Literary Journal.*

[61] *Fayetteville Observer*, March 24, 1836.

[62] *North Carolina Standard*, March 3, 1836.

[63] "One of the People" in *Raleigh Register*, September 6, 1836 quoting the *Carolina Gazette* (Rutherfordton); John I. Wright to David S. Reid, Rockingham Springs, July 30, 1836, David S. Reid Papers, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[64] *North Carolina Standard*, March 10, 1836.

[65] *North Carolina Standard*, March 31, 1836.

into a campaign appear as a reluctant willingness to serve, but in the case of avid, office-seeker Richard Dobbs Spaight it was most ineffective.

Spaight was extremely vulnerable in the congressional district which was composed of Rutherford, Buncombe, Burke, Haywood, Macon, and Yancey counties. He was linked with David Newland, the unsuccessful candidate in the congressional election of 1835. Newland had lost the election by only fourteen votes.[66] The state law required voters to cast their ballots in the county of their residence, and Newland secured depositions to prove that many of the votes for the successful candidate, James Graham, came from people voting outside their county. Newland carried his evidence to Washington. He had once announced his support of White but intimated that if the presidential election was to be decided by the House of Representatives he would vote for Van Buren. Many people believed that Webster, Harrison, and White would receive enough electoral votes to throw the election to the House and that Graham's vote could keep Van Buren from becoming president. The Democrats had a majority in the House and voted to unseat Graham.[67] Their action appeared to Whigs and non partisans as an unjust political decision made only to aid Van Buren's presidential ambitions. If the election had gone to the House, a pledge to vote with his district by Augustine H. Shepperd, a popular Whig Congressman from a Democratic constituency, would have caused North Carolina's vote to be given to Van Buren.[68]Although they had voted to unseat Graham, a majority of congressmen would not vote to seat Newland, and they requested the governor to call a special election to fill the vacancy. Instead of calling it immediately Spaight issued a call to make the special congressional election coincide with the next general election. The people of the district

[66] *North Carolina Standard,* August 20, 1835.
[67] *Raleigh Register,* March 8, 1836.
[68] *Free Press,* September 3, 1836; Ebenezer Pettigrew to John H. Bryan, March 24, 1836, John H. Bryan Collections, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, volume, III.

blamed the Democratic governor because they had no representative.[69]

The Democrats had made a strategic error. The Whigs charged that Newland had persuaded Spaight to delay the election. They asserted that Newland realized he had no chance to win immediately, but if the election was deferred the aid of the Democratic party would give him a better opportunity.[70] Newland's action was very unpopular in the district, and the Democrats suffered by linking their cause with his. Some Democrats promised Graham their vote because they said they could not "stand a turncoat." [71] Newland realized his own unpopularity and considered withdrawing, while Graham's popularity increased with four months of strenuous campaigning.[72] Graham won the election by a majority of 1,614 votes, and in that district Spaight received 1,491 fewer votes than Dudley.[73] In 1835 the district had sent a Democratic majority to the legislature, but in August, 1836 elections the people elected ten Whigs and only four Democrats.[74] A part of the shift was caused by the revision of the constitution which increased the representation in the Whig strongholds of Burke, Rutherford, and Buncombe counties. The roles of Newland and Spaight in the contested election nevertheless, had proven a major disaster for the Democrats.

Though his greatest victory was in the mountain area, Edward B. Dudley showed great strength throughout the state. He defeated Spaight by approximately five thousand votes. He trailed in the East by about three thousand votes,

[69] James Graham to William A. Graham, Washington, April 4, 1836, William A. Graham Papers, University of North Carolina Library; *North Carolina Standard*, April 14, 1836.

[70] *Raleigh Register*, September 6, 1836, quoting the *Fayetteville Observer*.

[71] James Graham to William A. Graham, Rutherfordton, May 7, 1836, William A. Graham Papers, University of North Carolina Library.

[72] Joseph W. D. Graham to William A. Graham, Elm Wood Farm, April 21, 1836, James Graham to William A. Graham, Washington, May 7, 1836, William A. Graham Papers, University of North Carolina Library.

[73] *Raleigh Register*, August 23, November 22, 1836.

[74] James Graham to William A. Graham, Rutherfordton, August 20, 1836, William A. Graham Papers, University of North Carolina Library.

but had an eight thousand majority in the West.[75] The Whigs considered Dudley's victory a great party triumph, but it was due in large part to personal popularity and active campaigning.[76] Edward B. Dudley ran well ahead of his party.

In the contests for the state legislature almost every candidate campaigned on national issues. Personal popularity still played an important part, but comparatively few men won elections in counties which disapproved of their national stand. Both parties had put forth great efforts to acquire a majority in the legislature. County meetings named candidates as friends of White or Van Buren, and every effort was made to get the strongest candidates to make the race.[77] The campaign was arduous, and there were few men able to sit back and win on their reputations. James Graham even demanded that his highly respected brother cut short his honeymoon and "go among the people." [78] If the old constitution had not been amended the Democrats would have won by a sizable majority, and the provision which gave each county at least one member of the House of Commons still left them a slight advantage. The Whigs won a majority of two in the Senate, while the Democrats had the same majority in the House.[79] The August elections indicated that the Whigs had a slight majority in the state, but by no means gave a clear indication that the people of the state strongly opposed Martin Van Buren.

The Whigs, nevertheless, claimed that Dudley's victory was positive proof that Judge White would carry the state. They placed more emphasis on Dudley's charge that Van Buren was an abolitionist and consequently lessened their association with distribution. The Democrats were more accurate in their analysis of the campaign. Bedford Brown

[75] *Raleigh Register*, November 22, 1836. The *Register's* figures give Dudley a majority of 5,007. The official returns give him a majority of 4,043, but three counties were not counted in the official returns. The returns from the three counties would have resulted in a majority of 4,729, *Free Press*, December 17, 1836.

[76] *Raleigh Register*, September 6, 1836.

[77] *Hillsboro Recorder*, February 29, August 16, 23, 30, 1836; Lewis Williams to William A. Graham, Washington, April 1, 1836, William A. Graham Papers, University of North Carolina Library.

[78] James Graham to William A. Graham, Vesuvius Furnace, May 15, 1836, William A. Graham Papers, University of North Carolina Library.

[79] *Free Press*, August 27, 1836.

wrote Van Buren that Spaight's defeat was due in part to local causes, in part to Democratic opposition to distribution, and especially due to "the gross falsehoods spread abroad as to the motives of Democrats who unseated Graham." Brown had high hopes for victory in November and promised: "our party . . . will go to the contest, without that sanguine expectation of success, which often proves fatal . . . and at the same time without despondence, which discourages exertion." [80]

The Whigs tried their utmost to portray Van Buren as an enemy of the South. They charged that the one principle upon which "he has always acted was opposition to Southern interests." [81] They declared that he had supported DeWitt Clinton instead of James Madison in 1812. They pointed to his vote on the tariff of 1828 and called him a champion of protection. They pointed to his vote to extend the Cumberland road and called him an advocate of federal internal improvements. They declared he had supported free Negro suffrage in New York.[82] The Democrats answered that Van Buren was a moderate on the tariff issue and was an enemy of internal improvements. They charged that Judge White was a friend of the free Negro and in 1823 had placed his arms around one and led him to the ballot box.[83] The Democratic organ insisted that Van Buren had worked to curtail free Negro voting, and all of his views were "in accordance with the interest of slaveholders." [84]

The Whigs declared that on the subject of slavery a candidate "must not only agree with us," but "be above suspision." [85] To prove that Van Buren was not above suspicion they wrote letters asking the two candidates to state their position on abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. White, as expected, declared that Congress had no right to

[80] Bedford Brown to Martin Van Buren, October 11, 1836, McPherson, "Letters to Van Buren," 770.
[81] *Raleigh Register*, August 2, 1836, quoting the *Miners and Farmers Journal.*
[82] *Raleigh Register*, February 16, 1836, quoting the *Miners and Farmers Journal; Hillsboro Recorder*, October 26, 1836.
[83] *North Carolina Standard*, November 10, 1836.
[84] *North Carolina Standard*, July 10, 1835.
[85] *Raleigh Register*, August 2, 1836, quoting the *Miners and Farmers Journal.*

abolish slavery.[86] Van Buren called abolition in the District inexpedient and declared that it would violate the spirit of the agreement between the federal government and the states of Maryland and Virginia. He wrote, "The slave question must be left to the slave holding states themselves without molestation . . . from any quarter." [87] He would not say that Congress had no power to interfere. The Whigs used the negative phrase to declare that Van Buren conceded the power to emancipate and asserted his views differed none from "Tappan, Garrison, and Company." [88]

The Whigs charged Van Buren's running mate with a sin worse than abolition. It was well known that Johnson lived with a Negro mistress, but the Whigs were not satisfied merely to charge him with immorality. They constantly denounced him as an amalgamationist. At a banquet in Onslow County a Whig partisan offered this toast:

> . . . Martin Van Buren, an abolitionist and Richard M. Johnson, an amalgamationist. . . . It would be more congenial to their habits and conformable to their principles—the one to preside over the destinies of Liberia, the other to multiply and increase his subjects.[89]

Toward the close of the campaign Starling Gunn of Caswell County issued a circular emphasizing Johnson's private life. He charged that Johnson's moral character was

> . . . stained by the deepest and blackest vices known to moral law. For while others merely insist in theory upon the equality of blacks with the whites and the propriety of amalgamating the two races, he has reduced their principles to practice by taking to his embraces a NEGRO WENCH, and making her the wife of his bosom and the mother of his children.[90]

The circular made the rounds of the press but did the Democrats little harm. The Whigs had failed to learn that excessive personal abuse does the dispenser more harm than good, and the voters of Gunn's county would cast 1,067 votes for

[86] Hugh Lawson White to John Timberlake and others, May 2, 1836, *Raleigh Register*, June 14, 1836.
[87] Martin Van Buren to Junius Amis and others, March 6, 1836, *Free Press*, March 26, 1836.
[88] *Raleigh Register*, July 5, 1836, quoting the *Halifax Minerva*.
[89] *Raleigh Register*, September 20, 1836, quoting the *New Bern Spectator and Literary Journal*.
[90] Starling Gunn, "To the Voters of Caswell County," *Hillsboro Recorder*, October 21, 1836.

Van Buren and Johnson and only 116 for White and Tyler.[91] In North Carolina the questionable sex life of the vice-presidential candidate cost the Democrats few votes.

While the Whigs were doing their utmost to arouse sectional feelings against the "abolitionist and the amalgamationist," the Democrats were preaching unionism. They tried to associate the Whigs with the nullifiers, and almost every well known North Carolinian who had sympathized with nullification was supporting White. The Democrats asserted that White's supporters wanted a pretext to dissolve the union.[92] Bedford Brown urged the voters to oppose the sectional candidate and defeat the opposition's scheme of dividing North and South. He declared that only through Republican ascendancy had the "Union been preserved," and he pleaded with all loyal citizens to support the national candidate.[93]

The Democrats had one important issue in their favor. In 1836 gold mining ranked second to agriculture among North Carolina's industries.[94] In 1834 Democrats secured passage of a law to mint gold dollars, an act that was very popular in North Carolina. The Democrats declared that the law showed that the administration had provided more stable currency than the "rag currency" of the national bank.[95] The Whigs asserted that gold coinage was less practical than United States bank notes, yet they admitted that the act would uphold the price of North Carolina gold.[96]

In the winter of 1835 Thomas H. Benton introduced a bill to establish three mints in the South, one to be at Charlotte, the center of the state's gold mining region. This would mean much to the people of the area; gold could be sold directly to the mint with less danger of theft; transportation expenses would be lessened; and a ready market would always be available. When the bill was before Congress the

[91] *Raleigh Register*, November 22, 1836.
[92] *North Carolina Standard*, November 12, 1836.
[93] Bedford Brown to James Rainey and others, September 17, 1836, *Free Press*, September 21, 1836.
[94] Fletcher M. Green, "Gold Mining: A Forgotten Industry of Ante-Bellum North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review*, (January, April, 1937), XIV, 1-19, 135-155.
[95] *North Carolina Standard*, February 11, 1836.
[96] *Carolina Watchman*, July 12, 1834.

Standard told readers that Democrats were trying to secure passage of the bill but Henry Clay and the Whigs were trying to defeat it.[97] Both Willie P. Mangum and Bedford Brown made speeches defending the bill, and it became law.[98] The *Register* insisted that southern Whigs were responsible for passage of the law, and the *Western Carolinian* gave Calhoun the credit.[99] The *Standard* would not let the opposition take credit for the measure and pointed out that in the Senate thirteen of seventeen Democrats supported the bill while only ten of the twenty-five Whigs gave it their vote.[100] As the election drew near the mint was almost ready to begin operation; the Democrats commented favorably on the developments of the institution and reminded readers that their party had brought it to North Carolina.[101]

Toward the close of the campaign the Democrats loudly warned against the possibility of an election by the House of Representatives. In early October they issued a pamphlet emphasizing that if the people of North Carolina voted for White they would be doing "all that is in their power to do towards preventing an *election of President by the people.*" [102] They pointed out that 148 electoral votes were needed to win the election, and even if White should carry every state where he was running he would receive only ninety-four votes. They asserted that the Whigs had no intention of electing White president, and argued that if the new president were elected by the House he would owe his election, not to the people, but to scheming politicians at Washington. Every issue of the *Standard* denounced the "pie-bald party" and insisted that the Whigs had made a "tool" of "poor dottering old Judge White" in order to transfer the election to the House.[103]

During the final month of the campaign Democrats "exposed" a plan of North Carolina Whigs to transfer the vote of the state to William Henry Harrison. Joseph Seawell Jones,

[97] *North Carolina Standard,* February 20, 1835.
[98] *North Carolina Standard,* March 6, 27, 1835.
[99] *Raleigh Register,* March 18, 1835; *Western Carolinian,* April 25, 1835.
[100] *North Carolina Standard,* March 27, 1836.
[101] *North Carolina Standard,* January 28, 1836.
[102] William H. Haywood, Jr., and others, "An Address to the Freemen of North Carolina," quoted in the *Free Press,* October 15, 1836.
[103] *North Carolina Standard,* October 13, 1836.

a young Whig, who liked to exaggerate his own importance, was visiting in New York City and attended a banquet honoring Harrison. Jones announced that North Carolina Whigs would support Harrison if White could not be elected. An observer reported his comment to a New York newspaper, and North Carolina Democrats spotted the notice and gave it wide publicity. The *Standard* identified Jones as a historian who had violently denounced Jefferson and hence was good company for "federalist-Whigs." Editor White asked:

> Will the . . . Whigs and Nullifiers of North Carolina thank this . . . representative for letting "the cat out of the wallet"—for blabbing forth over his cups what his fellow Whigs at home are making such efforts to conceal—for revealing the secret that the nullifiers and their allies . . . are ready and willing to go for Harrison, the notorious emancipationist, the tariffite and corruption bank advocate? . . . That Mr. Jones while puffed up with flattery and mellowed with wine has told the truth about his party, every intelligent politician . . . knows full well.[104]

Philo White concluded that Jones' remarks constituted positive proof that the Whig electors intended to vote for Harrison.

The Whig Central Committee denounced the *Standard's* charge as a "Base Calumny, wholly destitute of truth."[105] But the damage was already done. Even had Jones not "let the cat out of the wallet," it was still logical that Harrison would be the second choice of the Whigs, and many intelligent non-partisans realized that to vote for White would increase the likelihood of Harrison or Webster becoming president. The *Free Press* (Tarboro), declared, "The people now see that White has no chance to be elected, and they will not throw votes away on him to help Harrison—a man who longs to see the day when the sun will not shine on a negro slave."[106] Although Harrison was no more of an abolitionist than Van Buren he too, was a northern man, and the political effect of the sectional prejudice which the Whigs had tried so hard to arouse was greatly lessened. The Democrats had presented convincing arguments that White could

[104] *North Carolina Standard*, November 3, 1836. Jones was the author of *A Defence of the Revolutionary History of North Carolina from the Aspersions of Mr. Jefferson* (Raleigh, 1834).
[105] *Raleigh Register*, November 8, 1836.
[106] *Free Press*, November 5, 1836.

not be elected, and many men who favored him stayed away from the polls.

Almost ten thousand fewer people voted in November than had voted in August. By a vote of 29,910 to 23,626 the people of North Carolina voted for Van Buren electors.[107] The Whigs blamed apathy and overconfidence for their defeat and insisted that "party drilling" was responsible for the Democratic victory.[108] The Democrats did have an effective organization, but probably no better than the Whigs. One factor in determining the result was that a large percentage of the voters in North Carolina were unwilling to follow a sectional party; and Van Buren's victory, in a sense, was a triumph of unionism over southern sectionalism. Yet the realization that White could not possibly be elected by the people was primarily responsible for Van Buren's success. In spite of Van Buren's victory there were probably more Whigs in the state than Democrats, and Hugh Lawson White was certainly more popular than Martin Van Buren. In North Carolina, as in the nation, the people had refused to transfer the election of president to the House of Representatives.

[107] *Niles Register*, LI, 228. It stated that its figures constituted the "official returns." See also Norton, *Democratic Party*, 86; Herbert D. Pegg, "Whig Party in North Carolina," (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1932), 154. J. G. de R. Hamilton, *Party Politics in North Carolina, 1835-1860*, volume XV of *James Sprunt Historical Publications* (Raleigh, 1916), 41. Hamilton and Pegg give Van Buren a majority of 9,240. Norton states that Van Buren's majority was 15,240. The *Raleigh Register* gives figures from each county and shows Van Buren with a majority of 3,660. The *North Carolina Standard* publishes less complete returns and gives Van Buren a majority of 3,200.

[108] *Raleigh Register*, November 29, 1836.

"THE GREAT RECONSTRUCTOR:" GENERAL E. R. S. CANBY AND THE SECOND MILITARY DISTRICT

By MAX L. HEYMAN, JR.

Congress, under Radical leadership, began passing its "Reconstruction" legislation in March, 1867. It divided the ex-Confederate states into five military districts, each of which was to be commanded by a general officer of the United States Army. It set up a procedure by which these states might be restored to the Union, stipulating that constitutional conventions were to be held in each of them. Colored residents were to have a part in choosing delegates to those bodies, but the whites who were disqualified under the provisions of the proposed fourteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution for having supported the Confederacy were to be excluded from voting. The constitutions framed by the conventions were to provide permanently for Negro suffrage, at the same time disqualifying the leaders of the late Confederacy. After the charters had been ratified by a majority of the qualified voters in each state, and after the legislatures elected under those new constitutions had ratified the fourteenth amendment (the fifteenth was added later) and it had become law, the states might then "be entitled to representation in Congress." The generals assigned to command the southern districts were authorized to initiate the movement for satisfying these requirements.[1]

In the second of these military districts, Major General Daniel E. Sickles commanded—but not for very long. His interference with the operation of the United States Circuit Court in North Carolina, over which Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase presided, incurred the Attorney-General's displeasure and impelled the President to remove Sickles and to appoint

[1] The Acts of March 2 and 23, 1867. See *Statutes at Large . . . of the United States*, XIV, 428-429, and XV, 2. Hereafter cited as *Statutes at Large*. "The Great Reconstructor" is the title given General Canby by the *New York Tribune*. See also the *Daily Richmond Whig*, August 3, 1869.

Brigadier General and Brevet Major General E. R. S. Canby in his stead.[2]

In consequence of that action, General Canby was to be intimately involved in the important work of reconstruction in North and South Carolina for the ensuing year. The problems and conditions that he faced in helping to effect the return of the Carolinas to the fold of the Union were the same as or similar to those which confronted the other major generals who commanded districts in the South. His duties under the congressional plan of Reconstruction were primarily "ministerial" in character, but the manner in which he approached and performed them drastically affected the states he was appointed to govern. These states were in no position to prevent the institution of the radical-made requirements for their readmission and, within reason, they were subject to Canby's every command. Although the authorities of North and South Carolina complained vigorously about many of his actions, the Carolinas fared better than did most of the states administered by the other district commanders.

General Canby's arrival in Charleston, South Carolina, was greeted by a thirteen-gun salute and 3.12 inches of rain.[3] That was followed by "close and stifling" weather and the welcoming calls of the mayor and aldermen and various other gentlemen.[4] Meanwhile, Louisa Canby, the general's wife, was receiving "quite a number of the first ladies of the city." They created a "very favorable impression." The municipal authorities went away seemingly "satisfied" with the change in commanders, while the women were reported as

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[2] Appleton's *American Annual Cyclopedia, 1867* (Washington, 1868), 547-548. (Hereafter cited as Appleton's *Annual Cyclopedia.*) Also see J. G. de R. Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina* (New York, 1914), 231-232. Hereafter cited as Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina.* See J. P. Hollis, *Early Period of Reconstruction in South Carolina* (Baltimore, 1905), 70-71. Cited hereafter as Hollis, *Reconstruction in South Carolina.* Also see "Report of the Secretary of War," *House Executive Document No. 1,* Fortieth Congress, Second Session, 23, for General Order No. 80, August 27, 1867, by which the President directed this action.

[3] Canby assumed command on September 5, 1867. See General Order No. 85, Second Military District, "General Orders-Reconstruction," *House Executive Document No. 342,* Fortieth Congress, Second Session, 60. Thirteen guns is a major general's salute. *Charleston Daily News,* September 6, 16, 1867. The rainfall figures are for September 8.

[4] *Charleston Daily News,* September 9, 10, 1867.

being "highly delighted" with the reception Mrs. Canby had accorded them.[5] Otherwise, no one ventured forth onto the "red hot" streets, unless, of course, it was absolutely necessary.[6]

The civic and society leaders of Charleston were not the only ones interested in the new commanding general. Nearly everybody in the two states comprising the Second Military District was curious about him, and the newspapers of North and South Carolina obligingly printed articles relating his history.[7] These were accompanied by comments, that of the *Charleston Mercury* being:

> In his opinions he is said to be a moderate Republican, who takes no prominent part in politics and cares but little to have anything to do with political affairs.[8]

It hoped that this was so.

Nevertheless, the *Charleston Courier* revealed that while he was not a politician or a partisan he firmly believed in the efficacy of the Reconstruction acts and thought that it was the duty of all Southerners to accept the terms which had been offered them. The letter which the *Courier* quoted, supposedly from a personal friend of Canby, concluded on this note: "He will be found just to all, but corruption or

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[5] *Charleston Daily News,* September 28, 1867. Also see the *Raleigh Register,* September 24, 1867.

[6] *Charleston Daily News,* September 10, 1867.

[7] In 1867 Canby was fifty years old. After graduating from West Point in 1839, he served in the Florida War until 1842, on the Great Lakes frontier, 1842-1846, in the Mexican War (where he won two brevets for gallant and meritorious conduct), in California during the gold rush, on the Minnesota frontier, 1855-1857, in the "Mormon War," and against the Navajo Indians in 1860-1861. In command of the Department of New Mexico, Canby, by then a colonel, repulsed the Confederate invasion of that territory in 1862. Ordered to Washington, he became military assistant to the Secretary of War, an office which he held until May, 1864, except for four months in 1863 when he was in command of the troops that quelled the draft riots in New York City. Appointed a major general of volunteers, Canby was assigned to command the Military Division of West Mississippi, a capacity in which he received the surrender of the last two Confederate armies in the field. Thereafter his attention was directed to the problems of reconstruction, first in Louisiana (under the presidential plan for restoring the southern states to the Union) and subsequently, after this Carolina interlude, in Texas and Virginia (under the congressional plan). Following his service in the South, Canby was assigned to command the Department of Columbia, where on April 11, 1873, he was assassinated by the Modoc Indians during a peace conference. For a study of his life see Max L. Heyman, Jr., "Prudent Soldier: A Biography of Major General E. R. S. Canby, 1817-1873" (doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1952).

[8] *Charleston Mercury,* August 30, 1867.

disaffection in any guise will find him utterly inapproachable."[9]

With that, the "Old Soldier," who had served with Canby at Fort Bridger in the Utah Territory and had submitted the sketch of the general which the *Daily Sentinel* published, agreed.

> Let all politicians, red, white, or green, stay away from him, and he will do justice to all. Certainly I know this; he is firm, he knows no party, and he obeys the instructions and orders of his superiors.[10]

This veteran, for one, was convinced that North and South Carolina were fortunate to have Canby for a military governor.

The *Charleston Daily News* was skeptical. "[I]t may be that Canby . . . will prove less objectionable to the people of the Carolinas than General Sickles. We say all this may be. There can be no certainty on this point."[11] Simultaneously, the *Charleston Courier* was expressing the hope of the Carolinas when it declared:

> He has no other option than to enforce the Reconstruction Acts. It is believed, however, that he will administer these in a spirit of justice and liberality, without prejudice or passion, and with a desire only for the general welfare and for a harmonious restoration.[12]

There can be no doubt, after a careful examination of the record, that the acts were administered with strict justice, without the intense prejudice or passion which is usually associated with the period, and for what Canby conceived to be the general welfare. Whether one thinks that the justice meted out was impartially determined, or that Canby was influenced more by the "radicals" than by the "conservatives," depends mainly upon which side of the fence the reader happens to be.

The *New York Tribune* once remarked that "no one has ever called Canby a Radical"; [13] but, after experiencing the

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[9] *Charleston Courier*, September 3, 1867; *Chronicle* (Washington, D. C.), August 30, 1867.
[10] *Daily Sentinel* (Raleigh), September 11, 1867.
[11] *Charleston Daily News*, August 30, 1867.
[12] *Charleston Courier*, August 30, 1867.
[13] Quoted in the *Charleston Mercury*, August 30, 1867.

general's actions for a while, Governor Jonathan Worth of North Carolina did. That "quiet little old gentleman" of sixty-five, who was as "sharp as a briar," [14] was led to declare that "in giving us Canby for Sickles the Prest. swapped a devil for a witch." [15] He regarded Canby as an "honest man," but "an unostentatious and candid Radical" who cooperated "cordially" with the less vindictive portion of Congress.[16]

On another occasion, he labeled Canby "an extreme Radical," who was incapable of "magnanimous and statesmanlike" views.[17] He considered him "a fool," "more tyrannical" and possessed of "less intelligence and consideration" for the people of the "Tar Heel" State than his predecessor.[18] Indeed, after an interview with the general, Worth advised the governor of Georgia that "Our military comt. is, *com amore*, a Radical." Canby assured him, Worth declared, that "the laws he is appointed to execute, are not only constitutional, but wise." The general, moreover, believed that these measures invested him "with unlimited despotic power" over the laws and constitutions of North and South Carolina. Furthermore, Worth asserted, Canby maintained these views "as a narrow minded conscientious Radical."[19] No other person was so outspoken in his criticism of General Canby as was Jonathan Worth.

Worth's judgment of Canby was, however, very probably influenced by the fact that, from his standpoint, the new district commander was less cooperative than General Sickles had been. Whereas Sickles had favorably entertained his suggestions, Canby, the governor felt, all too frequently ignored him, and even when his views were solicited by the

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[14] *Charleston Daily News*, October 18, 1867, quoting the *Chronicle* (Columbia).

[15] Jonathan Worth to B. G. Worth, December 26, 1867, J. G. deR. Hamilton (ed.), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth* (Raleigh, 1909), II, 1095. Hereafter cited as Hamilton, *Worth Correspondence*.

[16] Jonathan Worth to B. G. Worth, October 25, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth Correspondence*, II, 1061.

[17] Jonathan Worth to John W. Wheeler, October 31, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth Correspondence*, II, 1071.

[18] Jonathan Worth to R. P. Dick, December 13, 1867, and Jonathan Worth to W. A. Graham, January 10, 1868, Hamilton, *Worth Correspondence*, II, 1085 and 1131.

[19] Jonathan Worth to Governor Charles J. Jenkins, January 3, 1868, Hamilton, *Worth Correspondence*, II, 1105-1106.

general they seldom seemed to carry much weight.[20] Besides, from Worth's staunch conservative point of view, Canby's actions appeared radical. It must be remembered that no matter what Canby did in pursuance of orders, the subjected whites under his control (except the radical elements, of course) deemed his actions illegal and unnecessary.

Canby's part in the process known as Congressional Reconstruction was governed by the act of March 2, 1867, and the acts of March 23, and July 19, 1867, supplementary thereto.

By the first of these measures, he was enjoined

> . . . to protect all persons in their rights of person and property, to suppress insurrection, disorder, and violence, and to punish, or cause to be punished, all disturbers of the public peace and criminals. . . .

He was authorized to allow the local courts "to take jurisdiction of and to try offenders," but when, in his judgment, it became necessary, he was empowered "to organize military commissions or tribunals for that purpose. . . . " Thereupon, "all interference under color of State authority with the exercise of military authority" was to be "null and void." [21]

In endeavoring to provide the greatest possible protection for the people of the Carolinas, Canby stationed his force of nearly 3,000 officers and men at points difficult of access, where disturbances were most likely to occur, and from which he might easily meet any unusual situation. In South Carolina, for example, he concentrated eight companies in the seaboard region, six in the central section, two in the comparatively small Savannah River District, and two in the western or mountain country of the state. This arrangement was made on the basis of the ratio of whites to colored people

[20] Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 240; see Worth to Canby, January 23, 1868, Jonathan Worth Letter Books (North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh). Worth compares the actions of the two district commanders in his letter to John H. Wheeler, October 31, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth Correspondence*, II, 1069-1072.

[21] *Statutes at Large*, XIV, 428.

in each of those areas, their attitude toward one another, and the existing means of communication.[22]

James L. Orr, governor of the "Palmetto" State, expostulated against this disposition of the troops. Since the state was not permitted to organize its militia, the army was the sole reliance in case of trouble and Orr felt that the presence of the troops was indispensable to the "certain preservation of peace and order." He contended that a unit ought to be posted at every one of the county seats.[23]

If that proposal were carried out, Canby explained to the governor, it would reduce the military to a simple constabulary force and render it "utterly useless" in event of any serious difficulty between the two races.[24] "I believe that every district in this State wishes to have troops," Canby told General Grant. The people wanted a small guard in each village because it gave them a greater feeling of security and because it dispersed the army payroll among a larger segment of the population. More than that, it relieved the inhabitants of their ordinary police duties.[25] Yet, when a community had troops stationed in it, its residents complained constantly about the soldiers' conduct.[26]

This desire to have the troops everywhere was, of course, merely a manifestation of the uneasiness in some, if not most, sections of the state. Canby was "sorry to see" it, for the excitement tended "naturally and inevitably" to give a "coloring or suspicion of wrong" to perfectly legal and harmless acts on the part of the Negro. The general was satisfied

[22] Canby to the Chief of Staff, Headquarters of the Army, December 23, 1867, Second Military District, Letters Sent, No. 1891, 1867. Canby had thiry-seven companies at his disposal. See Return, February, 1868, Second Military District, Letter Sent, No. 1012, 1868. All the material on the district, unless otherwise indicated, may be found in the War Records Division, National Archives.

[23] Governor James L. Orr to Canby, November 29 and December 18, 1867, Governor Orr's Letter Books, III, 237-239, 329. Governor Orr's Letter Books are located at the Historical Commission of South Carolina, Columbia. Hereafter referred to as Orr Letter Books.

[24] Canby to Orr, December 24, 1867, Letters of Edward R. S. Canby, Historical Commission of South Carolina. Hereafter cited as Canby Letters.

[25] Canby to Grant, December 18, 1867 and Canby to Chief of Staff, December 23, 1867, Second Military District, Letters Sent, Nos. 1826 and 1891, 1867.

[26] See Lt. Louis V. Caziarc, Assistant Adjutant General, to Messrs. T. B. Whaley, I. G. W. Strowmann, and others, Orangeburg, S. C., September 17, 1867, Second Military District, Letters Sent, No. 696, 1867.

that the freedmen did not want to make trouble. As a matter of fact, he was persuaded that they were "quite as apprehensive as the whites. . . . " But this mutual fear and distrust could lead to disorders.[27] The cry of "negro insurrection" had been used so much for political effect that any incident was greatly magnified out of all proportion to its actual significance.[28]

To forestall any outbreaks of this nature, newspaper reports and complaints registered by individuals were promptly followed up. On October 31, for instance, Governor Orr informed Canby that he had "reliable" information that some 300 freedmen of the Abbeville District in the western part of the state were meeting regularly every other week to drill and "as they say preparing to fight for land." The governor requested the general to take steps to prohibit the Negroes from assembling and to punish the ringleaders as their crimes deserved.[29]

"Complaints of this kind are not at all new," Canby replied. They were frequently made and, upon investigation, it was usually found that the meetings were not unlawful in character or for any illegal purpose. In this case, the special agent whom he had dispatched to the scene reported that the Negroes had been in the habit of assembling there and elsewhere for some time past. Nevertheless, those guilty of violating any police regulations had been arrested and brought to trial before a military commission.

Some of the freedmen were found to be carrying arms, allegedly to protect themselves against attack by the whites. The fact that threats had been made against them was beyond doubt. Whether serious or not, the Negroes believed that they were made in earnest and had prepared to resist any attempt to break up their meetings. Aside from that, Canby assured the governor, there was no evidence that anything was brewing. If a collision did occur, Canby insisted, it would be "without intention on the part of the

[27] Canby to Chief of Staff, November 30, 1867, Second Military District, Letters Sent, No. 1560, 1867.
[28] Canby to Chief of Staff, December 12, 1867, Second Military District, Letters Sent, No. 1867, 1867.
[29] Orr to Canby, October 31, 1867, Orr Letter Books, III, 188.

negroes and from provocation on the part of ignorant or unprincipled whites."

He pointed out that the possession of firearms by the Negroes was still a novelty, and that the fears excited were not unnatural. But it seemed unreasonable to him to assume that they were to be used for hostile purposes and that "every assemblage of negroes is to drill preparatory to fighting for land." Dressing in old army clothes was not peculiar to South Carolina or to the freedmen and, the general chided Governor Orr:

> I have known the same complaint of waste of time in attending political meetings to be made of white men, when the question involved did not touch their interests so nearly as those now involved do touch the present and future interests of the negroes.

Of course, Canby mollified him in conclusion, he intended to watch the situation closely, and was ready to control and check immediately any "wrong tendency" that might arise.[30]

On another occasion, Governor Orr sent Canby an article from the *Winnsboro News,* telling of an "incendiary" speech delivered by a colored magistrate in Fairfield County. Again, Orr requested Canby to "depute a decent officer" to inquire into the matter and to remove and punish this military appointee if the report proved correct.[31]

The investigation disclosed that the *News'* version of the speech was, as Canby had suspected,[32] "a great perversion" of what had been said.[33] The governor thereupon became very indignant, maintaining that Canby had prejudged the affair, and he, therefore, childishly refused to forward the evidence which he had in his possession.[34]

That brings up an important point. Much of the evidence available in this period conflicts. The facts were subject to more than one interpretation and there was doubtless some falsification of them. There is no reason to believe, however,

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[30] Canby to Orr, November 25, 1867, Second Military District, Letters Sent, No. 1499, 1867.

[31] Orr to Canby, November 27, 1867, Orr Letter Books, III, 230-232.

[32] Orr to Canby, December 18, 1867, Orr Letter Books, III, 331.

[33] Second Military District, Letters Received, J59, 1867, is the report. See also Canby to Orr, December 24, 1867, Canby Letters.

[34] Orr to Canby, December 18, 1867, Orr Letter Books, III, 331-332.

that either the governor or General Canby ever engaged in this misdeed intentionally. They merely took the word of their informants or subordinates to whom they entrusted the investigation of these reports. They could not be everywhere themselves. Canby could not avoid making some mistakes, but, where the evidence does not agree, his information has been given precedence, for that was the basis upon which he acted.

In maintaining order throughout the district, Canby preferred to leave the enforcement of the laws to the local authorities. These officers had been placed, by General Sickles, under the supervisory control of the provost marshal general of the command[35] and "in direct relation and correspondence" with the several post commanders. General Canby continued this policy, but, while defining more clearly and fully that relationship, he counseled non-interference with their activities. Only where those officials refused or failed to act, or "when it became mainfest that from past political action or by reason of prejudice against color or caste, impartial justice would not be administered," did he authorize intervention in the usual mode of procedure.[36]

Canby was especially disturbed by the prejudice shown by various civil functionaries. He discovered that some of the local magistrates were unwilling to investigate "well founded" complaints made by freedmen against white men. They were governed by "traditions of the past . . . instead of the law as it exists." The most effective solution for this, in his opinion, was "the exercise by the community of such moral coercion as will constrain the local authorities to deal as impartially and justly with the negro as with the whites" [37] —but that was wishful thinking.

Over 8,000 arrests were made in the Second Military District between March 2, 1867, and July 24, 1868, and about

[35] Canby to Assistant Adjutant General, Headquarters, October 24, 1867, in "Report of the Secretary of War," *House Executive Document No.* 1, Fortieth Congress, Second Session, 300. Hereafter cited as *Canby Report, 1867.*

[36] Canby to Chief of Staff, Headquarters, August 31, 1868, in "Report of the Secretary of War," *House Executive Document No.* I, Fortieth Congress, Third Session, 338. Hereafter cited as *Canby Report, 1868.*

[37] Canby to Orr, November 25 and 30, 1867, Second Military District, Letters Sent, Nos. 1499 and 1560, 1867.

one-eighth of them were made by the army.[38] These arrests inevitably became the object of protest by the newspapers and the governors of both states, often after the civil authorities had requested the army to take action in the matter. Governor Worth was particularly vexatious in this regard. He considered the power of military arrest "iniquitious" and "most oppressively exercised" in the "Old North" State. He even remonstrated with the President so vehemently about these acts of *"military despotism"* that he thought it would result in his removal, or Canby's.[39]

Neither was removed, but Canby found it necessary to defend himself against Worth's charges. In refuting the accusations that had been made, Canby asserted that he had more than once in years past secured the arrest of criminals and held them in his guard house until the proper authorities were prepared to take charge of them. He saw no grounds for the governor's objection on that score. In other respects, he conceded:

> It is always to be regretted that innocent persons should be arrested or subjected to any restraints or inconvenience from false accusation or unfounded suspicion, but this is an incident of civil as well as military arrests.

"Charges of military despotism are easily made," Canby observed, but military arrests were not made without previous investigation or on "strong evidence of guilt."

> As a general rule [Canby concluded] these complaints are disin[g]enuous in the use that is made of them by being published for political effect with the knowledge that the officer accused is restrained by rules of military propriety from making any public defense or counter statement.[40]

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[38] *Canby Report, 1868*, 351-353. Arrests made by the military at the request of the civil authorities were not counted as military arrests and are therefore not included in this number. Persons arrested as witnesses, however, are included in this number.

[39] See the *Daily Sentinel*, October 25, 1867; the *Charleston Mercury*, March 4, and November 30, 1867, and January 23, 1868; Worth Letter Book, 1865-1867, I, 578-579, 688-692, and Worth Letter Book, 1867-1868, II, 50-51. Also see Hamilton, *Worth Correspondence*, II, 1069-1070, 1085, 1090-1091, 1095, 1098-1099, and 1101-1103.

[40] Canby to Chief of Staff, November 14, 1867, Andrew Johnson Papers, CXXIV, f. 17833-17854, Library of Congress.

As far as trials by military courts were concerned, only 550 cases were tried before those tribunals in the sixteen months of their existence in the Second Military District. Judge advocates do not and did not take cases into court unless they are or were almost positive of obtaining a conviction. They won 445, or eighty per cent, of the cases tried. And that was a poor showing, undoubtedly due to the fact that they were dealing with civilians for the most part and were obliged to argue some cases which should never have been brought to trial. Besides that, 129 of the sentences passed by these courts were either partially or wholly remitted by the commanding general.[41]

Congress had authorized the use of military courts in the South, while leaving their civil counterparts open. It was not General Canby's fault that this defied the opinion of the Supreme Court in the case of *Ex parte Milligan*. The only question that can seriously be raised against him is: Did he resort to military courts too much, or was it expedient for him to have used them as often as he did?

Many persons asked Canby for military trials, but it is estimated that about ninety-five times out of a hundred he informed them that adequate remedy could be secured in the civil courts. So, too, many individuals emerging the losers in cases tried by the civil tribunals appealed to him for retrials under military auspices, or at least military intercession in the decisions of the civil courts. The records show that these pleas were refused nearly all the time.[42]

According to General Canby's report on the subject, interference with the local courts was permitted only "in the exceptional cases growing out of the rebellion." How many times he annulled, stayed, or dismissed cases is not known, but he took action in three general types of cases.

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[41] *Canby Report, 1868*, 353. The period actually covered is January 1, 1867, to June 30, 1868.

	Whites	Colored
Tried	368	182
Guilty	303	142
Not Guilty	65	40
Remissions:		
Partial	63	20
Whole	17	29
Conviction	82 per cent	78 per cent

[42] Second Military District, Letters Sent, 1867-1868, *passim*.

The first class were prosecutions for acts committed during the war under military orders. Cases of this sort were quite numerous in North Carolina, where the population had been divided in its allegiance, and when it was established, "by satisfactory evidence," that the animosity engendered by civil strife was the reason for the action, Canby stopped the proceedings.

In the second class of cases, where the local courts attempted to validate or give effect to unexecuted judgments of the late Confederate judiciary, Canby ordered dismissals; while in the third class, he stayed those cases involving a denial by the local tribunals of the right of appeal or removal to the Federal courts as guaranteed by the laws of the United States.[43]

Canby continued to enforce all the orders and regulations that had been promulgated by his predecessor, but, from time to time, he revoked or modified some of them. Of the many changes that were made, the one which perhaps caused the most indignation was the order directing the admission of freedmen to jury duty.[44]

In North Carolina, the qualification for a juror was determined by the possession of a freehold estate; in South Carolina, it was, for all practical purposes, determined by a person's color. Canby therefore decided to change the existing systems in order to "secure representation in the jury box to classes heretofore excluded, and constituting in the two States . . . a majority of the population." It was

> not only a question of abstract justice; but one that the interests of the community required should be so settled as not only to secure the legal rights of all classes, but also to give that sense of security which is the best guarantee of order and subordination to law, and the remedies it affords for the redress of all wrongs.

Canby encountered many practical difficulties in securing this legal right "to all the inhabitants," without at the same time introducing the "dangerous elements of vice and ig-

[43] *Canby Report, 1868,* 339-340.

[44] General Order, No. 89, September 13, 1867, "General Orders—Reconstruction," 61. General Sickles had already made provisions for Negro juries, General Order, No. 32, May 30, 1867, "General Orders—Reconstruction," 46. Also see Hollis, *Reconstruction in South Carolina,* 72; and Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina,* 234.

norance." He did not for that very reason, extend the jury lists as far as General Grant would have liked.[45] As he finally established it, all citizens who were assessed for taxes and who were qualified to vote were embraced in the jury lists, but the courts were permitted to purge all individuals who were mentally or morally unfit.[46] Color alone, however, was not deemed sufficient reason for disqualification.[47]

For thus modifying the law, Canby was vilified by the press (especially in South Carolina), Governors Orr and Worth objected (it was the former who wrote the President on this occasion), a superior court justice in North Carolina resigned in protest, and Canby was forced to suspend and then remove from office a judge in South Carolina who refused to execute the order.[48]

This power to suspend or remove from office any appointed or elected official, state, municipal, or otherwise, and the authority to appoint some other person or detail a "competent officer or soldier of the army" to fill the vacancies created by such suspensions or removals or by death or resignation, was conferred upon Canby by the Reconstruction Act of July 19, 1867.[49]

Canby made a number of removals, but the exact figure escapes disclosure. In North Carolina, according to J. G. deR. Hamilton, it was only a small number—three sheriffs and seventeen magistrates.[50] In South Carolina, besides the judge who has been referred to above, the mayor of Charleston, his military successor, thirteen members of the board of alder-

[45] Canby to Chief of Staff, September 14, 1867, Second Military District, Letters Sent, No. 676, 1867.

[46] *Canby Report, 1868,* 337-338.

[47] Canby to Adjutant General, October 15, 1867, Second Military District, Letters Sent, No. 953, 1867. Also see Worth to P. T. Massey, October 17, 1867, Hamilton, *Worth Correspondence,* II, 1054.

[48] *Charleston Courier,* October 3, 14, 15, 16, 1867, 2; *Charleston Mercury,* October 3, 4, 14, 15, 1867. The October 15 issue carries Governor Orr's letter to the President; Worth to Canby, September 10, 11, 30, and October 18, 1867, Worth Letter Book, I, 576-578, 578-579, 590, and 627-628; *Canby Report, 1867,* 304-307; and *Canby Report, 1868,* 338. Also see Canby to Chief of Staff, October 19, 1867, Second Military District, Letters Sent, No. 1012, 1867.

[49] *Statutes at Large,* XV, 14.

[50] Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina,* 238. In *Canby Report, 1867,* 312, there is a table showing the appointments and removals made to September 30, 1867, but it does not give any clue as to how many were removed or appointed by Canby. In twenty-five days, it could not have been very many.

men, the mayor of Columbia, and eight of that city's aldermen were removed at the general's behest; and there were others.[51]

Nearly every one of these removals seemed arbitrary and uncalled for to the people, inasmuch as the reasons for them were not usually revealed. But Canby did not make removals unless the officers in question were "disloyal" or obstructed the "due and proper administration" of the Reconstruction Acts.[52] If the word of the press is to be accepted he always acted without cause, due to the pressure brought to bear by the "Republican colored committee," "with no other motive than to punish and humiliate a proud, brave, manly, wrong hating people," or just to satisfy a whim.[53] The *Columbia Phoenix* made the typical comment when it remarked:

> Gen. Canby . . . has made some changes in our municipal government, not because of any grounds of complaint against the duly elected representatives of the people of Columbia, but simply because, as we presume, it seems good to him thus to act in the plentitude of his powers. The sword of the oppressor thus opens the way for the new regime to be tried in South Carolina.[54]

Canby's appointments were also received with disfavor, particularly when he appointed Negroes or "carpetbaggers" to office.[55] As a general rule, however, Canby allowed the governors of North and South Carolina to nominate individuals for office. The responsibility for making the appointments rested with him alone, and he did not always accept their recommendations.[56]

Canby sincerely desired to fill the public offices with "men of unblemished character," and he, therefore, had the back-

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[51] John S. Reynolds, *Reconstruction in South Carolina* (Columbia, 1905), 70-71. Hereafter cited as Reynolds, *Reconstruction in South Carolina.* Canby to Chief of Staff, February 21, 1868, Second Military District, Letters Sent, No. 795, 1868. *Charleston Courier,* May 27 and July 7, 1868. See also Special Order No. 191, section I, October 28, 1867, "General Orders-Reconstruction," 94.

[52] Canby to W. W. Holden, September 24, 1867, Second Military District, Letters Sent, No. 763, 1867.

[53] *Charleston Courier,* May 27, 1868, and *Charleston Daily News,* May 29, 1868.

[54] Quoted in *Charleston Courier,* June 22, 1868.

[55] Canby appointed seven Negroes to serve as aldermen in Charleston. *Charleston Courier,* May 29, 1868; *Charleston Daily News,* May 29, 1868. Also see Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina,* 328.

[56] Canby to Worth, January 19, 1868, Second Military District, Letters Sent, No. 263, 1868.

ground of every recommended person investigated.[57] Of course, just what qualities one needed in order to have an "unblemished character" was subject to a difference of opinion. Governor Worth, for example, professed his inability to find a man of "respectable pretensions to fitness" whom he could nominate to succeed the judge who had resigned over Canby's jury order.[58] The general, on the other hand, questioned Worth's "standard of qualification." If devotion to "our holy and lost cause" was the basis on which Worth assessed the worthiness of a man for office, then Canby did not want his nominations.[59]

In several instances, Canby continued in office those officials whose terms had expired, which was, in a way, appointing them to their posts.[60] He did this because the present governments were provisional only until the states were admitted to representation in Congress.[61] When that happened, his appointments would lapse, and he did not wish to embarrass the new administrations by having them find, upon their inauguration, that they could do nothing about the officials who were in office as a result of being elected for normal terms by his orders.[62]

In dealing with the subjects that have been discussed thus far, Canby was abetted by a Bureau of Civil Affairs, which acted as a clearing house for the business of the district. Generally, anything relating to the operation of the Reconstruction acts and to the legal relations of the political communities, civil officers, and individuals in the Carolinas came within its purview. In handling these matters, the bureau framed orders and regulations, which, upon Canby's approval, were promulgated in the district; and it also prepared

[57] Canby to Worth, January 4, 1868, Second Military District, Letters Sent, No. 42, 1868.

[58] Worth to Canby, January 11, 1868, Worth Letter Book, II, 55.

[59] Canby to Worth, January 19, 1868, Second Military District, Letters Sent, No. 263, 1868.

[60] For instance, he ordered the town council of Spartanburg, South Carolina, to continue in office. See *Charleston Mercury*, October 2, 1867.

[61] *Statutes at Large*, XIV, 429, Act of March 2, 1867.

[62] Canby to Hon. A. G. Mackey, President of Constitutional Convention, Charleston, May 26, 1868, Second Military District, Letters Sent, No. 1922, 1868. Also see Caziarc to J. W. Schenck, Jr., Chairman, Republican County Committee, Wilmington, N. C., December 6, 1867. Second Military District, Letters Sent, No. 1636, 1867; and *Canby Report, 1868*, 341.

briefs and opinions for his scrutiny, thereby enabling him to act more promptly and presumably more intelligently on questions presented to him for decision.[63]

The registration of voters, as prescribed by the act of March 23, 1867, was managed through the bureau and had been in progress for over a month when Canby arrived in Charleston. It was concluded twenty-five days after he assumed command of the district.[64] This registration was in the hands of officials appointed by General Sickles; consequently, other than a few specific decisions on who could register and the appointment of a couple of registrars to fill vacancies that occurred, Canby's major contribution to this phase of the reconstruction process was the issuance of a rather "liberal" index upon which the revision of the registration lists was based.[65]

When registration was completed, Canby ordered an election, at which the qualified voters in each state were to cast ballots for or against a constitutional convention.[66] They were, at the same time, to select delegates to constitute the convention in case a majority of the voters were in favor of it (and provided a majority of those registered exercised their franchise).[67]

The election was held on November 19 and 20 and, after a preliminary scare that the call for a convention had failed in South Carolina, the voters of both states were found to have expressed their preference in favor of holding conventions.[68] Accordingly, in conformity with the fourth section of the March 23 Reconstruction Act, Canby directed that

[63] *Canby Report, 1867,* 310-311. A. J. Willard, who later became chief justice of the State Supreme Court of South Carolina, who was in charge of this bureau. See Francis B. Simkins and Robert H. Woody, *South Carolina during Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill, 1932), 143.

[64] *Canby Report, 1867,* 312. See General Order No. 65, August 1, 1867, "General Orders-Reconstruction," 50-53.

[65] William A. Russ, Jr., "Disfranchisement in North Carolina, 1867-1868," *North Carolina Historical Review,* XI (October, 1934), 278. See Circular of October 31, 1867, "General Orders-Reconstruction," 69-72. Also see *Daily Sentinel,* November 8, 1867.

[66] General Orders Nos. 99 and 101, October 16 and 18, 1867, "General Orders-Reconstruction," 63-64, 65-66. The former is for South Carolina.

[67] *Statutes at Large,* XV, 3, Act of March 23, 1867.

[68] Canby to Grant, November 29, 1867, Second Military District, Letters Sent, No. 1543, 1867. For the vote, see Canby to the Adjutant General, February 19, 1868, "Registered Voters in Rebel States," *Senate Executive Document No. 53,* Fortieth Congress, Second Session, 3-7.

the delegates chosen at the late election be convened on January 14, 1868, for the purpose of framing constitutions and civil governments for their respective states.[69]

General Canby did not have very much to do with these conventions. In South Carolina, he refused to act upon several resolutions presented to him by that body, although he did issue an order, as requested, temporarily staying, for a period of three months, all executions and sales of property for debt.[70] He sanctioned a similar law, though one of longer duration, for North Carolina.[71] In both states, on the adoption of ordinances for the assessment of taxes to cover the cost of the conventions, Canby directed the treasurers of the respective states to advance money to defray the current expenses of those assemblies.[72] He did this because he believed that the members of the conventions and their creditors should not be compelled to wait for the collection of the taxes when sufficient funds were already in the state treasuries.[73] Other than staying until the end of the convention session the court proceedings in an assault and battery case against the assistant doorkeeper of the North Carolina assemblage,[74] Canby does not seem to have taken any further part in the affairs of either body.

When the conventions adjourned *sine die,* their handiwork and candidates for office in each state had to be submitted to

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[69] General Orders, Nos. 160 and 165, December 28 and 31, 1867, "General-Orders Reconstruction," 81-92, 84-85. The latter is for North Carolina.

[70] General Order No. 14, January 31, 1868, "General Orders-Reconstruction," 97-98. Also see A. G. Mackey to Canby, January 25, 1868, Second Military District, Register of Letters Received, II (LXVIII), 591; Reynolds, *Reconstruction in South Carolina,* 80; and Appleton's *Annual Cyclopedia, 1868,* 693.

[71] General Order No. 57, April 2, 1868, Second Military District, General Orders, 1868. Also see Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina,* 262-263; and Appleton's *Annual Cyclopedia, 1868,* 555.

[72] Hollis, *Reconstruction in South Carolina,* 88. General Order No. 17, February 6, 1868, "General Orders-Reconstruction," 98-99, for South Carolina. Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina,* 260-261. General Order No. 20, February 12, 1868, Second Military District, General Orders, 1868, for North Carolina.

[73] Kemp P. Battle, *Memoirs of an Old-Time Tar Heel* (Chapel Hill, 1945), 213-214. Edited by William J. Battle. Kemp P. Battle was treasurer of North Carolina.

[74] Canby to C. J. Cowles, President of Constitutional Convention, Raleigh, March 14, 1868, Second Military District, Letters Sent, No. 1052, 1868. On January 17, 1868, he attended a session of the South Carolina Convention to hear Governor Orr address that body. See *Charleston Courier,* January 18, 1868. On February 12, 1868, he sat in on the North Carolina Convention. See *North Carolina Standard,* February 13, 1868.

the voters. So, while the nation buzzed about the impeachment move against President Johnson, Canby proceeded to authorize a second election for the Carolinas.[75]

On learning that there might be attempts by "combinations" to prevent, delay, or hinder persons from voting by force, intimidation, or threats of violence, the general promulgated another order warning that any interference with the election would be punished as provided by law.[76] One thing that bothered him was how to prevent persons from discharging their employees or tenants for not voting as they were told. He sought to forestall this by letting it be known "that the duty of the military authority to secure a fair and free election will be fully performed"; that if laborers and tenants were displaced and became public charges, the county poor wardens would be required to take care of them and an additional tax would be levied for that purpose. Moreover, advances by the Freedmen's Bureau would be withheld from planters who engaged in this practice.[77] How Canby proposed to ascertain positively who dismissed his employees because of the way they voted is difficult to perceive.

Hamilton has asserted that General Canby had the names of the candidates for office in each state placed on the same ballot with the question of ratification of the constitution, thus, by a "piece of entirely unjustifiable partisan politics," preventing all who had been disfranchised under the Reconstruction Acts from exercising their franchise as provided by the newly framed charters.[78] This statement is somewhat misleading. By the fourth section of the Second Reconstruction Act, the proposed constitutions had to be ratified by "the persons registered under the provisions of this [the March 23] act. . . ." [79] Canby merely conformed to the letter of the

[75] General Orders Nos. 40 and 45, March 13 and 23, 1868, "Elections in Southern States," *House Executive Document No. 291*, Fortieth Congress, First Session, 9-11, 4-8. The former was for South Carolina.

[76] General Order No. 61, April 6, 1868, Second Military District, General Orders, 1868.

[77] General Order No. 80, May 2, 1868, Second Military District, General Orders, 1868; see also Caziarc to Colonel W. B. Royal, April 10, 1868, Second Military District, Letters Sent, No. 1337, 1868.

[78] Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 285-286.

[79] *Statutes at Large*, XV, 3.

law, which he interpreted to mean that the constitutions just drafted remained inoperative until they were accepted by Congress.[80]

It is true that if Canby had permitted the vote on the question of ratification to be taken first, waited for Congress to approve the new documents, and then allowed a second election for state and country officers, most of those who had been disfranchised by Congress would have had a chance to vote on the candidates for office. But this would have been an involved, costly, and time-consuming process to say the least.

Canby did, however, have the registration lists revised before the poll on ratification was taken and whereas, in North Carolina, the total registration prior to the election on the convention question had been 178,665, it was now raised to 196,873—an increase of over 18,000. In South Carolina, the earlier registration figure was upped 5,139 to 133,195.[81]

Canby did everything possible to get out the vote,[82] even suspending the sessions of the state courts so that all might have an opportunity to exercise their franchise.[83] The election was held April 14 to 16 in South Carolina and April 21 to 23 in North Carolina, and the people of the two states accepted the proposed constitutions.[84]

On June 25, 1868, Congress approved these charters.[85] The states had only to install their new officers, ratify the proposed fourteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution, and the ordeal by Congressional Reconstruction would be over.[86] At this juncture, in order to "facilitate" the organization of the new administrations, Canby removed the provisional officers of both states and appointed the recently elected officials in their stead.[87] This was done by General

[80] See Canby to Orr, May 1, 1868, Second Military District, Letters Sent, No. 1600, 1868.
[81] *Canby Report, 1868,* 340-341.
[82] See the provisions of General Orders Nos. 40 and 45, March 13 or 23, 1868, "Elections in Southern States," 5, 9-10.
[83] General Order No. 65, April 10, 1868, Second Military District, General Orders, 1868.
[84] *Canby Report, 1868,* 340-341.
[85] The constitutions of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana were also accepted in the "Omnibus Bill." See *Statutes at Large,* XV, 73-74.
[86] *Statutes at Large,* XIV, 429, Act of March 2, 1867.
[87] General Order No. 120, June 30, 1868, Second Military District General Orders, 1868.

Grant's direction and was in accord with the desire of the Radicals to be certain that the reconstructed state governments came into existence. There was the possibility that the incumbents would refuse to yield office, and that could be embarrassing, especially if the matter was brought before the courts.

> It is perhaps, useless to speculate upon the considerations, which produced so sudden a change in the mind of the District Commander, as to cause him to modify his first order providing for the inauguration of the *civil* government. There is no accounting for the vagaries of military caprice, especially when the caprice is the result of an utter ignorance of law and of usage in civil affairs.

The *Daily Sentinel* (Raleigh) contended that if General Canby's object was to avoid an "awkward dilemma," then he had "jumped out of the frying pan into the fire," and by his "boggling proceedings" had placed the governor-elect in an "ungraceful" position.[88]

Canby also took this step because many of the candidates-elect in North and South Carolina could not take the test oath of July 2, 1862. Until the ninth section of the Third Reconstruction Act was nullified in each of the states undergoing reconstruction that oath was required of all its appointed or elected officials. It was, unfortunately, a technicality that debarred "many active and zealous friends of the Union and of restoration" from holding office and, Canby maintained, it ought to be dispensed with at once. Indeed, he recommended that course to Congress.

> To continue the disabilities which exclude these persons is to deprive the government still further of the services of intelligent and well-disposed men, whose technical disqualification is their only fault, and whose aid is essentially important to the speedy organization and successful working of the new State governments. The removal of the disabilities, while it will not jeopardize any interest which it is the policy of the government of the United States to conserve and foster, will, in my judgment, not only meet the approval of a large majority of the people of the two States, but will disarm much of the opposition

[88] *Daily Sentinel*, July 3, 1868.

which the new State governments must expect to encounter, and contribute greatly to the permanent success of the work of reconstruction.

Canby thought it would be "inexpedient" to dispense with the requirement which he desired to see relaxed if there were any "personal considerations" prejudicial to the officers-elect, but he did not know of any such objections.[89]

Canby considered it "so important" to organize the new administrations before military control was withdrawn that he went ahead and adopted the recently recognized constitutions of North and South Carolina as the fundamental law of each state.[90] He held that the Congressional approval of the proposed constitutions made them a part of the Reconstruction acts and, to the extent that Congress had directed or authorized action under them in advance of the admission of the states, dispensed with the provisions of any previous laws that conflicted with those charters.

The law of June 25, 1868, approving the constitutions of [North and South Carolina], and authorizing specific action under them [Canby explained], was regarded by me as dispensing with the oath of office prescribed by the law of July 2, 1862, first as to the members of the general assembly, and, after the ratification of the constitutional amendment, to the other State officers duly elected and qualified under those constitutions. This construction, in its first application, did not include the governor and lieutenant governor, but as the organization of the legislature would have been incomplete without the lieutenant governor, and as the legislative action required by the law might have been embarrassed by the action of the old incumbents, the General of the Army directed that they should be removed and the governor and lieutenant governor elect should be appointed in their places.[91]

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[89] Canby to Chief of Staff, May 4, 1868, "Second Military District," *House Executive Document No. 276*, Fortieth Congress, Second Session, 2-4, the quote being on the latter page.

[90] Canby to Chief of Staff, May 7, 1868, "Letter on the South Carolina Convention," *Senate Executive Document No. 55*, Fortieth Congress, Second Session, 2.

[91] Grant approved Canby's first action. See Canby to B. W. Gillis, June 26, 1869, "Test Oath in Virginia," *House Miscellaneous Document No. 8*, Forty-first Congress, Second Session, 16.

On July 24, 1868, having been notified that the legislatures of North and South Carolina had ratified the constitutional amendment known as article XIV, Canby remitted to the civil authorities of the two states all the power conferred upon and exercised by him under the act of March 2, 1867.[92] The "dominion of arms" was over and the people of the Carolinas turned to face civil radical rule. Nevertheless, the press rejoiced; the *Wilmington Journal,* for example, declaring:

> It gives us pleasure . . . to publish the final order of the Commander of this Military District. We may need the presence of the military to check the revolutionary schemes of the Radicals, and if so, we trust we may be favored with an officer and not a partisan—a soldier full of honor and justice, and not the tool of designing and bad men.[93]

Could the editor have been referring to Canby?

Before making a final analysis of the general's work in the Second Military District, mention must be made of one other service that Canby performed while he was in command of the Carolinas. Except for the first month of his tour of duty there, he was supervisory assistant commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau for the limits of his district.[94]

It was only natural that this should have come to pass, for it was unquestionably desirable to have under the same direction the bureau officers and the other military personnel who were entrusted with the protection of persons and property by the acts of Congress.[95] The assistant commissioners for North and South Carolina were therefore ordered to report to Canby for instructions, although they continued to

[92] General Order No. 145, July 24, 1868, Second Military District, General Orders, 1868.

[93] Quoted in the *Charleston Courier,* August 10, 1868. Also see the *Charleston Courier,* July 21, 1868.

[94] Commissioner-General O. O. Howard to Canby, November 29, 1867, Freedmen's Bureau, Letter Sent, 1867. The correct title of this War Department agency was the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.

[95] Commissioner-General O. O. Howard to Canby, October 23, 1867, Freedmen's Bureau, Letter Sent, 1867. Canby to Howard, November 4, 1867, Second Military District, Letters Sent, II, 248-249. Also see Caziarc to General N. A. Miles, October 23, 1867, Second Military District, Letters Sent, II, No. 1044, 1867.

communicate directly with bureau headquarters in Washington.

Canby did not have the time or the inclination to control the administrative details of the Carolina bureaux, hence that was left in the hands of the assistant commissioners.[96] He could not relieve or discharge any bureau agent,[97] but he could and did appoint the several post commanders in the district to be sub-assistant commissioners of the bureau within the limits of their stations.[98] That action created some consternation and jealousy, both on the part of General Nelson A. Miles, the assistant commissioner for North Carolina, and General R. K. Scott, his counterpart to the south. They feared that the commanding general was usurping their rightful duties.[99]

In his role as supervisory assistant commissioner, Canby advised the assistant commissioners and granted or withheld authority in matters pertaining to the freedmen.[100] In particular, however, all during this period, he was especially concerned about the effect on the Carolinas of the failure of the crops and the fall in cotton prices.

It was partially on this account that Governor Orr had protested Canby's consolidation of the troops. He was fearful lest those thrown out of work by this unfortunate turn of events would be forced to plunder and steal in order to keep alive.[101] The possibility of "grave disorders" arising from the fact that the Negroes were unable to find employment or procure food was undoubted, and Canby assured the governor that "serious consideration" had been given to the

[96] See Canby to Howard, November 4, 1867, Second Military District Letters Sent, II, 248-249.

[97] The assistant commissioners did that or it was done by Howard. See Howard to Canby, December 13, 1867, and Howard to General R. K. Scott, December 13, 1867, Freedmen's Bureau, Letter Sent, 1867.

[98] General Order No. 145, December 6, 1867, see Caziarc to Commanding Officer, Wilmington, N. C., December 17, 1867, Second Military District, Letters Sent, No. 1838, 1867. The replaced officers were volunteers and civilians who had been acting as agents. For an account of a bureau agent in Greenville, South Carolina, see John W. De Forest, *A Union Officer in Reconstruction* (New Haven, 1948).

[99] See Scott to Caziarc, December 10, 1867; Howard to Scott, December 13, 1867; and Howard to Miles, December 11, 1867, Freedmen's Bureau, Letter Sent, 1867. Scott became Governor of South Carolina in 1868.

[100] Second Military District, Letters Sent, 1867-1868, *passim*.

[101] Orr to Canby, November 29 and December 18, 1867, Orr Letter Books, III, 238 and 328.

subject and that every precaution was being taken to guard against that danger.[102] He had noticed the increase in pilfering too.[103]

On December 20, 1867, Canby addressed a letter to the chief of staff inviting his attention to the destitution and suffering likely to occur during the coming months unless special ration issues were authorized. He estimated that 30,000 Negroes in the seaboard region of South Carolina alone (and that was the section hardest hit) were without jobs and were consequently without the means of support.

How to avert the difficulties which might be expected to stem from "a population idle from necessity, and impelled by hunger," was a question of the "gravest character."

> If direct issues of food are made [Canby declared], we incur the risk of encouraging idleness, and its attendant vices, and of creating a proletarian population, that will look to the Government for relief, whenever misfortune, want of thrift, or idleness reduces them to want.

If, on the other hand, the government interfered in the employment process, Canby contended that the precedent thus established would be "almost as dangerous."

He believed that no gratuitious issues should be made except to the infirm and helpless, that relief should be given to the poor only and then in amounts necessary to prevent suffering. The issues, moreover, should be in the shape of advances, or loans, which were to be repaid when the next crop was gathered. Furthermore, he felt that these advances ought to be a lien against the crop, "not only to assure the Government against loss, but to impress upon those to whom they are made, habits of industry and thrift, by considerations of interest, as well as morals."

He wanted these advances to be made to the colored people who were cultivating lands for themselves, and only when this was impossible, to planters who, without some help, would be unable to give employment to the freedmen.

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[102] Canby to Chief of Staff, December 23, 1867, Second Military District Letters Sent, No. 1891, 1867. Also Canby to Orr, December 24, 1867, Canby Letters.

[103] Canby to Chief of Staff, December 23, 1867, Second Military District Letters Sent, No. 1891, 1867.

The prospect was gloomy and Canby was preparing for the worst. He was even thinking of establishing labor agencies to disseminate information and thus diminish the necessity of making either issues or advances.[104]

This doleful account, and others like it, impressed the cabinet,[105] and Commissioner-General O. O. Howard, of the Freedmen's Bureau, was instructed to take action. Rations were issued to refugees and freedmen,[106] and, after February 27, 1868, the advances made to aid the depressed agricultural interests in South Carolina were considered liens upon the property of the persons to whom they were granted.[107] For those destitute individuals who were not included in the ministrations of the Freedmen's Bureau, Canby directed the poor wardens of the two states to apply to their relief the proceeds derived from licenses, forfeitures, and fines emanating from the sale of spirituous or intoxicating liquors.[108]

On August 5, 1868, General Canby relinquished command of the troops in the late Second Military District and returned to Washington, there to resume command of the department he had left almost a year before.[109] He had experienced many vicissitudes during the months of constructive and unconstructive reconstruction in the Carolinas. Accused of radicalism by some, he was certainly not the most lenient

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[104] Canby to Chief of Staff, December 20, 1867, Second Military District, Letters Sent, No. 1861, 1867.

[105] John T. Morse, Jr., (ed.), *Diary of Gideon Welles* (Boston, 1911), III, 245-246; and Theodore C. Pease and J. G. Randall, (eds.), *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning* (Springfield, 1925 and 1933), II, 170. The entry of December 24, 1867 in both.

[106] In April, 1868, 7,357 rations were issued in North Carolina. The average number of persons assisted daily between September 1, 1867 and September 1, 1868 was 1,363. In South Carolina it was 1,944. See Report of the Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau for 1868 in "Report of the Secretary of War," *House Executive Document No.* 1, Fortieth Congress, Third Session, 1039 and 1027.

[107] Report of the Commissioners of the Freedman's Bureau for 1868 in "Report of the Secretary of War," *House Executive Document, No.* 2, Fortieth Congress, Third Session, 1041. That was not done in North Carolina, see Miles to Caziarc, May 8, 1868, Freedmen's Bureau, Assistant Commissioner for North Carolina, Letters Sent, No. 778, 1868. Also see Appleton's *Annual Cyclopedia, 1868*, 693.

[108] General Order No. 164, December 31, 1867, "General Orders-Reconstruction," 83. Also see Canby to Worth, March 26, 1868, Second Military District, Letters Sent, No. 1202, 1868.

[109] General Order No. 150, August 5, 1868, Second Military District, General Orders, 1868; and General Order No. 49, August 14, 1868, Department of Washington, General Orders, 1868, 56.

of the military governors. To say, as did John S. Reynolds, that his rule was "as brutish a tyranny as ever marked the course of any government whose agents and organs claimed it to be civilized," is going too far.[110] The evidence belies it.

There is no denying that Canby had complete control over North and South Carolina.[111] As Major Birkhimer has pointed out in his treatise on military government and martial law, "It is difficult to conceive of a more rigid system of martial law" than that which Congress established in the spring and summer of 1867. For "completeness of design and efficacy of measures for carrying them into execution," nothing could surpass the Reconstruction acts.[112] Congressional Reconstruction was, as Governor Worth maintained, a "*military despotism.*"

Having to function as the legislature, executive, and judiciary, all in one, was a great responsibility, but Canby did not shrink from the task. Acting as the agent of Congress, he was guided by the principle that the power conferred upon him by the Reconstruction acts was "limited and determined by the clear intent of those laws as indicated by the duties devolved upon the District Commanders and its exercise must be incident or necessary to the full and proper performance of their duties."[113] When they were not, he "uniformly declined to ratify [the] ordinances or declarations" made by the conventions authorized under the law of March 23, 1867.[114] In addition, he took "particular pains" not to know how the political parties" stood in his district.[115]

It was only natural for the conservative whites of North and South Carolina, like their brethren throughout the South, to complain and to make out the best case possible for themselves in the eyes of the rest of the nation. To that end they

[110] Reynolds, *Reconstruction in South Carolina*, 98.

[111] The general of the army had supervisory control over his actions, and in cases where the death penalty was invoked, the President had to give his consent.

[112] Major William E. Birkhimer, *Military Government and Martial Law* (Kansas City, 1914), 482, 485.

[113] Canby to B. F. Flanders, January 23, 1869, Fifth Military District, Letters Sent, No. 289, 1869.

[114] Canby to William G. Hale, February 11, 1869, Fifth Military District, Letters Sent, No. 640, 1869.

[115] See Canby's interview with the reporter of the *New York Sun*, quoted in the *Daily Richmond Whig*, September 2, 1869.

often perverted and misrepresented the facts, construing almost everything that had to do with Congressional Reconstruction in the worst imaginable light. Canby's jury order was a perfect example of that strategem.

It is understandable that they should have used every means at their command to try to throw off the yoke of Congressional Reconstruction as quickly as possible and to resume their former way of life. Since the methods of opposition available to them were extremely limited, they adopted the course of passive resistance. With hindsight, that procedure can be seen to have been undesirable, and to that extent they must therefore share the blame for what happened.

General Canby had little to do with the original registration in the Second Military District. A few Carolinians may have been disfranchised on account of his interpretation of the law, but probably as many were enfranchised by the liberality with which he revised the registration lists. It will be recalled that an increase of 23,000 resulted after this occurred.[116] Even so, by the vote recorded in each of the elections, first on the convention question and then on the ratification of the constitutions, it is evident that it was not he who kept the whites away from the polls. In South Carolina, in particular, it was they who refused to avail themselves of their opportunity. Instead, they preferred to remain quiescent, thus fostering the growth of a myth about how military "satraps" did the bidding of a Radical Congress and foisted off on them constitutions and officials they did not want, but about whom they could do nothing. It is a half-truth. In a moment of compassion, Jonathan Worth once referred to Canby and the other officers who were called upon to carry out the congressional program as "poor devils."[117] How right he was! It was unfortunate for the army that its officer corps had to be made the instrument of radical designs.

Undoubtedly, Canby sympathized with the congressional policy toward the South, but he was not vindictive. No die-

[116] Those who could have registered previously and had failed to do so account for most of this number. See *Canby Report, 1868,* 340-341.

[117] Worth to John Kerr, January 1, 1868, Hamilton, *Worth Correspondence,* II, 1101.

hard radical of the Stevens-Sumner stripe would have ever countenanced an easing of the reconstruction code such as Canby proposed. If anything, Canby's rule was paternalistic, especially toward the Negro, and many of the measures that he initiated were beneficial to the Carolinas. Charles W. Ramsdell's opinion of Canby's administration in Texas is applicable also to his conduct of Carolina affairs. It was "vigorous and firm, but just." [118]

"Wise statesmanship" has been attributed to Canby; [119] perhaps that is too high an evaluation. Integrity he had; conciliatory in spirit and with an understanding of the difficulties that lay before him, he tried to be a good military governor—whether he was or was not is a matter of personal opinion.

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[118] Charles W. Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas* (New York, 1910), 266.

[119] George W. Cullum, *Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy . . . 1802-1890* (Washington, 1891), II, 21.

THE FREE AGRICULTURAL POPULATION IN SUMTER DISTRICT, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1850-1860

By MARGARET BURR DESCHAMPS

Sumter District, South Carolina, provides an interesting case study in the social structure of the rural South on the eve of the Civil War. The area in which it lay was frequently spoken of as the Middle Country—a name which applied to its geographical position, and rather aptly described the folkways of its people. Akin to both Tidewater and Upcountry, its social life did not partake exclusively of the flavor of either. The district, located between the Fall Line and the Tidewater, was comprised of a variety of soils which formed the basis for a diversified agricultural life. Although most of the country was flat and the soil generally productive, extensive tracts of sand existed throughout the area, especially in the northwest. There lay the High Hills of Santee, a picturesque range which were the refuge of poor whites and a favorite summer retreat for planters from the Low Country.[1]

Whether they resided in the sandhills, in Sumterville, or along the banks of the Black River, the people of the district were predominantly interested in agriculture. Although few of the 6,857 whites and 320 free colored people left written records of their lives and endeavors, the head of each family sketched in profile his worldly accomplishments when he made his brief report to the census enumerator in 1860.[2]

[1] For a description of Sumter District see William G. Simms, *The Geography of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1843), 132-135.

[2] In preparing this paper microfilm copies of the Sumter District manuscript census schedules for the Seventh Census (1850) and Eighth Census (1860) were used. Schedules I (Free Inhabitants) and II (Slave Inhabitants), owned by Emory University, were microfilmed by the Bureau of Census, Department of Commerce, Washington. Schedules IV (Productions of Agriculture), V (Productions of Industry), and VI (Social Statistics) were microfilmed for the writer by the South Carolina Historical Commission, Columbia, where the original schedules are deposited. The method used in studying the census schedules is essentially that of Frank and Harriet Owsley who begin with Schedule IV and supplement it with Schedules I and II. The process is explained in Herbert Weaver, *Mississippi Farmers, 1850-1860* (Nashville, 1945), 14-17. Except when noted, all subsequent information about the agricultural population is taken from these schedules.

About seventy-five per cent of the 1508 white heads of families and forty per cent of the 84 free Negro heads of families indicated that they devoted all or a portion of their time to farming.[3] An excellent index to the lives of eighty-two per cent of these agriculturalists is given in Schedule IV of the unpublished census manuscripts, which is entitled Productions of Agriculture. While it is regrettable that a portion of the rural people were not included in this report, it still provides a valid cross section for study. An analysis of the omitted farm population shows that this group included both the poor and the well-to-do.

The southern planter was well represented in the antebellum society of Sumter District. At the top of this group were the Pinckneys, Rutledges, Hugers and friends who annually moved from their Low Country residences to summer homes in Statesburgh, Bradford Springs and other communities of the High Hills.[4] While they composed the top segment of society in the district, about twenty-three per cent of the families reported on Schedule IV as engaged in agriculture were members of the planter class. About one-half of the 16,682 slaves in the district were in the hands of this class. However, only eight per cent were large planters who cultivated as many as 500 acres of land and owned fifty or more slaves.

Although these large slaveholders were found throughout the district, they were especially numerous in Statesburgh and Providence. Typical of the Episcopalian planters in the High Hills was William Richardson. Richardson, who found little of interest in the "dry and monotonous Sand Hills" other than horse racing, depended on overseers to manage his crops and sent his sons to boarding school in Winnsboro. His wife, a devout church member, spent most of her time making jockey outfits that would "answer for Charleston," conferring with overseers, and writing her sons of the evils of drinking, card playing, and cursing. Upon the young boys,

[3] Ten per cent of the white heads and forty-five per cent of the free Negroes did not state an occupation, and fifteen per cent of both groups indicated that they were engaged in some non-farm occupation.

[4] Lawrence F. Brewster, *Summer Migrations and Resorts of South Carolina Low-Country Planters* (Durham, 1947), 46-48, 74-75.

James and Dick, she placed the responsibility of keeping the family in a position of affluence and leadership. Her letters to them reveal the anxiety of an elder generation over the continuance of family prestige.[5]

Among the Richardson's wealthy neighbors was J. A. Colclough. The size of his plantation home is indicated by the inventory of his estate in which the administrator enumerated and described more than fifty chairs and twenty-five mattresses. Among the furnishings illustrative of the Colclough mode of living were glass shades, glass candlesticks, brass fire dogs and fends, a piano cover, a set of dining tables, books, and one lot of silverware.[6] In 1860 the personal property of Colclough's widow was valued at $436,000.

In the Black River section of the district lived well-to-do Presbyterian planters like Samuel McBride. In his will McBride left explicit instructions as to how he wanted his plantation operated after his death. He desired an overseer "of good moral character" to be hired to manage his lands. By sale of the "more inferior, the dirty and immoral ones" and the "unruly or Troublesome," he wished his slaves to be reduced to "not more than Thirty working hands . . . exclusive of House Servants and Mechanicks." These slaves were to receive two suits of clothing and one pair of shoes each year.[7]

Of especial concern to McBride was the education of his son, James, who would some day succeed him as master of the plantation. His friend and neighbor George Cooper was entrusted with the superintendance of James' schooling. The boy was to spend two or more years learning "some useful Mechanical art" before entering college and was to "be allowed much exercise in the country air." But "my greatest desire," stated McBride, "is that he be early taught the great truths of the christian Religion as contained in the scriptures of the old and new Testament, also the catechisms of the Presbyterian church, and that he be

[5] James B. Richardson Papers (Duke University).
[6] Sumter District Wills, 1860-1867, 67-74 (Sumter County Courthouse).
[7] Sumter District Wills, 1839-1862, 330-334.

taught to obey implicitly those who have the rule over him these I prize above all worldly considerations." [8]

Most Sumter planters, of course, did not enjoy the wealth of the Richardsons, Colcloughs, and McBrides. Isaac Lenoir, who owned forty-eight slaves and farmed 300 acres of improved land in 1850, belonged to the small planter group. At his death in 1859 his household furniture was returned as: one set of dining tables, one secretary, one sideboard, one card table, one lot of crockery and glass, one dozen chairs, one rocking chair, and bedsteads.[9] Yet, families like the Lenoirs lived comfortably and exerted considerable influence in community affairs.

The papers of Robert Fraser, small planter on Black River, show how widespread the interests of men of this group might be. In addition to managing his land and slaves, Fraser was at various times: captain in the militia, member of the Society of Vigilance, school teacher, magistrate, president of his temperance society, member of the debater's club, clerk of the session of the Bishopville Presbyterian Church, school trustee, and overseer of the road on which he lived. An avid reader, he subscribed to various periodicals including the *Southern Presbyterian, True Southron, Columbia Hive, Christian World, South Carolina Temperance Advocate,* and *Santee Banner,* and frequently wrote letters to the editors on matters which he believed to be of public interest. Indeed, one wonders how he found time to write so frequently to newspaper editors, friends and relatives who moved west, citizens of Charleston who might give information on his prospective son-in-law, associates in the Sons of Temperance, and even President Lincoln whose aid he sought in receiving payment for taking the census of 1860.[10] In spite of his many activities, Fraser was a successful farmer.

A study of the manuscript census returns reveals that most Sumter District farmers were yeomen who cultivated from one to 199 acres of improved land and about one-half

[8] Sumter District Wills, 1839-1862, 330-334.
[9] Sumter District Inventories and Sales, 1858-1867, 55-57.
[10] Robert Fraser Papers (in posession of Francis J. DesChamps, Bishopville, South Carolina).

of whom owned slaves.[11] One of these plain people who desired to sell his farm in 1850 described it as:

> A highly improved Farm in the vicinity of Sumterville, containing about two hundred acres of land, only fifty of which is cleared the balance being well wooded.—Said Farm has on it a commodious Dwelling House, nearly new, with Stables and suitable Outbuildings all in fine order.—Also a Garden in a high state of cultivation and a fine Fruit Orchard.[12]

While the main crop of the yeomen was cotton, considerable attention was paid to sweet potatoes and corn. These were cultivated with the help of slaves and members of the family who sometimes worked together in the fields.

Among the substantial yeomen in the district was Elisha Spencer who combined subsistence farming with storekeeping at a crossing on Lynch's River. It was no great love of the mercantile business that accounted for Spencer's building a little store in his front yard. Selling a penny's worth of candy, a gallon of sticky molasses, and listening to the idle chatter of the men who stood around his stove, he described as loathsome activity. But he seemed to have little choice of occupation. Possessing no formal education, he could not easily enter a profession, and since he believed that slavery was morally wrong he did not aspire to become a planter.[13] Instead, he became a subsistence farmer who planted seven acres and owned land and buildings valued at $700.

Like many a farmer's wife, Mary Spencer found her days full. She spun cloth, made clothes for her six children—even suits for the boys—, baked cakes for her nieces, and kept an open house for relatives and visiting ministers.[14] Her life was further complicated by the fact that her Connecticut

[11] Twenty-one per cent of slaveholders in Sumter District engaged in agriculture owned from one to four slaves, twenty per cent owned from five to nine, twenty-two per cent owned from ten to nineteen. Thus sixty-three per cent of the slaveholders were farmers owning less than twenty slaves.

[12] *Black River Watchman* (Sumterville), September 14, 1850.

[13] "Reminiscences of Mattie Spencer MacDowell" (typed copy in possession of the writer). Mrs. MacDowell, who writes from a remarkably detached and objective point of view, was a grand-daughter of Elisha and Mary Spencer.

[14] Mary Spencer to Mary Fraser, undated letters, in Spencer-Fraser Papers (in possession of Mrs. Mattie S. MacDowell, York, South Carolina).

husband constantly irritated a community whose opinions on slavery, the way of salvation, and the merits of the Southern cause, he did not share.[15] It is well understood why Mary Spencer would exclaim to her mother: "O I have so much on my hands and mind I don't know which way to turn." [16]

In spite of her many household responsibilities Mary Spencer showed concern for the social life of her children. Throughout the fifties she arranged for them to visit their cousins when possible, and children were frequent guests in their home. Such visits were possible because Mary's father gave her two or three slaves to help with the house work and garden. While the children seem not to have had big parties at home, their parents let them attend such festivities as Christmas trees at the local academy.[17]

The Spencer household was marked by economy and piety, yet home life was not drab and sombre. By the sixties their home was in no sense lavishly furnished, but was colorful and comfortable. For example, one daughter had a grey bedroom suite with pink rosebuds painted on it, and the guest who slept under the beautiful pink marseilles quilt was seldom again to find a comparable covering.[18]

While the pleasures of simple living enjoyed by the Spencers did not extend throughout the agricultural population, only a small percentage of the farm operators on or off Schedule IV seem to fall below the status of yeomen. Of the heads of families on this schedule, eighteen per cent owned no real estate, but many of these people owned slaves or cultivated sizeable tracts of land. Among the eighteen per cent of the farm population not appearing on Schedule IV, one would expect to find the under-privileged of the farm group, as it might be assumed that these people did not operate farms which produced $100 in cash crops.[19] Yet, investigation shows that twenty-six per cent of this group owned real estate and ten per cent owned slaves.

[15] "Reminiscences of Mattie Spencer MacDowell."
[16] Mary Spencer to Mary Fraser, undated letter, in Spencer-Fraser Papers.
[17] Mary Spencer to Mary Fraser, undated letters.
[18] "Reminiscences of Mattie Spencer MacDowell."
[19] Only those operators whose farms yielded as much as $100 in cash crops are included on Schedule IV.

Among the thirty-four men who composed the lowest economic bracket, those who owned neither real estate nor personal property, were two paupers and three illiterates; but they were not representative of the group. As a whole these non-propertied people were young men just beginning the business of farming. A number told the census taker that they had married within the previous year and others were unmarried. Some of them bore the names of prosperous yeomen and planter families.

About six per cent of the heads of families engaged in agriculture in 1860 were overseers. In addition to these sixty-five men, there were twenty-four others who lived in the homes of the planters employing them. An overseer living in his employer's home was doubtless accepted by the family and their friends; sometimes he might even be a member of the family. For example, Isaac Richbourg owned 200 acres of improved land and eleven slaves, but two of his sons began their careers as overseers and two as farm laborers. Nor were overseers living in their own homes always the economically downtrodden of the district. James Thornhill, a fifty-year-old overseer who owned no real estate and only $100 in personal property serves as an illustration of this point. The Thornhills probably lived well. A seventeen-year-old son in the family who worked as a farm laborer, owned $12,000 in real estate and $22,100 in personal property. Whether this was the property of his father or mother which they chose to list in his name or a legacy from some deceased relative is unknown.

There were among the farm population of Sumter District many farmers who were poor in comparison to the slaveholdings and land holdings of planters. Some of these were unquestionably poor whites, probably called "po' buckras" by Sumter people of the 1850's, but to determine their number from the census schedules seems to be an impossible task. Slaveholding and land holding alone are not accurate guides for setting apart poor whites from the rest of the population. Although eight per cent of the farm operators on Schedule IV in 1860 did not own slaves and did not state that they cultivated any land, some of these were free

Negroes and others were professional people not dependent on their farms for their livelihood. While eighteen per cent of the operators on Schedule IV did not own land, many of them held slaves or considerable personal property. Even literacy fails as a test for determining poor whites, for many of the seven per cent of the heads of farm families who were illiterate were substantial land owners and slaveholders. Furthermore, as all Southerners know, the decisive factor in applying this term is not always the absence of wealth and education.

By use of a master chart combining information from Schedules I, II, and IV, on occupation, real estate owned, literacy, slaveholding, agricultural productions, and area of residence, some ideas about poor whites in Sumter District can be formed. Small groups of slaveless families appear clustered together in several areas of the district. Many of them were small landowners, and most of them claimed to be literate, but virtually none of them were sending their children to school. Today among the tenant farmers and farm laborers of old Sumter District are people bearing the same family names as these underprivileged people of 1860.

The largest group of these probable poor whites, some forty to fifty families, made their homes in the sandy foot hills of Bradford Springs. It was doubtless this area that the editor of the *Sumter Banner* had in mind when he said that "in an area of three or four miles square in the wealthy and intelligent District of Sumter, there can be found forty-three children of the proper age to be sent to school, who have never seen a school-house, who cannot read or write their names." [20]

Throughout her life Mary Boykin Chesnut lived on plantations in or near the High Hills, and she was well acquainted with the Sandhillers. In the closing pages of her *Diary from Dixie* she reminisced over her life-long acquaintance with a proud, often arrogant, superstitious, and ignorant people. Milly Trimlin she remembered as "a perfect specimen of the Sandhill tackey race." "Her skin," Mrs. Chesnut recalled, "was yellow and leathery, and even the whites of her

[20] *Sumter Banner*, July 27, 1852.

eyes were bilious in color. She was stumpy and lean, hard-featured, horny fisted." In recounting the kindnesses of her family to some of these people Mrs. Chesnut failed to understand why they remained Sandhillers from generation to generation. "Never," she wrote, "were people so aided in every way as these people are!" Regardless of her failure to understand them, she realized that they possessed the same emotions that lie deep within all people. Her mother, she stated, offered a ride to an old Sandhill acquaintance after a big meeting at the church. The woman replied: "No, no! Never mind me. I'm done in this world. Take your namesake. Let 'em all see my girl setting by you in the carriage." [21]

As Mrs. Chesnut's diary illustrates, contacts of poor whites with yeomen and planters were confined to such occasions as political rallies and elections, camp meetings and revivals, and the visits which the Sandhillers made to beg or borrow. But planters and yeomen were brought together through kinship, business, and social organizations. They worked together in the Sumter Agricultural Association, sent their children to the local schools, attended the same churches, staged temperance society parades, joined in debating clubs, and held militia picnics and balls which the whole countryside enjoyed.[22] While the poor whites showed neither independence in voting nor initiative in seeking office, both yeomen and planters manifested keen interest in seeking office, and desired to become officeholders.[23] Good feeling and freedom of association marked the relationships of plain folk and aristocracy.

A considerable number of free Negroes lived in Sumter District in the 1850's.[24] In 1860, five per cent of all heads of families in the district were thus classified. Most of these people lived in the country, although only forty per cent of the free Negro heads of families were engaged in agri-

[21] Mary Boykin Chesnut, *Diary from Dixie* (edited by Ben Ames Williams, Boston, 1949), 542-544.

[22] See *Sumter Banner*, *Sumter Watchman*, and *Black River Watchman* for the 1850's.

[23] The names of candidates appearing in the *Sumter Banner*, April 12, 1853, were checked on Schedule I (unpublished), Seventh Census, 1850.

[24] In this group were people of uncertain origin and race who were commonly called "Turks" by Sumter citizens.

culture. The forty-five per cent of the free Negro population who did not list an occupation probably supported themselves as domestic servants. For example, Flora, who owned no real estate but had personal property valued at $200, offered "her services to the citizens of Sumter and adjoining Districts in the preparation of bridal feasts, party suppers, &c." [25]

Free Negroes engaged in agriculture seem to have enjoyed a higher economic status than the remainder of the Negro population. Two free Negroes, Richard Gayle and William Ellison, were slave owners in 1860. As Richard Gayle owned neither real estate nor personal property, his eight slaves may have been members of his own family whom he held through legal technicality. William Ellison, however, was a large planter holding sixty-four slaves and cultivating 500 acres of improved land. He and his family lived in the midst of the wealthy families of Statesburgh and occupied a back pew in the local Episcopal church.[26] A gin maker by occupation, Ellison's advertisements appeared frequently in Sumterville newspapers.[27]

Most of the free Negroes lived in groups instead of scattered throughout the population. The largest community, consisting of about twenty-three families, was found at Manchester. It appears that in Manchester and elsewhere free Negroes and underprivileged white families associated with each other—even to the extent of living together. Bill Tab, a free Negro farm laborer who owned no real estate, was listed as the head of the house in which he resided. Living with him was a white man forty years old who gave his occupation as farming and owned real estate valued at $600. An even more striking case is that of Mary Rodgers, a propertyless black woman, with whom a white Baptist preacher, his wife, and two children lived. Scattered among the census enumerator's listing of free Negro families one finds the names of white families who owned little or no property.

[25] *Sumter Banner*, March 10, 1852.
[26] Both the house and the pew in the church can still be seen in Statesburgh.
[27] For example, see *Black River Watchman*, May 11, 1850.

With the exception of the Negroes, whose lot in life remained wretched, all groups within the free farm population of Sumter District prospered in the 1850's. A number of persons whose names appeared on Schedule IV of the Seventh Census (1850) were selected at random from scattered sections of the district and their status in 1850 and 1860 compared. They were classified in five groups: large planters, small planters, slaveholding yeomen, non-slaveholding yeomen, and farmers who owned neither real estate nor slaves. In all groups the value of farm implements and real estate rose between 1850 and 1860. Slaveless were becoming slaveholders and small slave owners were increasing their holdings. Of the group of ten landless non-slaveholders whose farming operations were checked in 1850 and 1860, seven became real estate owners during the decade and one became a slave owner. Observing that the "system and science of agriculture in this District is undoubtedly in a state of transition," the editor of the *Sumter Banner* stated in 1854, that with "a little more exertion and attention to stock raising" Sumter farms would be as productive as "the virgin soils of the West."[28]

On the eve of the Civil War Sumter District was, for the most part, composed of a prospering people wedded to the agrarian life. The advantages and blessings of this life were often the subject of local editorials and were most idyllically pictured by the *Sumter Banner.* After stating that the minister had to please his congregation, the lawyer his townsmen, and the merchant and mechanic their community, the editor concluded:

> The farmer says just what he pleases; for it was never yet discovered that it killed his cattle or rotted his potatoes. And the farmer has more leisure time than most mechanics or professional men; or if he has not, it is his own fault. No farmer need be a drudge. His flocks in the pasture and his crops in the field are growing while he sleeps. . . . He relies on nature, who labors for him continually, and on nature's God, who never slumbers.[29]

[28] *Sumter Banner,* July 19, 1853.
[29] *Sumter Banner,* July 19, 1854.

EDITOR HAYNE TO EDITOR KINGSBURY: THREE SIGNIFICANT UNPUBLISHED LETTERS

By Francis B. Dedmond

Theodore Bryant Kingsbury was one of the most distinguished journalists North Carolina has produced.[1] Nothing, however, in his long journalistic career seems to have so elated him as two "notices" he received, perhaps early in 1858, from John R. Thompson and Paul Hamilton Hayne. Fifty-four years later, Kingsbury wrote:

In November, 1857, I began the publication of the Oxford *Leisure Hour*,[2] a literary weekly which achieved considerable reputation. A short time after I received probably two of the best notices of any during my career from two distinguished men of letters, who were editing magazines in the South: John R. Thompson, editor of the [*Southern*] *Literary Messenger*, published in Richmond, Va., and Paul H. Hayne, who was editing, at the same time, *Russell's Magazine*, a monthly containing some ninety pages. He and Mr. Thompson both gave

[1] T. B. Kingsbury was born in Raleigh, N. C., August 28, 1828. He attended the Oxford Male Academy, Lovejoy Military Academy at Raleigh, and the University of North Carolina. According to Kingsbury, the first article he ever wrote for a newspaper was written from Raleigh on July 5, 1845. It appeared in the *Oxford Ledger* and was a report of the address of Duncan K. MacRae at a Fourth of July celebration. For the next fifteen years, Kingsbury wrote articles for several papers. Early in 1858, he became editor of *The Leisure Hour: A Literary and Family News Journal*, which was published in Oxford, N. C. Kingsbury left *The Leisure Hour* in January 1859. On January 9, 1867 he became editor of a new weekly and semi-weekly known as the Warrenton *Indicator*. He left *The Indicator* on May, 29, 1868 to accept a position with the Southern Baptist Convention, apparently at Memphis, Tennessee. By this time Kingsbury was already widely known, and in the same year, 1868, Wake Forest College conferred on him the D.D. degree. In March of 1869, he became associate editor of the *Raleigh Sentinel*. On three occasions, he declined the editorship of the *North Carolina Christian Advocate*. He edited Colonel Pool's *Educational Journal* in 1874-75; and shortly thereafter became editor of Colonel Pool's *Our Living and Our Dead*, the official organ of the North Carolina branch of the Southern Historical Society, a journal published in Raleigh. In 1876, Kingsbury joined the staff of the Wilmington *Morning Star* and served as its editor for twelve years and eight months. In 1888, the University of North Carolina conferred on him the LL.D. degree. He next joined the staff of the Wilmington *Messenger*, working on that paper for thirteen years. For six months, he edited the Oxford *Torchlight*, a popular weekly. He died in 1913.

[2] Kingsbury is in error here. The first issue of *The Leisure Hour: A Literary and Family News Journal* appeared February 4, 1858, with T. B. Kingsbury listed as editor.

me most cordial notices and I have rarely ever had such pleasant references to myself in all my long career since as an editor.[3]

In so far as is known, the "notice" by Thompson did not lead to a correspondence between the two men, but, according to Kingbury, he "had the pleasure of a considerable correspondence" with Paul Hamilton Hayne,[4] the twenty-eight year old editor of *Russell's Magazine.* To judge by Hayne's later procedure, it may be assumed that he carefully preserved his correspondence from Kingsbury. However, at the time of the bombardment of Charleston during the Civil War, Hayne's "beautiful home was burned to the ground, and his large handsome library utterly lost" [5]—and, presumably his carefully preserved correspondence also burned.[6] Only three of Hayne's letters to Kingsbury from their "considerable correspondence" have come down to us, and they are now in the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina.

The first number of *The Leisure Hour: A Literary and Family News Journal,* a weekly, was published at Oxford, North Carolina, February 4, 1858. The paper was owned by F. K. Strother and was edited by Kingsbury. In the March 4, 1858 number, Kingsbury published a highly laudatory article on Hayne. Hayne is declared to be unsurpassed by no remembered American author as a writer of sonnets, "and we have no doubt but the reader, if animated with a *true poetic taste* and *sympathy,* will agree with us that they [Hayne's sonnets] are among the best in the language. They remind us of Wordsworth and Mrs. Browning, and indicate that his is that tone of mind that 'voluntarily moves harmonious numbers,' " [7]

[3] "Farewell Letter by Dr. Kingsbury," in "The North Carolina Review, Literary and Historical Section" of the Raleigh *News and Observer,* September 3, 1911.

[4] [T. B. Kingsbury], "Review of Hayne's *The Mountain of the Lovers,*" *Our Living and Dead,* III (July, 1875), 139.

[5] Margaret J. Preston, "Biographical Sketch," in *Poems of Paul Hamilton Hayne* (complete edition; Boston: D. Lothrop and Company, 1882), vii.

[6] No letters from Hayne to Kingsbury, for example, are to be found in the numerous letters in the Paul Hamilton Hayne Collection of Duke University.

[7] "Paul H. Hayne," *The Leisure Hour* (Oxford, N. C.), March 4, 1858.

In the April 1, 1858 issue, Kingsbury published what he described as a "graceful little poem . . . from the pen of the accomplished Editor of *Russell's Magazine.*" It seems to have been written especially for *The Leisure Hour;* and, so far as is known, has not been republished.

Sunset and Moonshine

I

Here, glancing from this breezy Height,
Whilst the still Day goes slowly down,
And sombre Evening's shadows brown,
Close o'er the purple flushing light,

II

I mark the softer radiant rest
Of the calm moon, till now unseen,
Along the Ocean tides serene,
Scarce heaving toward the faded West;

III

At first there dawns a ghostly ray,
Faint as a new-born infant's dreams,
But soon an ampler glory streams,
And trembling up the lustrous Bay,

IV

Long level shafts of silvery glow
Lead upward to the quiet skies,
The radiant paths to Paradise
Revealed when all is dark below.[8]

On April 15, 1858, Kingsbury republished in *The Leisure Hour* Hayne's short tale "The Skaptar Yokul: A Tale of Iceland." Hayne had originally published the tale anonymously in *Russell's Magazine* a year before, but here the tale appeared under Hayne's name and perhaps for the first time. In the next number of *The Leisure Hour,* April 22, 1858, Kingsbury began the republication of Hayne's tale "One Too Many: A Tale of the Equinox." This tale too had been published anonymously by Hayne in *Russell's* for June 1857. Kingsbury continued the tale serially under Hayne's name in the next three issues of *The Leisure Hour,* April 29, 1858,

[8] *The Leisure Hour* (Oxford, N. C.), April 1, 1858.

May 6, 1858 and May 13, 1858. While "One Too Many" was running serially in *The Leisure Hour*, Hayne wrote the following letter to Kingsbury:

Charleston May 4th, 58

My Dear Sir;

Your very courteous letter of the 6th ult was rec[d] in due season, but this is the first opportunity I have had to reply.

Let me thank you for the kind expressions you employ in reference to my vol of Sonnets; if agreeable to you I shall do myself the honor, & pleasure of mailing you another, and more juvenile book of verses which was published by Ticknor, & Fields of Boston in 1854.[9]

The late nos of the "Leisure Hour" have all reached me, & I may say truly that the better acquainted I become with the style of your Editorials, & the general conduct of the journal, the more I am inclined to like it. The literary criticisms are unusually thoughtful & just; in fine, your paper is an excellent one, and I hope it may succeed. I d'ont [*sic*] tell you to be sanguine about success however. Long, & melancholy acquaintances with the temper of the So. peoples has [p. 2] caused me to lose all confidence in their grand professions. I do not believe in them, or in their promises. For 7 years I have worked My Dear Sir, in one field, or another, striving to do all that one man could, to advance Literature, & the Literary spirit among our People. What has been my reward? In no egotistical, & embittered temper, I may declare that I have encountered what to every man of feeling, and courage is infinitely worse than the most savage oppositione [sic]—i. e. systematic neglect, & that terrible species of coldness which embodies itself in quiet sneers, & the taunts of the worldling who despises all efforts which bring not an immediate return in hard cash!

Of course it is absurd to complain. This unlucky indifference can be easily explained on clear philosophical grounds. At the same time the So. literary man must necessarily feel that he occupies a wrong position!

My stories have been very correctly published. The last of them "One too Many" is by no means a favorite of mine. It is too extravagant, and melodramatic, & if I ever republish it in a vol., it shall be materially modified.

Enclosed, you will find an Original Sonnet, which is at your disposal—, a sort of prose-poem or Extravaganza "Within the Veil" from the April Russell, which has proved so popular, (altho not pretending to a spark of originality in conception,

[9] The volume, *Poems* (Boston, Ticknor and Fields), bears the date 1855.

whatever the execution may be—) that perhaps you may like to introduce it to the readers of the "Leisure Hour." I was much annoyed to discover yesterday that Russell's clerk had neglected my instructions with regard to the Magazine; but after this, you may depend upon receiving it. I shall mail you this afternoon the Jan, Feb, & April nos., & when I can procure a copy—the March no. shall be sent also—Pray let me have hereafter 2 copies of Every issue of the [p. 4] Leisure Hour; instead of directing them to this magazine direct them to me personally.

It will afford me pleasure to hear from you at any, & all times; therefore write whenever you feel disposed—.

In haste,—but Truly yrs.
Paul H. Hayne

P. S. Enclosed, (Instead of enclosing this Editorial which, I find increases the bulk of my letter unduly, I refer you to the Editor's Table in "Russell" for May), you will also find an article, extracted from my Editor's Table, [the analysis I mean of Everett's mode of Oratory, & style as an author[10]] which you can make use of, if it so pleases you—. This critique—(if I may dignify it by so big a word) has attracted considerable attention in Charleston. Let me know of the reception of this letter, and the accompanying periodicals, & thereby oblige

Yrs. P.H.H.[11]

Kingsbury did choose to introduce "Within The Veil" to the readers of *The Leisure Hour;* and in the May 20, 1858 number, he republished it under Hayne's name. The tale had appeared anonymously in *Russell's.* Hayne deliberately tried to keep from his reading public the fact that he had published the tale[12]—at least until it had "proved so popular."

Kingsbury did not review the "more juvenile book of verse" Hayne promised to send to him; but in the May 27, 1858 number of *The Leisure Hour,* he did publish a critical notice of Hayne's 1857 volume, *Sonnets, and Other Poems,* which was published in Charleston by Harper and Calvo. Kingsbury wrote: "Among those who are struggling with zeal, ability, and success in the cause of Southern letters is

[10] *Russell's Magazine,* III (May, 1858), 181-183.

[11] P. H. Hayne to T. B. Kingsbury, Charleston, S. C., May 4, 1858. This letter and the other letters published in this article are published with the permission of the director of the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina.

[12] See note preceding "Within The Veil," *Russell's Magazine,* III (April, 1858), 70.

Paul H. Hayne; perhaps the most successful woer of the Muses that we can lay claim to." [13] Kingsbury declared that only John H. Boner among Americans was a better writer of sonnets than Hayne. Hayne "like a skillful workman, first found out what he was able to do, and then went to work to accomplish in the best way possible the duties which lay before him." [14] Hayne had discussed the sonnet in the preface to *Sonnets, and Other Poems.* He maintained that "for the expression of a single cardinal thought—its elaboration and 'flower-like unfolding—leaf by leaf,'—human ingenuity could not have invented a system more beautiful and effective. . . . A successful Sonnet is among the most unique of imaginative creations." [15]

In the months that followed, Kingsbury published several of Hayne's poems in *The Leisure Hour,* and there is no reason to suppose that their correspondence did not continue. The next letter that has been preserved, however, is dated January 25, 1859. This letter, like the earlier letter printed above, gives us an intimate account of the trials, tribulations, and literary heartaches of editor Hayne.

Charleston Jan 25th 1859

My Dear Sir;

I have just recd. the last number of the "Leisure Hour," containing your discriminating & able notice of the poems of Mr. Grayson.[16] I cannot tell you how truly grateful I am at the appearance of such an article. Mr. Grayson, besides that he is one of my dearest personal friends, belongs to that rare class of men of talent, who, (altho perfectly self-respecting), are so shy & modest, that it takes a good deal to bring them fairly out. His poems, so far, have not recd. the attention at the South which they deserve. Yours, is one of the few comprehensive critiques

[13] *The Leisure Hour* (Oxford, N. C.), May 27, 1858.
[14] *The Leisure Hour* (Oxford, N. C.), May 27, 1858.
[15] Paul H. Hayne, *Sonnets, and Other Poems* (Charleston: Harper and Calvo, 1857), vi.
[16] "Critical: A Southern Poet," *The Leisure Hour* (Oxford, N. C.), January 20, 1859. This was the first installment. Kingsbury continued the article on Grayson in the next issue of *The Leisure Hour,* January 27, 1859. Kingsbury declares that "the versification of Mr. Grayson, is frequently vigorous and impressive, and is almost invariably melliflous and graceful, whilst the currents of his thought run deep and clear." The Grayson referred to was William John Grayson, a South Carolina planter who wrote poetry for a diversion. His most serious effort was "Chicora" written in 1856, *(Library of Southern Literature),* volume V, 2012-2013. In the January 20, 1859, installment Hayne is again praised.

upon them that I have seen. Really, the "Leisure Hour" is doing a good, & noble work. If a journal, so admirable is every respect, is not sustained by the N Carolinians, it will be but little to their credit. If I know myself, this hearty, spontaneous commendation proceeds from [p. 2] no selfish source. You have worked gallantly for the South, & the South, as Dr. Ollapod, hath it, "owes you one!" Apropos of Grayson, let me tell you (in the strictest confidence), that the poem termed "Marion" which is now in the course of publication in "Russell," is from his pen.[17] I think you will agree with me that it is a most spirited performance, & likely to increase the author's reputation greatly. Indeed, parts of this poem are almost worthy of Sir Walter Scott!

Do you ever see among your Exchanges a paper published at N. Orleans, called the "True Delta"? If so, please glance at the last no. but one, & read the attack upon Simms, Russell's Magazine, & one of the unlucky Editors of the latter, viz—myself. The editorial I refer to, is in reply to a few strictures of mine upon some remarks in that journal a month or two ago.[18] Now, if the article meets your eye, [p. 3] pray tell me if anything more provokingly absurd was ever published in a newspaper! Lest you should not see it, permit me to give an abstract of the same. The N. O. True Delta, referring to Dana's "Household Book of Poetry," said that a ridiculous "clamour" had been raised on account of the ommission of Simms' name;[19] & went on to criticise his poetry in most insulting and puerile style. To *this* I replied by citing against the Editor of the Delta, such authorities

[17] The long poem "Marion" appeared in *Russell's* in four installment—IV (December 1858), 212-218; IV (January 1859), 313-321; IV (February 1859), 406-414; and IV (March 1859), 505-507. Hayne gives no hint as to why such secrecy should be maintained. The poem, it seems, as a consequence of this secrecy, was ascribed to Simms. Guy Adams Cardwell, Jr., "Charleston Periodicals, 1795-1860: A Study in Literary Influences, with a Descriptive Check List of Seventy-Five Magazines" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, the University of North Carolina Library) says that the W. C. Courtney set of *Russell's* in the Duke University Library, John Russell's personal set in the New York Public Library, and the F. A. Porcher set in the College of Charleston Library all ascribe the poem to Simms.

[18] The following remarks appeared in Hayne's "Editor's Table," *Russell's Magazine*, IV (January 1859), 373: "The New Orlean's *True Delta*, referring to what the editorial critic of that journal is pleased to call the 'clamor' raised at the south, about the omission of Mr. Simms' name in Dana's 'Household Book of Poetry,' says, there is, really, no just cause of complaint, at least, in this particular instance, because to quote the critics own language: 'Mr. Simms is not a poet, for he lacks the essential elements of the poet—imagination. He has the wish but not the wings to soar. He is simply a tolerable verse-weaver; but he weaves with ordinary shuttle. His is not the golden-threaded shuttle that flashes to and fro in the loom of thought.'"

[19] Hayne reviewed—if indeed this be the right term—Dana's *Household Book of Poetry* in *Russell's Magazine*, IV (January 1859), 348-353. Hayne decried the "entire silence preserved with regard to most of the poets of the southern States." As regards Simms, Hayne wrote: "In regard to Mr.

as Whipple, Poe, Griswold, & Thos Campbell. And how did the fellow rebut this testimony;? Why, by saying that Thos. Campbell must have been idiotic when he praised Simms, that Poe must have been drunk; & that as for Messrs Whipple, Griswold, & Duyckink [*sic*] "their testimony went for little."[20] Did you ever hear of such Cockney impudence?—But eno' of this matter!

Please My Dear Sir, let [me] hear from you as often as possible, & Believe me

Ever Truly P H Hayne[21]

Two days after Hayne's letter was written, Kingsbury's "valedictory," so he entitled it, appeared in *The Leisure Hour:*

With this number my editorial connection with the *Leisure Hour* will terminate. The reason which has induced this course of action it is unnecessary to state. . . . But the *Leisure Hour* has not become a popular paper, nor have I expected it, owing to certain causes which I refrain from giving. I here lay down my Editorial pen, and the probability is, forever. . . .[22]

Kingsbury's reason "which . . . induced this course of action" was that he was planning to study for the ministry, and told Hayne of his purpose. Hayne answered quickly in an intimate letter in which he laid bare his own bosom.

Charleston Feb 3rd 1859

My Dear Mr. Kingsbury;—I perceive with sincere regret that you have abandoned the Editorship of the "Leisure Hour." I cannot say that the intelligence surprises me, because I very well knew that the Journal—, conducted as you have conducted

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Simms, many words are not necessary. He is the first living writer of the south; known not only here, but in the whole country, and abroad, wherever American literature is known at all. With high heart, he has maintained at all times, and in all places, the honor of his native land; he has conferred honour by his genius on the whole country. His fame rests on solid foundations of real and indisputable merit, and time can but make it more bright."

[20] In *Russell's Magazine,* IV (February 1859), 474, Hayne wrote: "The editor of the *True Delta,* in reply, makes a direct *personal* attack upon one of the editors of this Magazine; displays supreme incapacity of comprehending even the most ordinary forms of poetical expression, and disposes of the critical authorities above-mentioned after this manner: 'If Campbell spoke favourable of Simms, it must have been in his dotage; (Campbell was editor of the *New Monthly* at the time, and about thirty-three years of age; if Poe was pleased with Simms' poetry, it must have been when he was overcome with drink; as to Whipple, Duyckinck and Griswold, their opinions are of little importance.' "

[21] P. H. Hayne to T. B. Kingsbury, Charleston, S. C., January 25, 1859, in The Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina.

[22] *The Leisure Hour* (Oxford, N. C.), January 27, 1859.

it—, could not be popular; therefore could not pay, & therefore (lastly), must sooner or later be given up by one not rich enough to be independent of its pecuniary support. "The Leisure Hour" was & is too intellectual, too critical, too thoughtful to meet the approbation of the unintellectual, uncritical, unthinking people. Perhaps you think me disposed to flatter. Well, my dear Sir, I may be, I must by necessity be, partial to a paper which has during the 14 or 15 months of my acquaintance with it [ ][23] than I ever expect to receive again from any intelligent source in the whole course of my future life!

I wish, (let me frankly say it!) I wish I could believe all you have so generously spoke in my behalf! But my own mind, my self-knowledge tells me that I have weaknesses (in an artistic, & I fear, moral sense), which will, probably, interfere fatally with my success as a poet. With humiliation I confess to one whose great kindness has opened by confidence, & really won my heart, that the same awful infirmity of will, which I have commented upon in the essay on Hartley Coleridge, is forever besetting me, & overturning, or defeating in some manner, my cherished plans.[24] You call me, others have called me, a successful Sonnetteer: Why am I successful in this special sort of versification. Oh! Sir! it is [p. 3] because I have not the persistent strength of wing, or of will, to venture boldly upon more sustained flights!, because I lack as Hartley Coleridge lacked, "a great central purpose in art." You will not think me vilely egotistical, because I write in this curious strain. Altho it has never been my fortune to look upon you "according to the flesh," I feel that you are truly a friend, and as a friend I address you! But eno' of this!

- - - - - - "The Leisure Hour," is, I see, to be continued. Who succeeds you as Editor? No name is mentioned anywhere.

I hope you will sometimes continue your contributions. Do not devote yourself too exclusively to theological studies, but keep up the belle lettres tastes you now possess. They will do you good service in the Pulpit. Our So. preachers are wretchedly deficient (generally) in literary attainments, yet surely, they should be scholars; not merely Hebrew scholars and skilled in polemics, but thorough English scholars, versed in our poetry as well as philosophy.

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[23] The letter is soiled here and the writing is not legible.

[24] In his essay entitled "David Hartley Coleridge," *Russell's Magazine*, IV (February 1859), 433-442, Hayne wrote: "We have said that Hartley's poems were occasional. He was not gifted with the resolution. the consistent earnestness, or the wide grasp of thought and invention, which are the essential endowments of the epic, or dramatic poet. *He lacked a great central purpose in art, precisely as he lacked a great central purpose in life.*"

Pardon this letter, which I feel to be rather an eccentric, & perhaps a too familiar epistle.

Answer quickly, & Believe me,

Ever truly yrs.

Paul H Hayne[25]

One wonders if Kingsbury answered quickly and, if so, how long this interesting correspondence between these two lovers of literature continued. Kingsbury never ceased to appreciate Hayne's poetry; and eight years later when Kingsbury was once again editor of a literary newspaper, the Warrenton, North Carolina, *Indicator, Devoted to Literature, Religion, Agriculture, and General Intelligence,* he published a poem by Hayne. Since there is nothing to indicate that it was copied from some other source, it may have been written by Hayne for *The Indicator.* The poem also does not appear in the *Poems of Paul Hamilton Hayne* (complete edition; Boston: Lothrop and Co., 1882) and is here, perhaps, reprinted for the first time.

Song

I

My wedded love is fast asleep,
The white lids closed o'er marvellous eyes,
That shine a meaning, pure and deep,
As midnight's far, unfathomed skies.
Her heart upon the tide of dreams
Is heaving like a fairy boat,
And o'er her face the mystic gleams
Of tender thoughts and memories float.

II

My earlier love, I could not wed,
Is slumbering too, but far away—
She sleeps among the tranquil dead,
And couched upon the churchyard clay;
Her lids are closed o'er soulless eyes,
Her pulseless heart is mute and cold—
But thought is busy where she lies,
And memory wakes beneath the mould.[26]

No matter when the correspondence actually ended, one may be sure that Kingsbury cherished the memory of it as long as he lived.

[25] P. H. Hayne to T. B. Kingsbury, Charleston, S. C., February 3, 1859, in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

[26] *The Indicator* (Warrenton, N. C.), December 11, 1867.

A DESCRIPTION OF "CAROLANA" BY A "WELL-WILLER," 1649

Edited By HUGH TALMAGE LEFLER

The following unsigned two-page communication to *The Moderate Intelligencer,* to which no reference is made in the *Colonial Records of North Carolina,* and which, so far as is known, has never been reprinted, is one of the few documents relating to North Carolina between the grant by Charles I to his Attorney-General, Robert Heath, in 1629 and the more effective grant by Charles II to the eight Lords Proprietors in 1663.

The Moderate Intelligencer, one of the most important mid-seventeenth century papers, was a weekly news sheet published in London from June 5, 1649, to February 23, 1654 —a very long life for a periodical in that day. Its founder, owner, and editor, John Dillingham of Whitefriars, was a very controversial figure. A tailor turned publisher, he was involved in many disputes with other journalists and with political and religious leaders. He gave information against Archbishop Laud in 1643, and Dr. Brownrigg was committed to Dillingham's house in 1644. Gilbert Mabbott, a rival journalist, attempted to appropriate the title of his paper, but the House of Lords decided that "Dillingham alone was entitled to the title of *The Moderate Intelligencer.*" Some contempories praised Dillingham's writing and were quite enthusiastic about his idea of a journal in French for the benefit of foreigners in England. One writer referred to him as "the Countryman's Chronicler . . . the citizens' harbinger . . . and the epitome of wit . . . and though he tells lies by the gross, yet he would have the book-turners of this isle believe that he useth moderation." Other critics were less complimentary; one referred to Dillingham as "a Prick louse vermin Taylor"; another condemned "that botching and Moderate Intelligencer," edited by that "learned Scout."

The following interesting and detailed account of "Carolana" may have been a bona fide communication to Dillingham's paper, or it may have been the product of his own

fertile imagination. But it is significant that in 1649, at the time when Oliver Cromwell as Lieutenant General was preparing for his Irish campaign, plans were under way to appoint a governor for the Albemarle Sound region, then considered a part of Virginia despite the Heath patent of 1629. The editor has been unable to discover the identity of either the "well-willer" or the "Gentleman going over Governour into Carolana."

THE MODERATE INTELLIGENCER: IMPARTIALLY COMMUNICATING MARTIALL AFFAIRS TO THE KINGDOM OF ENGLAND

(From Thursday, April 26 to Wednesday, May 2, 1649.)

At the intreaty of a well-willer, the following lines are inserted.

There is A Gentleman going over Governour into Carolana *in* America, *and many Gentlemen of quality and their families with him.*

This place is of a temperate Climate, not so hot as *Barbado's* nor so cold as *Virgina;* the Winter much lake our *March* here in *England.* The Northern latitude begins where *Virgina* ends, at 37, neer Cape *Henry,* and takes in six degrees Southerly; no bounds to the East and West, but the Seas. At Point *Comfort,* neer Cape *Henry,* you enter into a fair Navigable River, called *James* River, about two leagues over: on both sides that River, are the chiefe Plantations in *Virginia,* and their chief Town *James* Town. On the South side of this River, are two Rivers, *Elisabeth,* and *Nansamond,* which convey you into *Carolana;* so that this River is in a haven to both Colonies. This *Carolana,* besides the temperature of the Climate, hath many Native Commodities to feed and cloath the body: Deer in abundance, bigger and better meat then ours in *England,* having two young ones at a time; their skins good cloathing, being better dressed by the *Indians* then ours: Elkes of a large size, admirable meat, having three young at a time; their Hides make good Buffe; besides Hares and Conies, and many other that are good meat: Beasts of prey, that are profitable for their Furres, as Bevers, Otters, Foxes, Martins, Minches, and Musk-Cats, their Cods better sented then those of *East-India,* and more lasting: Fowle of all sorts, Partridges and wild Turkies 100 in a flock, some of the Turkies weighing 40 pounds, Fish there are in great abundance, of all sorts. In the Woods are sundry kinds of Fruits, as Strawberries, Raspices, Gooseberries, Plums, and Cherries; three several kinds of Grapes, large, and of a delicious taste. In

these woods are herbes and flowers of fragrant smels, many kinds of singing Birds, which have varieties of sweet Notes. Though this Countrey be for the most part woody, but where the Indians have cleared, for their Corne and Tobacco, or where fresh marshes and medows are, yet they are pleasant and profitable; pleasant, in respect of the stately growth and distance of the Trees one from the other, that you may travail and see a Deere at a great distance; profitable, being of divers kinds, both for shipping, Pot-ashes, Mulberry trees for Silk-wormes, Walnut trees, and stately Cedars; so that when of necessity you must cut down for Building and other uses, you are recompenced for your labour. You have also many pleasant Ascents, Hills and Valleys, Springs of wholesome waters, Rivers, and Rivolets. Now you see you are plentifully fed and cloathed with the naturall Commodities of the Country, which fall into your hands without labour or toyle, for in the obtaining of them you have a delightful recreation. Now fearing you should out of this abundance, in the excesse take a Surfer, you have many Physical herbs and Drugs, *Allom, Nitrum, Terra Sigillata,* Tarre, Rosin, Turpentine, Oyle of Olives, Oyle of Walnuts, and other Berries; Honey from wild Bees, Sugar-Canes, Mulberries, divers sorts of Gums and Dyes, which the *Indians* use for paint. Within the ground, Mines of Copper, Lead, Tinne, Pearle, and Emroydes. Having the profit and pleasure of the natural Commodities, you shall see what Art and Industry may produce. The Soyle is for the most part of a black mould about two foot deepe, you may trust it with anything. The *Indian* Corne yeelds 200 for one, they have two Crops in six moneths; *English* Wheat, Barley, and Pease, yeeld 30 for one; Hempe, Flax, Rice, and Rape-feed have a large encrease: What *English* Fruits are planted there, improve in quantity and quality. Besides all this is said, we shall shake hands with *Virginia,* a flourishing Plantation, which is not onely able to strengthen and assist us, but furnish us with *English* Provision, Cowes and Oxen, Horse, and Mares, Sheepe and Hogs, which they abound in now, which they and other Plantations were enforced to bring out of other Countries with great difficulty and charge, these are ready to our hands.

If this that hath been said give incouragement to any, let them repair to Mr. Edmond Thorowgood, A Virginia *Merchant, living in* White-Crosse-Street, at the house that was Justice Fosters. *He will informe you of the Governour, from whom you will understand when and how to prepare themselves* (not exceed August) *and what conditions shall be given to Adventurers, Planters, and Servants; which shall be as good, if not better, then have been given to other Plantations.*

Plantations in *America* were first famous in King *James* his time, the arguments to draw people over were the bringing

the Gospel to the Indians, inriching men that went and adventured, and extending Dominion, the fruit whereof is visible, in King *Charles* his time, the persecution of men diffring in opinion revived this undertaking, and thousands went to *New England* whose condition is also known, now their seems to be great designes of this nature which arise out of the discotents at the present state of affairs, alterations, & the wants which the late War hath brought many unto, for which there seems no blame. For censent be advised to make no use of the Merchant farther than transportation, part with nothing, if an adventurer, but what you are willing to loose to accomodate your friend, lay no foundation of a Plantation for your perticular before you go, when you begin to disburst, resolve to go, leave more or lesse behind you in *England* that may supply the first necessities, which will be greatest, and thus much be sure, if the Countrey be healthful to English, its seated as well as any upon which the English are, if not better.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Carolina Charter of 1663. By William Stevens Powell. (Raleigh: The State Department of Archives and History. 1954. Pp. vi, 79. Illus. and bibliography. Cloth $2.00, paper $1.00.)

The full title of this book is *The Carolina Charter of 1663, How it came to North Carolina and Its Place in History with Biographical Sketches of the Proprietors.* The complete text of the charter as reproduced occupies only 15 pages but this is the feature of the volume. To add to its value and interest, however, the author has preceded the actual text with two chapters.

One of these chapters traces in considerable detail the steps taken by the director of the Department of Archives and History of North Carolina to establish the authenticity and provenance of the document and to ascertain whether the London bookseller (who had discovered the Charter in 1947) could offer a clear title to it once the purchase price of $6,000 was raised. A number of scholars and authorities examined the charter. Their reports and correspondence reproduced here in full make interesting reading.

The second chapter, "Origin of the Charter," is an informative account of various grants of land made by British sovereigns prior to 1663, which included the territory later embraced by the Charter. First of these was a grant by Queen Elizabeth, June 1578, to Sir Humphrey Gilbert and renewed in the name of his half brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1584. Raleigh financed several unsuccessful expeditions, among them the famous "Lost Colony." In 1606 a charter was granted to the Virginia Company of London which included a part of what is now North Carolina. This charter was revoked in 1624 and the colony came into the hands of the Crown. In 1629 the King conveyed title to his attorney general, Sir Robert Heath, but he made no organized attempt to establish a settlement. In 1648, however, several Virginians purchased from the Indians large tracts of land, covered by the grant to Heath, along the Chowan River. A

settlement was made here in 1653 and a steady stream of colonists followed.

This activity apparently attracted the attention of some Englishmen who were supporters of Charles II, and after he came to the throne he granted the territory between 31° and 36° north latitude "from sea to sea" to the following proprietors: Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England; George Monck, Duke of Albemarle, Master of the King's Horse and Captain-General of all his forces; William Lord Craven, an old friend of Charles II's father who had zealously and ably supported the royal family; John Lord Berkeley, who had defended the Crown in the rebellion and joined the royal family in exile; Anthony Ashley Cooper, Chancellor of the Exchequer and afterward the Earl of Shaftesbury; Sir George Carteret, Vice-Chamberlain of the King's household; Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia, who induced the colony to be loyal to Charles II as their sovereign even while he was in exile; and Sir John Colleton, who had upheld the royal cause in Barbados.

It did not take long for these royal proprietors to discover that the "richest jewel of their new domain of Carolina" was not in their domain at all. Settlements already made in the Albemarle region lay for the most part a few miles north of the line marking the limit of the territory granted to them. So in 1665 they secured a new charter extending the limits one-half degree to the north and two degrees to the south.

Plan followed plan for a scheme of government. Finally, one was approved. This was the Fundamental Constitutions drawn up for Carolina by John Locke under the direction of the Earl of Shaftesbury and adopted by the proprietors on July 21, 1669

The Fundamental Constitutions were designed to serve a landed aristocracy and set forth many orders of rank and privilege which were impractical, to say the least, and were probably responsible for their eventual failure. But even with these limitations they gave the Englishmen in Carolina very broad rights and freedoms. They provided an adequate system of local courts with a guarantee of trial by jury; the English system of town government and the right to elect repre-

sentatives to meet every two years. Provision was made for registration of births, marriages, and deaths and for recording land titles. Many of these provisions were so liberal that in England they were considered to be radical. In Carolina, however, they provided nothing more than was expected by the pioneers who risked their lives to settle the wilderness. But the proprietary rule, set up under the Constitution, was unsuccessful and the colony was taken back by the Crown in 1728.

The other feature of the book is the section containing brief biographical sketches of the proprietors with a full page portrait of all save one of whom no portrait is known. The book is well printed on good stock. It is an interesting and scholarly work. As such it will be a valuable addition to any library.

William D. Overman.

Firestone Tire and Rubber Co.,
Akron, Ohio.

The County Court in North Carolina before 1750. By Paul M. McCain. (Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series XXXI. Durham: The Duke University Press, 1954. Pp. viii, 263. $2.50.)

The county court was the principal institution of local government in North Carolina for almost two hundred years before the adoption of the state constitution of 1868. Provision for a court in each precinct of the colony was made in the Fundamental Constitutions of 1669. Within a short time courts were established in the precincts of Albemarle County and later in those of Bath County. Following the abolition of these two counties in 1738-1739, the precincts became counties. The precinct court was known thereafter as the county court.

In this scholarly volume Dr. McCain traces the development of the county court from its beginnings under the proprietors as a precinct court down to the middle of the eighteenth century, when its organization and powers had become fixed and stable. Originally the court was established to relieve the general court, composed of the governor and

council, from trying petty civil cases and probating routine records. As the colony developed, the authority of the court was expanded until this agency became the chief administrative body of the county as well as its court of justice.

Dr. McCain has presented a clear picture of the operation of the county court before 1750. Four excellent chapters are devoted to the jurisdiction of the court. Specific cases and incidents have been used effectively in illustrating the authority exercised by the justices in criminal and civil actions, probate proceedings, supervision of orphans, and in the regulation of involuntary servitude and slavery. The powers of the court in matters concerning public buildings, county finance, supervision of roads, and the regulation of business have been carefully described in four additional chapters.

From the power and authority which the court exercised in the affairs of the people of North Carolina before 1750, Dr. McCain concludes that the court gave to the inhabitants of the colony an institution of local government adapted to their needs.

Serious students of history will be pleased with this well-organized and readable account of an important segment of the early history of North Carolina.

Rex Beach.

Hall of Records Commission,
Annapolis, Maryland.

A History of Catawba County. Compiled and published by Catawba County Historical Association, Inc. Edited by Charles J. Preslar, Jr. (Salisbury: Rowan Printing Company. 1954. Pp. 526. $5.00.)

Eighteen years ago residents of Catawba County in the upper Piedmont section of North Carolina organized a historical association and began collecting materials from which a history of the county could be written. A publication committee, headed by Dr. J. E. Hodges, president of the association, has now published in a sizeable volume the first general history of the county.

Catawba was not formed until 1842, when Nathaniel Wilson captured John Killian's seat in the House of Commons

and put through a bill to divide Lincoln County. The authors, however, appropriately began with the coming in 1749 of German and Scotch-Irish settlers to the area. The story of the pioneers, the majority of whom were Germans, is adequately told. Heinrich Weidner's (Whitener) experiences during the French and Indian War form the most exciting of the individual narratives.

The writers attempted to include every phase of Catawba's history and current state of development. Accordingly, there are, in addition to the usual political and military discussions, sections on religion, education, transportation, trades, professions, newspapers, post offices, manners, and health resorts. Accounts are given, for instance, of the building in the 1850's of the Western North Carolina Railroad, which helped transform Hickory Tavern into an industrial center, and of social life at Sparkling Springs, an almost forgotten resort center. Even with two railroads (the Chester and Lenoir arrived in 1881), the manufacture of furniture, hosiery, and textiles, which is now the principal activity in the county, amounted to little before 1900. Predominantly agricultural until recent years, Catawba now annually produces manufactured goods valued at $100,000,000, which contrasts sharply with farm products worth $6,000,000. The description of the destructive 1916 Catawba valley flood will convince the reader of the value of the present series of dams on the Catawba as flood control measures, as well as for the production of electricity for the region's industry.

An average county history in over-all merit, this book has, nevertheless, many shortcomings. The literary style is unimpressive and the long lists of names make tedious reading. At times the short unrelated paragraphs do not form connected narratives. There are no footnotes and little documentation in the text. The general tone is excessively laudatory. Some factual and typographical errors escaped the proofreaders. To illustrate, the following inaccurate sentence is not explained: "It was not, in fact, until 1798 that the first English school was opened in North Carolina" (p. 122). Johnston Blakely is presented as two persons. John Bell, the 1860 candidate, is referred to as "Whig John Belle." A blank-

et statement that the Confederate soldier "was not allowed to return home after the cessation of hositilities, as he was detained as a prisoner" (p. 283), illustrates the guesswork in which the writers sometimes engaged.

The faults of this book will detract from the pleasure of reading it, but will not prevent the judicious reader from tracing through its pages the development of a progressive North Carolina county. Several pages of drawings by Philip Moose add variety to the volume. A short bibliography and an acceptable index are included.

Henry S. Stroupe.

Wake Forest College,
Wake Forest.

The Presbyterian Congregation on Rocky River. By Thomas Hugh Spence, Jr. (Concord, North Carolina: Rocky River Presbyterian Church. 1954. Pp. xiv, 293. $3.25)

The present history of the Presbyterian Congregation on Rocky River is written by Thomas Hugh Spence, Jr., and dedicated to the memory of his father, Thomas Hugh Spence, pastor of the Rocky River Church from 1916 to 1931. It covers the entire period from the time of the arrival of John Rodgers, the first settler, according to tradition, in the Rocky River Community, in 1732, to the service of formal recognition of the gift of the Education Building on September 6, 1953. Of especial, general historical interest is the account which Mr. Spence gives of the beginnings of the Presbyterian settlement along Rocky River, stemming out of the migration of the Scotch-Irish from the middle Colonies, especially Pennsylvania and Virginia, to the Rocky River area where land was cheaper than it was in Pennsylvania and, more important, where there was no intereference by civil authorities in the Presbyterian form of worship such as there had been in Virginia, where the Established Church (Anglican) was dominant to a much larger extent than it was in the inland regions of North Carolina.

A large part of the more general appeal of the story which is recounted here arises from the extent to which the Rocky River Congregation—clergy and laymen—have been caught

up in the movement of events beyond their confines and the extent to which its members have participated in these events—in war, in African missions, in civil affairs, and in education.

While those who are associated with the Rocky River Presbyterian Church will have a special interest in this volume, it will also appeal to others who, in one connection or another, have come to know the pastors and lay leaders of this congregation. The biographical material comprises a large portion of the book; it is full of accounts of people whose lives were rich, self-giving, and ennobling.

A lengthy appendix includes lists of the pastors, elders, deacons and other officials of Rocky River, together with statistical reports and lists of the "Patriots and Soldiers of the Revolutionary Period" and "Confederate Casualties." A detailed bibliography is included.

E. Clinton Gardner.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh.

King's Mountain and Its Heroes: History of the Battle of King's Mountain, October 7th, 1780, and the Events Which Led to it. By Lyman C. Draper, LL.D., with steel portraits, maps, and plans. (Cincinnati, Peter G. Thomson. 1881. Continental Book Company, Marietta, Georgia, 1954. Pp. xv, 612. $10.00.)

The republication of this book for the second time in the three quarters of a century since its original publication should be a distinct encouragement to all those whose writings are poorly received but who firmly believe that they are writing for eternity. It is perhaps an evidence that history does not have to be rewritten by each generation. When old Dr. Ramsey, the Tennessee historian and the prime mover in inducing the dilatory Lyman Draper to write this—his only book—saw the product, he predicted that it would be popular for a century. It was not, to Dr. Draper's great disappointment, popular at the moment. Its sales fell far below his ambitious dreams, and the immediate reception was not good. It came a year late for the centennial celebration of the King's Mountain battle and competed with the flood of

memoirs and battle material relating to the Civil War, which was then pouring from the presses. Nevertheless, it has stood the test of time well, and in recent years even the first reprinting some decades ago has been selling as a collectors' item for about twenty-five dollars. The re-issue in lithoprint by the Continental Book Company is a real service to historians, genealogists, and antiquarians.

The book is a dramatic account of the British in the Carolinas, of the confusion in the upcountry where neighborhoods and even families were divided between royal syncophants and high-minded patriots. Finally, as Cornwallis, Tarleton, and Ferguson terrorized the land, a cry for aid went over the mountains to the men of the Watauga, the Nollichucky, and the fastnesses of the West. Then under Selby, Campbell, Cleveland, Chronicle, and John Sevier, the mountain clans gathered, crossed over the Yellow Mountains, and on October 8, 1780, stormed the heights of King's Mountain, killed Ferguson and many another leader of the Redcoats, captured 600 foul Tories, saved Carolina, and prepared the way for the final surrender of the dastard Cornwallis at Yorktown. It is a dramatic tale, filled with anecdotes of Whig derring-do and the bestial deeds of the Tory hordes.

In addition, the book is a veritable encyclopedia for genealogists and antiquarians. Names, ancestry, deeds, and descendants of scores are carefully, even reverently, recorded; and whole chapters give biographies of Shelby, Sevier, Cleveland, Winston, and others. Appended, too, is the diary of British Lieutenant Allaire, letters of General Gates, Washington's congratulatory order, and Lafayette's comments. And the documents in the virulent controversy, which the Selbys raised, over William Campbell's conduct in the battle are here presented—and the conflict resolved by Draper in a complete vindication of Campbell. It is, withal, a yarn filled with specific, circumstantial accounts. When the *New York Times* reviewed it in 1881, the reviewer remarked that it was exactly such an account as the paper would wish from its correspondent on the scene.

It might well, too, serve as a model for modern battle accounts—cluttered as they are with polysyllabic incantations

about strategy, logistics, and command systems. Amid this mystifying folderol, a clear, balanced, sane, and circumstantial account would be a blessing. Lyman Draper had no knowledge of the high-flown verbiage of modern military science; he thought the patriots won the battle of Kings Mountain because they shot straight. Of course, as he implied in every line, their aim was true because their hearts were pure.

Despite its nineteenth-century style and a distinct patriotic bias in favor of the Whig cause, it is, even today, superb reading. Between the lines is the very human story of plundering, marauding, and murder on a disorganized frontier. It is a picture which Bancroft and other of Draper's contempories failed to portray, and it can be read with interest and profit by students of the Revolution and of the South, even after three quarters of a century.

William B. Hesseltine.

University of Wisconsin,
Madison, Wisconsin.

The Letters of William Gilmore Simms. Volume III—1850-1857. Collected and edited by Mary C. Simms Oliphant, Alfred Taylor Odell, and T. C. Duncan Eaves. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1954. Pp. xxvi, 564. $8.50.)

The third volume of "The Letters of William Gilmore Simms" reveals anew the complexity of the task which faced the editors of Simms's prolific correspondence. It reveals also the scholarly thoroughness and the editorial skill of Simms's granddaughter, Mrs. Oliphant, and Eaves in making this correspondence available to the public. (Odell, who did much of the early work on the project, died shortly before volume I of the letters was published.) Scholars and students of southern literature will not cease to be grateful for their devoted efforts.

In addition to printing the letters, the editors have included in this volume a list of the depositories or owners of manuscripts, a chronological list of the Simms letters for the years 1850-1857, more than seventeen hundred footnotes, an appendix containing Simms's sensational lecture entitled "South

Carolina in the Revolution," and a temporary index intended for use until the issuance of a complete index in the final volume of the five-volume series.

As for the letters themselves in this third volume, they vary considerably in interest and value for the student of southern or American literature or even for specialists in Simms and his literary work. Simms was a conscientious correspondent who appears always to have felt that when he received a letter, he was in duty bound to answer it, even if it called for no more than a brief expression of thanks for some small favor. Though such notes show Simms as a polite southern gentleman, they do not provide very interesting reading; and one is inclined after a while to skim through these or even to skip over them with a mere glance in order to get to other letters with more meat in them.

The Simms letters are concerned with many things; among them: family matters, routine editorial correspondence relating to the *Southern Quarterly Review*, travel experiences, and the management of the plantation at Woodlands, which required an increasing amount of work from Simms as his father-in-law became progressively feeble in mind and body. Of considerable interest to the present writer are Simms's political opinions and a number of his remarks about his writing.

A decade before the storm of war struck the South, William Gilmore Simms was a secessionist at heart, and he anticipated the explosion long before it came. In November, 1850, he wrote to Evert Duyckinck: "We are all absorbed in politics—the cauldron bubbling up furiously, and about to boil over. That it will do so, some day, you may be certain." A few days later in the same month he was writing to his Virginia friend Nathaniel Beverley Tucker: "Five years at the utmost—unless there be a great revolution in public sentiment at the north—which is scarcely possible—will see the dissolution of the Union." One gets the impression in reading passages like these which appear in many of the letters, that Simms did not bother much to visualize the tremendous struggle which the southern states would be involved in if their secession were challenged by northern arms. He seems

from his letters to have been much more concerned about a grand declaration of southern freedom than about the highly intricate and extremely difficult process by which the southerners might maintain their freedom after they had declared it.

Simms has often been criticized for having written too much, for having spread his talent too thin through his ready flow of words. The letters show that this prolixity was the result partly of Simms's own make-up as a writer and partly of the circumstantial necessity which forced him often to write like a mere drudge. In this latter connection there is a passage in a letter to Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, March 2, 1851, which indicates one of Simms's many difficulties as editor of a magazine that sadly lacked the money to pay the contributors the editor wished to attract. As a result Simms had to depend upon the scribblings of irresponsible substitutes. "My toils [on the *Southern Quarterly Review*] are incessant," writes Simms. "You need not be told that we can seldom rely upon the punctuality of amateur writers, and at the last moment I am frequently compelled to turn in & write doggedly to fill out a number."

In addition to this enforced writing which naturally suffered from being uninspired on the one hand and hurried on the other, there was much that Simms put down on paper because he felt an almost constant urge toward written composition. "With me," he comments to Marcus C. M. Hammond, August 7, 1850, "it is habit to write." Even ill health and near physical exhaustion could not stop him. Writing to John Pendleton Kennedy, April 5, 1852, from Woodlands, to which he had supposedly retired for a rest, he makes clear how difficult this resting was. "I have been making a most laborious effort to be idle," he says. "But my habits of study and composition are so permanently established, . . . that I do not find it easy to obey admonitions of abstinence, however serious may be the necessity." Like Thomas Wolfe in our own century, Simms appears to have been unable to cease from pouring the words out. Whether an increase in polish and conciseness through slow, careful revision would have compensated sufficiently for a possible loss in natural

vigor and warmth of expression in the novels of either Simms or Wolfe is the sort of question that helps to keep literary critics endlessly employed in debate.

H. G. Kincheloe.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh.

The St. Augustine Expedition of 1740: A Report to the South Carolina General Assembly. Reprinted from the Colonial Records of South Carolina with an Introduction by John Tate Lanning. (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department. Pp. xxviii, 182, map, index. Paper, $3.50.)

Spanish and English history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries include a confusing number of colonial wars. A resurgent Spain fought to destroy the English South Carolina settlements while Great Britain was determined not only to protect them, but also to extend her Atlantic colonies. The clash of national interests motivated many expeditions, one of the most interesting of which was led by James Oglethorpe.

In May, 1740, his army of Carolinians, Georgians, and Indians occupied Fort George Island at the mouth of the St. Johns River, marched down the coast to capture Fort Diego, and by June occupied three strategic places (Fort Moosa, Point Quartell, and Anastasia Island) north and east of St. Augustine. With gunboats blockading the harbor and the Matanzas River, the reduction of the strong, and heretofore impregnable Castillo de San Marcos seemed certain. But Oglethorpe diddled, refused to capture and destroy St. Augustine, thus forcing its inhabitants into the Castillo, and weakened his force by dividing it. A Spanish sally defeated the companies occupying Moosa, winds enabled Spanish ships to break the blockade, and illness in Oglethorpe's camps spread at an alarming rate. The siege was lifted and Florida evacuated.

Almost immediately a committee of the lower house of the South Carolina Assembly investigated the cause of failure. Before its findings were published, James Kilpatrick began a pamphlet war of Carolina and Oglethorpe apologists. Three editions of the committee report appeared in

the 1740's and fragments of the report were published in the nineteenth century, but only a few copies of the complete report are extant.

The St. Augustine Expedition of 1740 contains an excellent interpretative introduction by Lanning, an explanatory bibliographical note, the report, and an appendix of 139 letters, statements, and accounts. Although the report and appendix are reprinted from the multi-volumed *Colonial Records of South Carolina* now in progress, edited by J. H. Easterby, this volume is of sufficient importance to stand alone. Rarely does one find an eighteenth century report with such a wealth of detail combined in a unified account and presented with impartiality. This source volume is essential for students of the British and Spanish colonial periods.

Rembert W. Patrick.

University of Florida,
Tallahassee, Florida.

Reconstruction at Sewanee. The Founding of the University of the South and its First Administration, 1857-1872. By Arthur Benjamin Chitty, Jr. (Sewanee, Tennessee: The University Press, 1954. Pp. 207. $3.50.)

This extremely readable volume traces the early history of the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee, from its ambitious founding in the prosperous years before the Civil War through its first administration in the trying Reconstruction period. It is a story of large-scale planning, bitter disappointments, and modest fulfilment under devoted leaders. The University, as envisioned by its founders, Bishops Otey, Polk, and Elliott, was to be a great regional adventure controlled by the Episcopal Church, though mainly sponsored by ten Southern dioceses. The plans called for an isolated mountain domain and a magnificent campus which would become the center of a community receiving its tone from the University. The curriculum would embrace the major fields of knowledge, and it was expected that Sewanee would shortly rival the best universities in the country. The war crushed these plans, but the ideal was not abandoned. Church support was reaffirmed and desperate

efforts were made to obtain funds. Bishop Quintard, later the first vice-chancellor, even went to England for help, returning with £2,500 and grants of books from Oxford and Cambridge.

In 1868 Sewanee opened its first session with four professors and nine students—"the paltriest beginnings and the total absence of any means at all." But it was a start, and in spite of poverty the early period was one of growth which set an enduring pattern that reflected the traditions of Oxford and Cambridge, classical scholarship, the cadet military system, the civilization of the Old South, and the Episcopal Church. From the beginning Sewanee had been "striving toward a clearly drawn pattern rather than moving from experiment to experiment." Its goal remained "the training of youth in Christian virtue, in personal initiative, in self mastery, in . . . intellectual integrity."

Mr. Chitty has told his story well. It is thoroughly documented, with copious notes, bibliography, and photographs, much of the material coming from valuable unpublished diaries, letters, and University records. The many quotations give lively insights into the personalities of the founders, while references to southern history and to other universities give perspective to the central story. This book should be of value to anyone interested in the growth of American education, for it is the story of an institution now standing "among the nation's high one percent in scholarly achievement of graduates."

Porter Williams, Jr.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh.

Tobacco Dictionary. By Raymond Jahn. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1954. Pp. 199. $5.00.)

This little volume will be useful indeed to those who, knowing little or nothing about the tobacco industry, regard the plant as romantic. It is a pioneer work in so far as the industry of the United States is concerned.

Perhaps Mr. Jahn has only followed current American convictions in omitting names of farmers who have con-

tributed so notably to the development of the tobacco industry. He includes countless manufacturers and even names of individuals connected with the redrying and storage of leaf tobacco. Nor does he omit William Fitzhugh, "one of the prominent members of the planter-class of the Chesapeake Bay region," who amassed "54,000 acres and over fifty slaves." But, apparently unconcerned with the important work of various small farmers in the less distant past, he omits all reference to that pioneer breeder of tobacco seed, Robert L. Ragland; to Dr. Davis G. Tuck, originator of the flue; and to Samuel C. Shelton who devised the methods and rationale of curing single leaves of tobacco. It is on the work of such men as these that the great cigarette industry of today is based. That amazing entrepreneur, James B. Duke, grew up in their midst.

In general, *Tobacco Dictionary* contains clear and accurate statements, although exception might be taken to the implication that Sir Walter Raleigh took Virginia tobacco "back to Europe with him." Some few definitions—notably "trash" and "fighting brands"—are perhaps too narrow and a number of varieties of tobacco have not been included. It was John J., not P. Arthur Adcock, who developed the Adcock variety. Moreover, this volume which is designed also to bring pleasure to the farmer contains "weeding" but does not include "wed" which, as any son of Virginia or North Carolina recognizes, is the past tense of "weed."

Nannie M. Tilley.

East Texas State Teachers College,
Commerce, Texas.

The Fremantle Diary. Editing and Commentary by Walter Lord. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1954. Pp. xv, 304. $4.00.)

Civil War readers have long been aware of young Colonel Fremantle, whether sharing a fork with Joseph E. Johnston, peering at the field of Gettysburg from high in a tree over Lee's command post, or making observations on southern life and society. Few have known him, however, except as quoted by others. His diary printed in London in 1863, is now reprinted, and made available for the pleasure of many.

In the winter of 1863 Lieutenant Colonel James Arthur Lyon Fremantle, of Her Majesties Coldstream Guards, took leave from his regiment to see the great war in this country, and the southern gallantry and determination he so much admired. Landing in early April at the mouth of the Rio Grande, he worked his way east and north, seeing everything and everybody worth his attention, and making careful notes in his diary. He was deeply impressed by the American cocktail, by the custom of personal violence, by the need of shaking hands. He was friendly with many, among them Generals Beauregard, Hood, Johnston, Bragg, Polk, Lee, and Longstreet who years afterward remembered him with liking. Their friendly interest explains why he was able to see so much. After Gettysburg, he went through the lines to New York, saw the draft riots in July, and went home convinced that the South was "destined, sooner or later, to become a great and independent nation."

To Col. Fremantle's fascinating story, Mr. Lord has added useful and colorful notes. The total production is an extremely interesting addition to Civil War literature. It is unfortunate that the editorial standards are not as high. The text of the 1863 edition has been slightly altered in many places, without notice that this has been done. The notes contain much undocumented material, and the quotations are often inaccurately made. These and other instances of carelessness, as in referring to ambassadors at so early a date, lessen the value of the work, as does the lack of an index.

Herbert W. Hill.

Dartmouth College,
Hanover, N. H.

A History of the South. By Francis Butler Simkins. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953. Pp. xiii, 655. Illustrations, biblography, and index. $5.75.)

In 1947 Simkins published *The South Old and New: A History, 1820-1947*. Now he offers a revision of his earlier work in which he has not only revised much of the first edition but has written several new chapters. Five of these treat of the period before 1820, where the 1947 book began,

and the last two bring the narrative from World War II to 1952. The greatest changes are therefore at the beginning and the end, though there is substantial revision throughout and one new chapter on "Social Diversions" which the earlier edition did not have.

Of the five chapters on the period before 1820, four of them cover various aspects of the colonial period, and the fifth one is on the Revolution in the South and its effects on the mind, character, institutions, and attitudes of the Southern American. In none of these does Professor Simkins explore beyond accepted presentations nor does he offer original interpretations: the chapters represent largely syntheses of earlier works. He examines and explains the English pattern of life which dominated Southern ways and concludes that the Revolution did little—though it did a little—to change them. The military aspects of the Revolution in the South are largely neglected and, curiously, the period between 1800 and 1820 is completely ignored. Although these five chapters have been added at the beginning, the general division of the work remains as before. About half the book concerns the period since Reconstruction. Here Simkins seems to feel more at home and here, undoubtedly, he intended his emphasis to be.

In none of the work, first or last, does Simkins pretend to survey the South's contributions to American history. Rather he is interested in stressing the traits of mind and character, and the variety of influences, which made the South a distinct cultural province, conscious of its distinctiveness and of its identity. On themes such as these Simkins is at his best, and his best is very good. There are portions of fine writing, such as the excellent chapter on literature in the New South, and there are numerous provocative evaluations where Simkins speaks his mind in analyzing the movements, trends, and attitudes he is describing. He makes many judgments, and some of them will provoke quarrels among southerners, but his judgments are characterized by authority and understanding, for he knows how to be critical and sympathetic in the same process. He condones without sentimentality and condemns without offensiveness.

The result is a book which is more than anything else a group of related essays characterized by clarity of writing, richness of knowledge, originality of presentation, and maturity of judgment. Conclusions are buttressed by pages of statistics and catalogues of names, and both grow tiresome at times. The undergraduate student may enjoy this book, but he will not understand it unless he has more than a fair knowledge of general American history before he tackles this regional review. Because of these features it is not a very teachable book, though this is not necessarily a criticism.

There are inevitably a few errors but only one seems important enough to mention. There are excellent bibliographies, arranged by chapters, but this feature is spoiled by the fact that the readings for chapters xxv-xxii have no relation to the subject matter of the chapters they professedly represent. The wrong numbering is, of course, a technical error and is a small item over which to quibble in so excellent a book.

Frontis W. Johnston.

Davidson College,
Davidson.

Caracas Diary, 1835-1840. By John G. A. Williamson. Edited by Jane Lucas de Grummond. (Baton Rouge: Camillia Publishing Company, Inc. Pp. 444. $10.00.)

In 1954 the diplomatic and commercial relations between the United States and Venezuela are close and important. One-sixth of all our capital investments in Latin America are in Venezuela and the two nations are increasingly interdependent. The relations were neither close nor important in 1835 when our neighbor was in swaddling clothes as a nation and more dependent on England than on her youthful neighbor republic in North America.

That year a native of Roxboro, North Carolina, John G. A. Williamson, was assigned to be our first diplomatic representative to the new South American republic. The appointment as charge d'affaires capped nine years of service by Williamson as our consul in the same general area. Williamson kept a diary during his more than four years in

Caracas, which has been resurrected, documented and published by a thorough and conscientious editor.

Dr. Jane Lucas de Grummond, native Pennsylvanian, now associate professor of history at Louisiana State University, first encountered the Williamson diary in the William T. Morrey Collection at Louisiana State while she was a graduate student in 1942. At that time she published extracts from it under the title of *Envoy to Caracas*. The complete work emerges bearing the clear impression of a great deal of scholarly labor. The result is that a very personal editorship throws interestingly colored slides over the historical events of the birth of a nation.

The rambling, subjective observations and reflections of Williamson, characterized by poor spelling and increasing morbidity, have been converted into a document of considerable historical worth. This has been done without reducing the pungency of the candid eye-witness account of life in Caracas during the first few years of Venezuela's career as a free nation.

Something about the diarist: Williamson was aided by a well-to-do and doting father in getting his education. He had a brief business experience in New York where an admirer classified him as the "handsomest" man in the city. He married a Philadelphia woman and returned to North Carolina to seek a political career. He failed in a bid for a seat in Congress, but he was a loyal supporter of Old Hickory, and it was Jackson who appointed him to his posts in Venezuela.

His diary covers the years of his service in Caracas, but it refers frequently to incidents and people who had been active during the nine preceding years in Venezuelan life. Altogether, Williamson's two jobs spanned the hectic years of readjustment following independence from Spain. He had brief personal contact with Simon Bolivar, the George Washington of South America, and some of his principal satellites. Offended by the liberator's indifference to the lusty, but youthful republic which he represented, as well as by Bolivar's open adulation of Britain, the diarist nourished a definite dislike for both Bolivar and the British.

His distaste for his British colleague in Caracas, Sir Robert Ker Porter, is aired frequently in his diary, and he accused Bolivar of increasing infidelity to the democracy he professed. He hints that Bolivar's early death obscured this unfaithfulness and came in good time to prevent the exposure of the liberator's own royalist ambitions. Williamson's obvious sensitiveness to personal slights, real or facied, colors and discolors his report. His diary remains, nevertheless, a close-up eye-witness account of men and their methods in a most important period in the life of the country. History gives sufficient support to some of his appraisals of men to warn against a casual dismissal of all of them as badly distorted. This may be said in spite of his caustic comments about the revered leader of the forces of South American independence.

Williamson's comments on the manners and morals of Caracas society are savage. As he climbed the dusty trails where now the most costly roadway in the world leads from the sea to the great capital city, or rode horseback to the picnic ground, where now stands the most beautiful country club in the Americas, he speculated on the personalities of many who lived in the dirty little city of some 30,000 inhabitants and groaned in the weakness of his own flesh.

He went pridefully to his assignment, apparently was diligent in the relatively trivial duties of his post but both pleasure and pride dwindled and his diary entries became sour and unhappy. His longing to return to the United States, stayed only by the need to accumulate a little money, may have been caused less by the faults in his environment than by the restlessness of a strangely inconsistent helpmate and his own failing health. Though no word of criticism of his wife appears, there is tragedy in each line of his diary as the time approaches for consummation of her stubborn resolve to return to Philadelphia, regardless of his course. She sailed in May, 1840 and less than three months later on August 7, he died in Caracas, probably of cancer. Ultimately throughout the diary trickles a distillation of pain and bitterness and it ends abruptly when his wife departs.

An ironic twist at the finish is that Williamson had to call on his dispised British colleague to take over his office and

make his final report to the United States Department of State.

"I have the honor," wrote Sir Robert Ker Porter, "of addressing you in order to impart the melancholy intelligence of the death of Mr. J. G. A. Williamson, charge d'affaires from the U. States to this Republic. He died at 10 o'clock on the night of the 7th instant in this city and his remains were interred this morning in the British Cemetery with every honor, respect and attention due to his public and private character." One may speculate wryly as to whether Sir Robert came upon and perused the diary.

Capus M. Waynick.

High Point.

Charles A. Beard: An Appraisal. Howard K. Beale, editor. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1954. pp. xiii, 312. $4.50.)

Any book about Charles A. Beard, one of the most influential, significant, and incidentally one of the most controversial, historians of the United States would arouse interest. The caliber of the co-authors of this *Appraisal* insures its value and importance in the field of history. Eric F. Goldman leads off with an impressionistic view of Beard. It is an excellent and stirring pen picture of a combination of rugged hardheadedness, kindliness, patriotism, and a restive quest for truth, justice, and freedom. Then follow Harold J. Laski with an English view; Max Lerner on political theory; Luther Gulic on muncipal reform; George Soule on planning; Richard Hofstadter on the constitution; Walton Hamilton on "the Politics"; Howard K. Beale on the historian; George R. Leighton on foreign policy; Merle Curti on the critic; Arthur W. MacMahon on the teacher; George S. Counts on the public man; and Howard K. Beale on Beard's historical writings. The book also contains a bibliography of Beard's published writings, and a who's who of the authors. The limits of this review do not permit each article to be dealt with individually. All are of value but it seems that the articles by Walton Hamilton, interesting though it is, has little place in the volume.

Naturally, with such an approach, there is some overlapping and repetition in the essays, but both have been kept to a minimum and do not mar the value of the *Appraisal.* In fact, they may be said to strengthen it. An interesting repetition that casts light on one of Beard's fundamental qualities is the story of Beard's connection with the Connecticut dairy farmers' strike. Running through all the essays is the central theme of Beard's broad grasp of history and human society, his sincere patriotism, and his deep desire to improve man's condition and free him from the bonds that restrain him from the fullest development of his opportunities. Beard made important contributions to government planning, public administration, and municipal government. Broadly trained himself, he believed that it was the obligation and function of every citizen to translate his knowledge and understanding of government into positive action.

But it was as a historian that Beard made his greatest contribution and the essays of Hofstadter, Curti, and Beale are of primary value in the appraisal of his work in this field. Beard published forty-seven volumes of history that had a total circulation of nearly thirteen and one half million by 1949. These books embrace both European and American history as well as the philosophy of history and history's place in the social studies. But the quality of Beard's work is more significant than the quantity. More than ony other American historian Beard stimulated an interest in the economic interpretation of history. In this he was influenced by Karl Marx but he did not accept the Marxian philosophy of dialectical materialism. In his *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* Beard hit at the tradition of individualism in American thinking and raised up a veritable storm of protest. Today, however, Beard's views on economic influences on the Constitution and American history generally are widely accepted. Beard's insistence that "domestic affairs and foreign affairs are intimately associated with each other" was another of his contributions. In this area, too, Beard stirred up a storm of protest, particularly with his books dealing with Roosevelt's policies and the coming of the second World War. Professor Beale says that while

"many loved him; many hated him." Whether Beard's views in this field will come to be accepted is yet to be seen.

This is an interesting and worthwhile book. It is to be lamented that no index was prepared.

Fletcher M. Green.

University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

HISTORICAL NEWS

The Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History met in Raleigh on August 20, when budgetary estimates for the 1955-1957 biennium were approved.

In Winston-Salem on August 26 a marker was unveiled for the first registered Guernsey cattle brought to the state. The ceremonies were conducted by the North Carolina Guernsey Breeders Association, and those participating in the program included Mayor Marshall C. Kurfees, Mr. Alfred M. Brown, Mrs. T. Holt Haywood, Dr. Douglas L. Rights, and Dr. Christopher Crittenden.

On August 29 a historical marker for the historic landmark, the Flat Rock, was unveiled at the Town of Flat Rock, Henderson County. The Department of Archives and History was represented by Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton, Board member, who was master of ceremonies; Board member Clarence W. Griffin, who made a brief address; Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director, who spoke briefly; and Mr. W. S. Tarlton, researcher. The principal address was delivered by Major General Edward P. King, United States Army, retired.

The Historic Sites Commission met in Greensboro, August 31, considered several requests for approval of sites for state aid, and heard an explanation by Mr. George H. Esser of the Institute of Government, regarding the proposed reorganization of state government insofar as the historic sites are concerned.

The Tryon Palace Commission met with the Advisory Budget Commission in New Bern on September 3-4, and met again in Greensboro on November 29. At the latter meeting the chief item of business was the consideration of the plans and specifications that had been prepared by Mr. William G. Perry, the architect. It is expected that the contract for the main building will be let within a few weeks.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden attended the annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History in Madison, Wisconsin, September 9-11. At that meeting the Association announced forty-seven annual awards, of which three came to North Carolina: to Hugh Talmage Lefler and the late Albert Ray Newsome for their work, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (University of North Carolina Press); to the Raleigh Model Railroad Club for installing a railroad exhibit in the Hall of History; and to the State Department of Archives and History for its first half century of achievement and service.

On September 23 Mr. Elbert Cox of Richmond, Va., regional director of the National Park Service, was the principal speaker at the annual celebration at Moore's Creek National Military Park. Mr. Ashley Murphy, Dr. Christopher Crittenden, and others spoke. Mr. J. V. Whitfield, chairman of the battleground committee, presided.

On September 25 in Raleigh memorial services were conducted for the late Dr. George Marion Cooper, who for many years served with the State Board of Health, and a tablet in honor of Dr. Cooper was unveiled in the Cooper Memorial Health Building. Participating in the program were the late Governor William B. Umstead, Dr. G. Grady Dixon, Dr. Amos B. Johnson, Dr. J. W. R. Norton, and Dr. J. H. Hamilton

In the Hall of History, October 1, a party was held for the purpose of securing public aid in identifying a number of pictures left to the Department by the late Albert Barden of Raleigh. These pictures were numbered, and placed on the walls, and prizes were offered to the persons who identified the largest number of photographs. Seventy-five or more persons attended. Many of the pictures were identified.

On October 13 in Vance County a marker was unveiled for Judge Richard Henderson. Dr. Archibald Henderson of the University of North Carolina delivered an address, and Dr. Christopher Crittenden spoke briefly. At Mars Hill on October

15 Dr. Christopher Crittenden addressed the North Carolina Baptist college social studies teachers on "The Writing and Preservation of Local History."

In Gaston County, October 16, a marker for Revolutionary General Joseph Dickson was unveiled. Mr. Frank B. Rankin of Mount Holly delivered an address and Mr. Clarence W. Griffin and Dr. Christopher Crittenden made short talks. The ceremonies were conducted by the William Gaston Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, with Mrs. Kay Dixon of Gastonia, the regent, presiding.

The annual church services and picnic luncheon were held on October 17 at restored St. John's Church in Vance County. The services were conducted by Bishop E. A. Penick and Reverend I. Harding Hughes, both of the Protestant Episcopal Church. At a business meeting Dr. Lawrence F. London, chairman of the restoration committee, presided and reports were made regarding the restoration project. Dr. Crittenden represented the Department of Archives and History.

On October 26 Dr. Crittenden spoke at the unveiling of a portrait of Governor James Turner in the Warrenton Public Library. The ceremonies were conducted by the Warren County Historical Society.

In Chicago, October 28-30, Dr. Crittenden attended the annual meeting of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, of which he is a trustee. On November 3 he was present at the first meeting of the advisory board of the new *American Heritage* (magazine of history).

North Carolinians participating in the programs of the Southern Historical Association at the annual meeting in Columbia, S. C. November 11-13 were as follows: Dr. Christopher Crittenden of the Department of Archives and History; Dr. Loren C. MacKinney and Dr. J. Carlyle Sitterson of the University of North Carolina; Dr. David L. Smiley of Wake Forest College; Dr. Rosser H. Taylor of Western Caro-

lina College; Dr. Robert F. Durden, Dr. Paul H. Clyde, Dr. E. Malcolm Carroll, Dr. William H. Cartwright, and Dr. William B. Hamilton of Duke University.

On November 20 in Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Va., Dr. Crittenden spoke at the unveiling of a memorial at the grave of Henry Lawson Wyatt of Edgecombe County, N. C., first soldier in the Confederate Service to be killed in battle (at Big-Bethel, June 10, 1861). The ceremonies were conducted by the Lee Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Richmond.

On November 30 in Hobgood, Halifax County, a marker was unveiled for General James Hogan. Mr. W. S. Tarlton, representing the Department of Archives and History, made the principal address.

Sir Walter Raleigh Day was celebrated in the public schools of the state on December 3. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction had been empowered "to permit voluntary donations to be made by the school children of the State for the erection of a memorial in the City of Raleigh in honor of Sir Walter Raleigh." The celebration was planned by the Sir Walter Raleigh Commission, of which Governor Luther H. Hodges is chairman; Dr. Clarence Poe, vice chairman; Dr. Charles F. Carroll, secretary; and Mr. Robert Lee Humber, chairman of the executive committee.

The annual meetings of the various cultural societies were held in Raleigh, December 1-4. The first meeting was the business session of the North Carolina State Art Society. Mrs. Katherine Pendleton Arrington of Warrenton was re-elected president of the Society at a meeting of the board of directors. Also re-elected by the board were Robert Lee Humber of Greenville, vice president and chairman of the executive committee; Mrs. James H. Cordon of Raleigh, treasurer; Miss Lucy Cherry Crisp of Raleigh, executive secretary and gallery director. Mrs. J. H. B. Moore of Greensville, John Allcott of Chapel Hill, and Mrs. Jacques Busbee

of Steeds were re-elected vice presidents at large. Elected to two-year terms on the board of directors were State Treasurer Edwin Gill, Mrs. Isabelle Bowen Henderson and Dr. Clarence Poe of Raleigh, and Dr. Clemmons Sommer of Chapel Hill. State Auditor Henry L. Bridgers and Jonathan Daniels of Raleigh, Gregory Ivey of Greensboro, and Mrs. Kenneth Mountcastle, Jr., of Winston-Salem, were elected to one-year terms on the board. Mr. Humber reported that it would probably be 1956 before the state receives the $1,000,000 art gift from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation.

Dr. Charles F. Carroll of Raleigh presided at the luncheon meeting of the Art Society and Dr. James Sprunt was the speaker. A report on the museum building and progress in the art collection was made by Mr. Robert Lee Humber who reported that objects of art, consisting of valuable paintings, porcelains, tapestries, and furniture, valued at approximately $703,900 had been donated to the state during 1954.

Mr. John H. Kerr, Jr., of Warrenton received the Society's Certificate of Merit and Achievement for distinguished service to the North Carolina State Art Society. Mr. Kerr was largely responsible for the passage in the General Assembly of 1947, of the bill appropriating $1,000,000 for the purchase of objects of art.

Mr. Robert Lee Humber presided at the evening meeting of the Society and Dr. Marshall Fishwick, associate professor of American Studies of Washington and Lee University, spoke on "Art in Our Daily Life and the Art Museum's Role in the Community." Winners of the 1954 Purchase Awards in the North Carolina Artists Competition were announced. The awards were presented by Miss Lucy Cherry Crisp to Mr. Claude Howell of Wilmington for his semi-abtract oil painting, "Beach Umbrella," Mr. Philip Moose of Newton for his impressionistic oil, "The Plaza," and Mr. Harry Ellensweig, State College student, for his ink and watercolor, "City Maze." After Dr. Fishwick's address a reception and preview of the North Carolina Artists' Exhibition were held in the State Art Gallery.

The Roanoke Island Historical Association held a luncheon meeting, December 1, at the Hotel Sir Walter.

On December 2 the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities held its fourteenth annual meeting. The morning program of the session was composed of reports on restoration and preservation projects. Mr. James A. Stenhouse, chairman of the Historic Sites Commission, reported on St. Thomas Church at Bath and the Alston House in the Horseshoe. Mrs. John A. Kellenberger, chairman of the Tyron Palace Commission, stated that it had been decided to enlarge the grounds at the Palace and, if possible, restore the original park. Mrs. Dorothy R. Phillips, Hall of History, Raleigh, gave a slide program on "Historic Buildings in North Carolina." The officers of the Society were re-elected for another year.

At the luncheon meeting of the Antiquities Society Mr.. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro presided. Mrs. Sterling M. Gary of Halifax presented Chancellor Robert B. House of the University of North Carolina, who spoke on the Halifax Resolves of April 12, 1776. Mr. James A. Stenhouse discussed the restoration and preservation of historic buildings in Halifax.

Miss Gertrude S. Carraway of New Bern presided over the evening meeting. Fourteen new life members were presented. The Cannon Awards were presented to the following: Attorney General Harry McMullan, Raleigh, for his aid to the Society in the preservation of historic sites; Mrs. Walter M. Stearns, Raleigh, for the preservation of her home, "Haywood Hall," which was built in 1792; Miss Cora A. Harris, Charlotte, writer and landscape gardener, for her designing and execution of period plantings for restoration projects, and for her writings in history and horticulture; Colonel Jeffrey F. Stanback, Mount Gilead, for his work in historical research and writing, his setting up of the Montgomery County Archives, and his endeavors in having old places in the state restored; Mr. and Mrs. George D. Allen, Scarsdale, New York, for their work with Duke University and the Duke

Endowment, as well as their restoration work in Warrenton; Mr. Cecil B. DeMille, formerly of Washington, North Carolina, for his many fine films. The program was presented by the Charles B. Aycock Memorial Commission of which Dr. D. J. Rose, Goldsboro, is chairman. "The Vision of Charles Brantley Aycock," by John Ehle and directed by Clifton Britton, was presented. A reception was held after the meeting.

On December 3 the State Literary and Historical Association held its annual meeting. Mrs. Inglis Fletcher presided at the morning session when the reports of the secretary-treasurer and of the committees were given and resolutions were passed. In the election of officers Dr. Fletcher M. Green, head of the history department at the University of North Carolina, succeeded Mrs. Inglis Fletcher of Edenton as president of the association; Mr. John Harden of Greensboro, Mr. Hugh Morton of Wilmington, and Dr. R. H. Taylor of Cullowhee were elected vice presidents. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director of the Department of Archives and History, was re-elected secretary-treasurer. Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace of Meredith College and Dr. William H. Cartwright of Duke University were elected members of the executive committee.

The program of the Literary and Historical Association began with Dr. Paul Murray of Greenville speaking on "*The North Carolina Historical Review*—The First Thirty Years." Mr. Harry Golden of Charlotte talked on "The Jewish People of North Carolina" and Mr. Robert Mason of Sanford gave a review of North Carolina fiction of the year. The R. D. W. Connor Award for the best article on North Carolina history or biography in *The North Carolina Historical Review* was presented by Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace to Mr. Hugh F. Rankin, graduate student at the University of North Carolina, for his article, "Cowpens: Prelude to Yorktown." Mr. Roy Parker, Sr., of Ahoskie presented the Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Award to Mr. Thad Stem, Jr., of Oxford for his volume of verse entitled "The Jackknife Horse." Mrs. Mebane Holo-

man Burgwyn of Jackson was presented the American Association of University Women's Juvenile Literature Award by Mrs. Carl A. Plonk of Asheville for her book, *Penny Rose.*

Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History presided at the luncheon meeting of the Association and Dr. Leonard B. Hurley of Greensboro gave a review of North Carolina non-fiction for the year.

The subscription dinner was presided over by Mr. Capus M. Waynick of High Point and Mrs. Inglis Fletcher gave the presidential address. Dr. D. J. Whitener of Boone presided at the evening meeting. The address, "The Elizabethan Politics and Colonial Enterprise," was given by Dr. Louis B. Wright of the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D. C. Mrs. Preston B. Wilkes, Jr., governor, Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of North Carolina, presented the Mayflower Society Award to Dr. Hugh T. Lefler of Chapel Hill and the late Dr. A. R. Newsome of Chapel Hill, for their book, *North Carolina, The History of a Southern State;* and Miss Clara Booth Byrd, Greensboro, president of the Historical Book Club, presented the Sir Walter Raleigh Award to Mr. Ovid William Pierce of Weldon for his novel, *The Plantation.* A reception was held after the meeting.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians met on the afternoon of December 3. The Society announced the plan for the presentation of an annual award for the best historical feature published in the newspapers of the state. The perpetuation of the Smithwick Award was announced and it will be given by Mr. and Mrs. S. T. Peace of Henderson. The award will be made for the best local historical work published in book form. It will be given on alternate years. Officers re-elected were: Mr. William S. Powell, Chapel Hill, president; Mr. Manly Wade Wellman, Chapel Hill, Colonel Jeffrey F. Stanback, Mt. Gilead, and Mrs. S. T. Peace, Henderson, vice presidents. Mrs. Musella W. Wagner of Chapel Hill was re-elected secretary-treasurer. "The Junior Historian Movement" was described by Dr.

Jonathan C. McLendon of Durham and Dr. Harry R. Stevens of Durham discussed "The Progress and Future of County History Writing."

at the meeting of the North Carolina Folklore Society, which was held on the afternoon of December 3, Mr. Manly W. Wellman spoke on "The Writer's Use of Folklore." After his talk Miss Margaret Underwood of Greensboro sang "Vandy, Vandy," and other North Carolina folksongs. Mr. James M. Carpenter discussed "Folklore Collecting in Britian and America."

The North Carolina Poetry Society also held its meeting on Friday afternoon, December 3. Mr. Paul Bartlett of Charlotte presided in the absence of Mrs. W. H. Vestal of Winston-Salem, president. Mr. Richard Walser of Raleigh issued greetings, and Mr. Stewart Atkins of Gastonia responded. The program of the meeting was "The History of the North Carolina Poetry Society," by Miss Zoe Kincaid Brockman of Gastonia. Recognition was given by Mr. Paul Bartlett to members who had published volumes of poetry. Mr. James Larkin Pearson, Poet Laureate of North Carolina, Guilford College, Mr. Frank Borden Hanes, Winston-Salem, 1953 Poetry Award winner, and Mr. Thad Stem, Jr., Oxford, winner of the present year; spoke briefly.

The members of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians were guests at the September 5 meeting of the Stanly County Historical Society. A tour included visits to several old homes and churches as well as to the aluminum plant at Badin and Morrow Mountain State Park. After lunch the group visited Pfeiffer College at Meisenheimer.

On October 10 the members of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians were the guests at a tour arranged by Mr. James G. W. MacClamroch and Mr. Raleigh C. Taylor, which covered northern Guilford County, Greensboro, and the Guilford Courthouse Battleground. A picnic lunch was enjoyed by the members who attended.

The Society of American Archivists eighteenth annual meeting at Williamsburg, Virginia, September 12-13, was attended by Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Mr. W. Frank Burton, Mrs. Doris H. Harris, and Mrs. Frances Whitley all of the Department staff. Dr. Crittenden talked on the subject, "The North Carolina Record Center," and Mr. Burton spoke on "Microfilming State Records."

Dr. Marvin L. Skaggs, professor and head of the department of history at Greensboro College, delivered the principal address at the September 17 ceremonies at Guilford Battleground, when the Daughters of the American Revolution presented a Revolutionary drum to Guilford Courthouse National Military Park. Dr. Christopher Crittenden was present and talked briefly about the drum.

The Restored Wachovia Museum was opened on September 18 by the late Governor William B. Umstead, in Old Salem, Winston-Salem. The restoration project was promoted and carried through by Old Salem, Inc., and is a part of their long-range program to recapture as nearly as possible the atmosphere and actuality of the Wachovia settlement. The museum was originally begun by the Young Men's Missionary Society of the Moravian Church.

The Wachovia Historical Society at its annual meeting on October 19, presented three North Carolina writers with Spangenberg Medals commemorating the first settlement in Wachovia. Those who were so honored were Mr. William T. Polk, author of *Southern Accent;* Mr. James S. Brawley, who wrote *The Rowan Story;* and Dr. Hugh T. Lefler, who co-authored *North Carolina, The History of a Southern State.* Mr. Polk, who was the principal speaker, is an associate editor of the *Greensboro Daily News.*

On September 26 Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson, professor of history at High Point College, and Mrs. Inglis Fletcher, novelist, were the featured speakers at the Homecoming Day program of the historic Old Bethesda Presbyterian Church

near Aberdeen. The program, which was attended by hundreds of the descendants of the Scottish settlers, lasted throughout the day and a picnic lunch was served. Mr. J. Talbot Johnson, chairman for 27 successive years, presided and students from Flora MacDonald College gave a program of religious music. Mrs. Fletcher's talk was on the topic, "History and the Writing of a Novel." Dr. Robinson read excerpts from his forthcoming history of Moore County.

An article which described the Robert H. Davis Collection of O. Henryana appeared in the October 17 edition of the *Greensboro Daily News.* It was written by Mr. Burke Davis, feature writer of the *Daily News* and author of the recent book, *They Called Him Stonewall.*

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, head of the Division of Museums of the Department of Archives and History, accompanied by Mrs. Dorothy R. Phillips and Miss Barbara McKeithan, attended the annual meeting of the Southeastern Museums Conference in Miami, Fla., October 20-23. Mrs. Jordan is secretary-treasurer of this group.

On November 9 Mrs. Jordan spoke to the Dunn Junior Woman's Club on "North Carolina Pottery."

The thirtieth anniversary celebration of the Greensboro Historical Museum was held on October 28 with a luncheon address by Governor Luther H. Hodges, then lieutenant governor, and a visit to the museum which featured the Robert H. Davis Collection of O. Henryana. Mr. Karl E. Prickett is president of the Museum and Mr. McDaniel Lewis was chairman of the thirtieth anniversary celebration. Mr. W. Frank Burton, Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, and Mrs. Dorothy R. Phillips of the Department of Archives and History attended the meeting.

The following papers were read at the fall meeting of the North Carolina Historical Society on October 29: Dr. Sarah

Lemmon, "Eugene Talmadge and Dean Cocking"; Mr. Richard Walser, "The Mysterious Case of George Higby Throop, 1818-1896"; and Dr. J. G. de R. Hamilton, "General Robert F. Hoke and His Military Career." Dr. Robert H. Woody of Duke University was elected president and Mrs. Julia Spruill, vice president. Dr. Frontis W. Johnston was re-elected secretary-treasurer and the following members were elected to the council: Dr. Alice B. Kieth, Dr. Sam H. Hobbs, Jr., and Dr. Rosser H. Taylor.

Mr. Clarence W. Griffin of Forest City, a member of the Executive Board, represented the Department of Archives and History at the unveiling of a historical marker on October 31 at the home place of Captain William Moore in Buncombe County. The marker was erected in cooperation with the Unaka Chapter of the Daughters of American Colonists.

The Western North Carolina Historical Association met on November 6 at Brevard College. The business session was presided over by Mr. Sam E. Beck, president, of Asheville. Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, vice president, of Forest City introduced those on the program. Following a welcome by Rev. Robert Stamey, president of Brevard College, Mr. L. P. Hamlin talked on "The History of Transylvania County."

The Executive Committee of the North Carolina Register of Deeds Association met in Raleigh on November 10-11 to outline a legislative program. Mr. W. Frank Burton, head of the Division of Archives, worked with the group in an advisory capacity.

The popular historical magazine, *American Heritage*, which first began publication five years ago, was issued on December 6 in its new book format. This publication has been greatly expanded into book form and contains 124 pages of which 27 are 4-color process pictures. It is jointly sponsored by the American Association for State and Local History and the Society of American Historians. The book will be sold through book stores and not on magazine or news stands.

The Catawba County Historical Association recently elected Mr. Sam G. Rowe, Newton civil engineer, to succeed Dr. J. E. Hodges of Maiden as president. Other officers include Mrs. J. C. Plonk of Hickory, vice president; Mrs. Pearl Miller Tomlinson of Hickory, secretary; and Mrs. J. M. Ballard of Newton, treasurer. The society has decided to start a county museum as its principal project for the coming year.

The county commissioners of Montgomery County recently authorized a depository for the preservation of important manuscripts, documents, and county records. Colonel Jeffrey F. Stanback of Mount Gilead was appointed county historian. A number of important collections have been promised as well as several old maps when the depository is set up. January, 1955, has been set as a possible date when the archives will be available to the public.

Miss Lynette Adcock, originally of Oxford, North Carolina, who is at present connected with Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., Williamsburg, Virginia, compiled the statistics for the new book, *Guide to the Manuscript Collections of Colonial Williamsburg.*

Mr. D. L. Corbitt, editor of the Division of Publications of the Department of Archives and History, attended a number of meetings of county historical societies and addressed others during the last quarter. On September 25 he assisted in the organizational meeting of the Carteret County County Historical Society in Beaufort and spoke on the various phases of achieving a permanent society. Two weeks later following a membership drive 40 charter members elected the following officers: Mrs. Nat Smith of Gloucester, president, and Miss Amy Muse of Beaufort, secretary and curator. On the same date Mr. Corbitt assisted an interested group in Jacksonville in organizing the Onslow County Historical Society with 41 charter members. Mrs. Lillian R. Ray of Hubert was elected president and Mrs. John Starling of Hubert was elected secretary and treasurer. On October 4 Mr. Corbitt spoke at the annual meeting of the Currituck County His-

torical Society at Shawboro. His subject was "The Publication Program of the State Department of Archives and History." Approximately 75 persons attended this meeting. The Bloomsbury Chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution held their October 8 meeting at the Carolina Country Club with Mr. Corbitt speaking on "The Publication Program of the Department of Archives and History." The Mecklenburg Historical Association was organized in Charlotte on October 18 with Mr. Corbitt as speaker at the meeting. Following the program the association was formed with Mr. James A. Stenhouse as president and Mrs. Georgia Spratt Gray as secretary. The association has 160 members. On November 5 the Phi Alpha Theta, national honorary history fraternity of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, had a program which featured Mr. Corbitt, who spoke on "The Publishing of Historical Research Today," and Mr. Lambert Davis, of the University Press, who spoke on "University Presses and the Publishing of Doctor's Dissertations."

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, researcher for the Department of Archives and History, represented the Department at the meeting of the Bertie County Historical Society at the Bertie end of the Chowan River Bridge, September 19. Mr. John E. Tyler, historian of the group, presided. A picnic lunch was enjoyed by the guests and members. A series of markers located at this historic spot include the following: Governor Edward Hyde, Eden House, Pollock's Home, and the Nathaniel Batts House, which symbolically marks the home site of the first known settler in North Carolina. Mr. Tarlton spoke at the unveiling of a marker for Governor John Branch at Enfield, September 9. The ceremonies were sponsored by the local chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. On September 17 he talked on "The Restoration of Somerset Place" to the LaFayette Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution, in Raleigh. As a part of the Junior Historian program which is being sponsored by the Department of Archives and History he gave a talk to an eighth grade class at Needham Broughton High School, Raleigh, September 30, on "The Early History of Raleigh." On November 10 he was

the speaker at the meeting of the Scotch Gardeners Club in Laurinburg on the topic, "Restoration Projects in North Carolina," with emphasis on the Somerset Place project.

Dr. George V. Taylor, assistant professor of European History of the University of North Carolina, has returned from a year in France as a Fulbright Research Scholar where he acquired for the University Library valuable source material and documents on the French Revolution and Napoleonic period.

Dr. James W. Patton, director of the Southern Historical Collection, and Dr. Charles G. Sellers, Jr., assistant professor of history at Princeton University, taught in the 1954 summer session at the University.

Dr. Elisha P. Douglass, assistant professor of American History, spent the summer of 1954 at Princeton University doing research.

Dr. Carl H. Pegg, professor of modern European History, served as civilian consultant specialist in European affairs, at the Air Force conference held in Chapel Hill during the 1954 summer session.

Mr. Wesley H. Wallace has been appointed assistant professor in radio at the University.

Dr. Harold A. Bierck has been appointed to the faculty of the University of California at Los Angeles for the summer session of 1955.

The department of history and political science at North Carolina State College reports the following item: Dr. Philip Morrison Rice has been promoted to associate professor.

On November 21 Dr. L. Walter Seegers, associate professor, gave an address on the Mayflower Compact over Station WPTF, Raleigh.

Dr. Preston W. Edsall, head of the department, is general chairman of the third annual faculty conference on the state of the consolidated University of North Carolina, which will be held at State College, March 10-11, with approximately 180 members of the faculties of the three units of the University participating. The theme will be "Planning a Foreseeable Future." Dr. Edsall spent several weeks of the past summer in England and Holland.

Dr. Kenneth D. Rabb, assistant professor, conducted a circle tour by bus to the Pacific Coast during the summer of 1954. This tour is taken annually by a large number of public school teachers.

On October 16 Dr. W. Buck Yearns of Wake Forest College, read a paper, "The Peace Movement in the Confederate Congress," at a conference of the social studies faculties of the Baptist colleges of North Carolina at Mars Hill. The meeting was attended by Dr. Percival Perry, Dr. David L. Smiley, and Dr. Henry S. Stroupe. Dr. Smiley read a paper, "Cassius M. Clay and John G. Fee: A Study in Southern Anti-Slavery Thought." He is also the author of "Cassius M. Clay and Southern Industrialism", which was published in the *Filson Club History Quarterly*, October, 1954.

Dr. Henry T. Shanks, dean and professor of history at Birmingham-Southern College, was awarded an LL.D. degree by Wake Forest College in June, 1954.

Dr. C. Gregg Singer, head of the department of history at Salem College, recently resigned and Dr. Philip Africa of Warren, Pa., has replaced him. Dr. Africa received his doctorate from the University of Rochester in 1953. Mr. Donald M. McCorkle, who has joined the faculty of Salem College as assistant professor of musicology, is spending a great deal of time in the Moravian Archives cleaning and cataloging the music of the early Moravians, both secular and sacred. This research program is the largest in the history of American

music and will include the collection of old musical instruments as well as music.

The history department at Duke University reports the following: Dr. Robert F. Durden published an article, "*The Prostate State* Revisited: James S. Pike and South Carolina Reconstruction," in the *Journal of Negro History*, April, 1954.

Dr. W. T. Laprade authored the "Report of Committee A on Academic Freedom and Tenure," for the spring issue of the *Bulletin* of the American Association of University Professors.

Dr. Alan K. Manchester spent the summer in South America on special service for the United States Department of State; in October he addressed the Trinity College Historical Society on "Brazil in Transition." The Society had for its speaker in November Dr. Boyd C. Shafer, executive secretary of the American Historical Association.

Dr. Robert H. Woody has been recently appointed director of graduate studies in the history department.

Those of the Duke delegation to the Columbia meeting of the Southern Historical Association were Dr. E. Malcolm Carroll, Dr. Paul H. Clyde, and Dr. Robert F. Durden, and Dr. William H. Cartwright, and Dr. William B. Hamilton, who also participated in the program.

Mr. Raymond Esthus and Mr. Robert L. Ganyard, doctoral candidates, have this year joined the faculties of Brevard College and the University of Houston respectively.

The social studies department of Appalachian State Teachers College sends the following items: Mr. John H. Workman is one of the 26 teachers from this district who have been invited to attend a seminar on money and banking as guests of the Federal Reserve Board, Richmond, December 8-11.

Mr. J. C. Yoder attended the Southeast Division of the Association of American Geographers, Chapel Hill, November 19-20.

Dr. D. J. Whitener was recently re-elected executive vice president of the Southern Appalachian Historical Association, sponsor of "Horn in the West."

Dr. Ina Woestemeyer Van Noppen and Mr. John Mitchell Justice attended the Southern Historical Association meeting in Columbia on November 11-13.

Among the publications of the faculty of the University of North Carolina are the following articles and books (not including those articles or book reviews that appeared in *The Review* or were published by the Department of Archives and History): Dr. Harold A. Bierck's "Spoils, Soils, and Skinner," *Maryland Historical Magazine* (March, June, 1954); Dr. James L. Godfrey's "The Aftermath of World War II," chapter 16 in Setton and Winkler's *Great Problems in European Civilization* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1954); Dr. Fletcher M. Green's *The Chapel Hill Methodist Church: A Centennial History, 1853-1953* (Chapel Hill: Orange Printshop, 1954); Dr. Frank W. Klingberg's "The Reverend John T. Clark: Episcopal Unionist in Virginia," *Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church* (September, 1954).

Mr. William S. Powell of the Library of the University of North Carolina, published "First Flight," in *American Heritage* (winter, 1953-1954).

Dr. Horace H. Cunningham of Elon College had an article, "Organization and Administration of the Confederate Medical Department," in the *Journal of Southern History* (July, 1954).

Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon of Meredith College was the author of "The Agricultural Policies of Eugene Talmadge," which appeared in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* January 1954.

The University of Kentucky Press announces the establishment of a fellowship which awards $5,000 to the writer of a book-length manuscript which will be based upon some signi-

ficant part of the cultural and historical life of Kentucky. The book selected will be published by the University of Kentucky Press. The award is being offered to attract scholars who are interested in this region and was made possible through a gift of Mrs. Margaret Voorhies Haggin of New York City. Further data may be obtained from the Press at Lexington, Kentucky.

Books received recently include the following:

Richard Lyle Power, *Planting Corn Belt Culture: The Impress of the Upland Southerner and Yankee in the Old Northwest* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1953); Frank E. Vandiver, *Southern Historical Papers* (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1953); *South Dakota Historical Collections and Report, Volume* XXVI (Pierre: South Dakota Historical Society, 1953); Bell Irwin Wiley, *Fourteen Hundred and 91 Days in the Confederate Army* (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press Inc., 1954); Stuart Noblin, *The Grange in North Carolina, 1929-1954,A Story of Agricultural Progress* (Greensboro: North Carolina State Grange, 1954); Richard Cecil Todd, *Confederate Finance* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1954); Wilbur R. Jacobs, *Indians of the Southern Frontier* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1954); Aubrey Lee Brooks, *Selected Addresses of a Southern Lawyer* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954); Clarence Edwin Carter, *The Territorial Papers of the United States, Volume* XX, *The Territory of Arkansas, 1825-1829* (Washington: National Archives and Records Service, 1954); Alexander Mathis, *The Lost Citadel* (New York: Pageant Press, Inc., 1954); William B. Hesseltine, *Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey* (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission, 1954); Ed Kilman and Theon Wright, *Hugh Roy Cullen, A Story of American Opportunity* (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1954); Marion Buckley Cox, *Glimpse of Glory, George Mason of Gunston Hall* (Richmond, Virginia: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1954); Claude G. Bowers, *Making Democracy a Reality: Jefferson, Jackson and Polk* (Memphis, Tennessee: Memphis State College Press, 1954); Richard M.

Cameron, *The Rise of Methodism: A Source Book* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1954); Charles C. Cole, Jr., *The Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelist, 1826-1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954); Jay B. Hubbell, *The South in American Literature, 1607-1900* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1954); Burke Davis, *They Called Him Stonewall, A Life of Lientenant General T. J. Jackson, C.S.A.* (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954); William H. Masterson, *William Blount* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1954); J. H. Easterby, *Colonial Records of South Carolina, Volume* IV (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1954); Richard B. Harwell, *Stonewall Jackson and the Old Stonewall Brigade* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1954); Max Freund, *Gustav Dresel's Houston Journal: Adventures in North America and Texas, 1837-1841* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1954); Edwin Adams Davis and William Ransom Hogan, *The Barber of Natchez* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1954); Allen R. Richards, *War Labor Boards in the Field* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953); Joseph H. Parks, *General Kirby Smith C.S.A.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1954); John Harden, *Tar Heel Ghosts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954); and Marshall Fishwick, *General Lee's Photographer: The Life and Work of Michael Miley* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954).

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Mr. Paul Conkin is at present serving with the armed forces in Germany. He received his M.A. from Vanderbilt and was working on his doctorate when called into service.

Dr. William S. Hoffman is chairman of the division of social studies at Wiley College, Marshall, Texas.

Dr. Max L. Heyman, Jr., is on the faculty of the Washington Junior High School, Los Angeles, California.

Dr. Margaret Burr DesChamps is assistant professor of history at Agnes Scott College, Decatur, Georgia.

Mr. Francis B. Dedmond is professor of English and head of the Department of English at Gardner-Webb College, Boiling Springs, North Carolina.

Dr. Hugh T. Lefler is a professor of history at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

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NORTH CAROLINA TARIFF POLICIES, 1775-1789

By WILLIAM FRANK ZORNOW

The Articles of Confederation were often blamed by historians because of their inability to provide a general policy of federal finance or a uniform system of customs duties. There might be some justification for criticizing the general financial policies of the central government, but there is really no justification for condemning the tariff system which was in operation throughout the thirteen states during the period 1775 to 1789.

Historians who emphasized the conflicts among state tariff policies and insisted that such policies presented a veritable maze of rates were guilty of perpetuating a myth which probably began when the movement was first launched to amend the articles. Historians who came afterward belabored this theme without investigating the facts.

In 1910 Albert Giesecke published a brief study on the commercial policies of the country prior to 1789 in which he made this significant statement in regard to state tariff policies under the confederation: "We must not forget that such action [discrimination among the states] was really exceptional, for it was usual during the period to exempt goods of the growth or produce of any of the United States from import duties by the legislating state." [1]

Though the myth was questioned by Giesecke no significant studies were made to explode it once and for all. Merrill Jensen in his latest study of American affairs during this epoch devoted some pages to this important question in

[1] Albert Giesecke, *American Commercial Legislation before 1789* (Philadelphia, 1910), 135.

which he concurred with Giesecke—too much emphasis had been placed upon the differences prevailing among state tariff schedules and not enough attention had been paid to their similarities.[2] This is the same criticism recent historians have made of the traditional treatment of the whole era. The day of Fiske's "Critical Period" has run its course. Recent writers are re-evaluating the Articles of Confederation in terms of their significant achievements rather than their failures. Achievements, it might be added, which were even more significant in view of the external and internal problems confronting the weak central government of the times.

In evaluating the state tariff policies in existence during the revolutionary and confederation period it must be borne in mind that they were designed to accomplish four objectives: (1) revenue, (2) protection, (3) retaliation, (4) regulation. In most states all four of these objectives were present in the tariff legislation enacted, but there were some exceptions. W. C. Fisher in his study of tariff policies before 1789 says the duties levied can be conveniently grouped under four headings: bounties on exports and imports, and duties on exports and imports. In addition there were other charges such as tonnage fees and pilotage fees which are different from impost duties, and drawbacks which are different from export bounties. However, all these different types of duties were designed to accomplish the four objectives mentioned above.[3]

It is the purpose of this paper to examine briefly the tariff system which was in operation in North Carolina during the period 1775 to 1789 and to see to what extent it adhered to or deviated from what might be called a national norm.

Before the Revolution the colonial legislature had provided for small customs duties on wine, rum, and distilled liquors brought in from all places except the mother country.[4] It

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[2] Merrill Jensen, *The New Nation. History of the United States during the Confederation, 1781-1789* (New York, 1950), 338-341.

[3] W. C. Fisher, "American Trade Regulation before 1789," *Papers of The American Historical Association* (New York, 1889), III, 467-493.

[4] Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston and Goldsboro, 1895-1905), XXIII, 268-273, 363-364, 371-375, 392-398; XXV, 331-333, 361-364. Hereafter referred to as Clark, *State Records.*

was not until 1784 that the state legislature found it expedient to adopt a general tariff schedule. Presumably, the purpose behind its adoption was to secure funds necessary to meet the state's quota due the central government and for operating expenses. There were three acts adopted in 1784 affecting the tariff system in North Carolina.

By the terms of the legislation of 1784 the following schedule of rates went into operation in the state:

1. gal.	Jamaica rum	4 d.
1. gal.	Any other spiritous liquor.	3 d.
1. gal.	Madeira wine	1 s.
1. gal.	Any other kind of wine.	6 d.
1. gal.	Cider.	2 d.
1. gal.	Malt liquor	2 d.
	bottled Madeira wine (dozen)	2 s.
	bottled wine, except Madeira (dozen)	1 s.
	malt liquor in bottles (dozen)	1 s.
	Gin (case)	3 s.
	bottled cider. (dozen)	1 s.
1 gal.	Molasses.	1 d.
1 lb.	Bohea tea.	6 d.
1 lb.	All other kinds of tea.	2 s.
1 lb.	Pepper	3 d.
1 lb.	Brown sugar.	½ d.
1 lb.	Loaf sugar.	2 d.
1 lb.	All other kinds of sugar.	1 d.
1 lb.	Cocoa.	1 d.
1 lb.	Coffee.	1 d.

There was also an ad valorem duty of 2 per cent on all other goods imported into North Carolina.[5] The law was not clear as to whether these duties were to apply to goods imported by land or only to merchandise coming by sea. In colonial times there had been some special duties levied against goods imported overland from neighboring colonies, and so there was a precedent for feeling that such imports were entitled to exemption or at least special treatment.

The legislature soon met this question by adopting another law which made these duties collectible on all goods brought

[5] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 549-553, 658-661.

by land or sea. The only exemption was extended to farmers bringing in less than twenty pounds worth of goods for sale.[6] This supplementary act added a duty of 8 s. on each pack of playing cards.

In 1785 another act imposed a heavy duty of £250 on all gambling tables brought into the state.[7] While the following year another law was adopted placing a duty on slaves. The North Carolina act applied to all slaves imported into the state. In some southern states exemption was made on persons visiting the state or moving there to become permanent residents. In some cases the original domicile of the slave affected the duty. There were various schedules for slaves brought directly from Africa, from other states, or from the various European colonial empires in the western hemisphere, but in North Carolina there was a single charge for all slaves regardless of point of embarkation or reason why they were brought to the state. The only variation in the charges depended on the age of the slave. Every slave under the age of seven and over the age of forty was subject to a 50 s. charge. Slaves between the ages of seven and twelve, and between thirty and forty were dutiable at the rate of five pounds. Prime field hands between twelve and thirty were subject to a charge of ten pounds.

In 1786 the anti-slavery sentiment was already evident in this act assessing duties on imported slaves, for it declared that the "importation of slaves into this State is productive of evil consequences and highly impolitic." [8] The importation was not prohibited, but it was penalized by a heavy duty on field hands.

The final schedule framed by the legislature before the new government went into operation in 1789 was adopted in January 1787. The 1787 schedule was as follows:

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[6] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 655-658. According to these acts setting up the tariff system in North Carolina the collector at each port was entitled to charge the following fees while collecting the duties: 2 s. for granting certificates and for administering oaths, 4 s. for granting permits, and 8 s. for taking bonds.

[7] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 731.

[8] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 792-794.

1 gal.	Jamaica rum.	6 d.
1 gal.	Spiritous liquors.	5 d.
1 gal.	Molasses.	2 d.
1 bu.	Salt.	6 d.
	Playing cards (per dozen decks).	12 s.

The other charges which were made under the schedule of 1784 remained the same as far as the enumerated list was concerned. However, there were some changes in the ad valorem rate. The new schedule provided for an ad valorem charge of 5 per cent on all other articles imported into the state, except on woolens, linens, bar iron, steel, castings, and workman tools for plantations. The ad valorem rate on these latter items was increased only one-half per cent to 2½ per cent in all.[9]

The new tariff schedule of 1787 marked the advent of some important developments in this type of legislation in North Carolina. Attention has already been called to the fact that protectionism was one of the elements present in the tariff policies of the states even during the period of the Articles of Confederation. This was particularly true in the northern states, where protection was frankly acknowledged in many of the tariff enactments, but in North Carolina it was almost totally disregarded. The only modest attempt to encourage domestic industry was the granting of a 2 d. per gallon drawback on all molasses distilled within the state.

By granting special duties of 2½ per cent ad valorem instead of 5 per cent on the most urgently needed items—iron, tools, and clothes for slaves, the legislature was encouraging continued importation from abroad and discouraging completely any domestic manufacture of these goods. The North Carolinians thought of their state primarily as an exporting state. They wanted to sell their tobacco and other products abroad and purchase tools and needed items in the cheaper European market. This made the notion of protection repugnant to their thinking. Many southern states experimented with a mild form of protection before 1789, but North Carolina did not.

[9] Clark, *State Records*, 798-802.

One of the most noticeable developments before the establishment of the constitutional government in 1789 was the fact that the states were cooperating to unify their tariff systems and to admit the goods produced or manufactured in the United States duty free. North Carolina fell in line with this general trend throughout the other states.

This willingness to grant concessions to American produced goods first made its appearance in the tariff legislation of 1785. This act provided that no duties were to be paid on goods which were manufactured in the states out of materials grown in the United States, but it did insist that foreign goods imported in America bottoms were dutiable. There had been a question raised as to whether or not American ships made free goods, but the legislature decided this was not the case.[10]

The act of 1787 carried this principle that American produced goods were duty free even further. This law provided that arms, ammunition, and all goods grown, produced, or manufactured in the United States were exempt from all charges. No longer was the qualifying feature of the 1785 act present, which limited this exemption only to goods manufactured in America out of native raw materials.

In the tariff legislation of this period one can also see some evidence of discrimination and retaliation aimed particularly at the British. This policy grew out of the English attitude toward American commerce after the war. American merchants had long been dependent upon the triangular trade involving their own ports, and those of Europe and the West Indies. It was the only way Americans could earn the money necessary to purchase products abroad. On July 2, 1783, the British government adopted an Order in Council which closed the West Indian ports to American ships. Naturally this hurt the American states for they were drained of specie in order to pay for the products they continued to buy from England which formerly had been paid for by exports to the Indies. The Americans were quick to accuse the British of trying to destroy their trade, but actually the principal British

[10] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 718-720.

motive in adopting this course was that under the mercantile system they were compelled to regard the United States as outside the empire and to treat them as alien states in matters of colonial trade.

The law of 1785 which exempted American goods from all duty if they were manufactured in the United States from native products also contained a provision that an additional duty of 20 per cent was to be collected on all goods imported in vessels owned in whole or in part by foreigners whose nations had no treaty of commerce. The states were willing in most cases to assist Congress in this way in order to bring various European states to terms and to get them to conclude commercial conventions. There was also discrimination in the matter of tonnage fees charged vessels owned by non-treaty signing states, but this will be discussed in another connection.[11] This same act of 1785 declared that instead of the 2 per cent ad valorem duty applying on all salt it would not be collected on salt brought into the state in American ships or foreign ships whose country had commercial treaties with the United States. In this case the duty was cut to 2 d. per bushel.

The protection and fostering of native industry did not play as important a part in the tariff systems of the southern states as it did in the North. As was said before, North Carolina virtually ignored its domestic industries. Although there were hardly any tariff schedules adopted in North Carolina during this period which could have been regarded as protective, there were other ways that industry could be fostered. An old colonial device had been the granting of export/import bounties. North Carolina provided for financial grants to all persons who could produce hemp, flax, potash, and pearl ash.[12] Throughout the states this granting of bounties continued to the revolutionary period, but there was a noticeable tendency to discontinue this practice when the war began. The practice was not revived afterward. The legislators found they could achieve the same desired ends by dis-

[11] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 718-720.
[12] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 613-614, 923-924.

couraging the importation of European products by protective tariffs rather than direct financial aid. The last act in North Carolina was passed in 1773 for three years. In 1776 it was allowed to lapse, and there apparently were no efforts to revive the granting of bounties.

In addition to the specified duties on enumerated goods and the charges on unenumerated items, the importer and shipper were also subjected to a variety of additional charges in each state which often became particularly burdensome. This legislation was designed to achieve at least three of the four objectives: revenue, retaliation, and regulation. There were charges for wharfage, storage, pilotage, lighthouses, hospitals, and on the tonnage of each vessel. Some of these charges were levied against all ships (usually exempting coasters) entering the harbors of the state, but some were directed primarily against ships belonging to nonresidents of the state. This latter condition caused much ill-feeling. Shortly before the calling of the Annapolis convention, Tench Coxe of Pennsylvania wrote that there were many grievances against the state commercial practices, and he listed them as follows:

> 1. duty of tonnage on vessels built and belonging to the citizens of the other states, was greater than that imposed on vessels belonging to the citizens of the states enacting the law, and equal in some instances to the tonnage laid upon most of the foreign nations that have a commercial intercourse with America.
> 2. The duties imposed upon goods imported in vessels built in or belonging to other parts of the Union, were greater than those laid on goods imported in vessels belonging to the enacting state.
> 3. That goods of the growth, product, and manufacture of the other states in the Union, were charged with high duties upon importation into the enacting state, as great, in many cases, as those imposed on foreign articles of the same kind.[13]

Some of Coxe's objections were unwarranted. The third was entirely untrue. North Carolina, along with the other states, was admitting American grown, produced, and manufactured goods duty free by 1786. However, there was some

[13] Tench Coxe to Edmund Randolph, James Madison, St. George Tucker, September 13, 1786, in *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* (Richmond, 1875-1893), IV, 168-169.

truth in the first two objections to the current practices. In some states there were higher tonnage fees imposed upon ships owned by non-residents of the enacting state than applied on ships owned by its own citizens. There were also a few cases where duties on goods imported in ships owned by citizens of the enacting state were lower than the duties on other goods brought in ships owned by foreigners or residents of the other states.

In North Carolina all incoming vessels were subject to pilotage fees which were based on a sliding scale depending on the amount of water drawn by the ship. An act of 1764 set up a basic schedule of fees. Ships drawing six feet or less of water paid a pilot fee of two pounds, and this rate was increased until ships drawing seventeen feet paid a charge of eight pounds. There is only one law passed during the years 1775-1789 affecting the pilotage fees, and this was enacted in 1784. The basic charges were increased because of the rising living costs.[14] These fees were collected from every ship whether owned by residents or by non-residents of North Carolina.

Every incoming ship was also required to pay a tonnage duty. Tonnage duties were in existence from the earliest colonial times when it was the custom for each ship to hand over a certain amount of powder and shot for each ton burden. These original payments in powder were commuted to cash payments later, and the money was used to maintain the port facilities, fortifications, and sailor hospitals, and to pay the salaries of officials.

In North Carolina there were two charges of this type: a regular fee which depended on the tonnage of the ship, and a second charge of a flat fee which was levied on all ships to pay the fee for entering and clearing the port.

An early act of 1756 provided for payments of 2 s. per ton on all ships entering the harbors of the colony, and this was raised to 5 s. in 1781.[15] According to the latter act if a ship brought arms it was to receive an exemption equivalent to

[14] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 650-654; XXIV, 586-592.
[15] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 467-568; XXIV, 380-381.

the duty per ton for each three Spanish dollars worth of such cargo in its hold. An increase of 6 d. per ton was allowed in 1784 to raise funds to build a lighthouse.[16]

The inaccuracy of Coxe's accusations as far as North Carolina was concerned is evident in the tonnage legislation of 1785 which provided for a fee of 3 d. per ton on all vessels over sixty tons which were owned by Americans or foreigners whose countries had commercial treaties with Congress. If no treaty existed, the foreign ship was to pay 5 s. per ton. Here we have an excellent example of the type of discrimination which was so common in state tariff legislation of the period as they tried to cooperate with the government to get recalcitrant foreign states to conclude treaties of commerce.[17]

The final act which was passed by the legislature before the new constitution went into effect certainly refuted Coxe's charges. Every foreign ship over twenty tons burden was subject to a 6 d. per ton duty, while ships from every state (including North Carolina) paid 3 d. per ton.[18] The proceeds collected were to be used for the construction of a lighthouse at Ocracoke Island. The legislature was making every effort to admit other American ships into North Carolina ports on a basis of equality with locally owned vessels, and to favor them over European ships.

The tonnage fees changed considerably between the acts of 1781 and 1785, and a new type of legislation was introduced by the assembly in a law of 1784 providing for a schedule of fees payable to the naval officers of each port for entering and clearing a vessel. These fees were rather large considering the tonnage charges already being levied in the state.[19] Another act of 1789 levied a special fee of one shilling per capita on every officer and member of the crew of any vessel entering a state port.[20] The money collected by

[16] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 586-592.
[17] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 718-720.
[18] Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 54-55. Ships under twenty tons and small vessels engaged in coasting trade were exempt from charges.
[19] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 553-556. The schedule was as follows: 8 s. for entering and clearing all undecked ships; 15 s. for decked vessels under 20 tons; 30 s. for ships from 20 to 60 tons; and 40 s. for all vessels over 60 tons.
[20] Clark, *State Records*, XXV, 56-57, 81-82.

this latter act was to be put into a special fund for the care of sick and indigent sailors. These special fees were payable by all ships entering the state ports.

Various items imported into or exported from each colony and state were subject to inspection and storage charges. This was a system prevailing in all the colonies and it was continued during the state period. As a matter of fact, the inspections were increased, and the legislation governing the inspection and certification of imports and exports became more numerous during the 1780's. European purchasers often preferred to obtain American products. The supervision of exports raised their reputation in foreign markets. The wide acceptance of inspection laws and the height to which the fees sometimes went constituted these charges as an important type of commercial regulation.

In North Carolina various items were subject to intensive inspection. However, there were no inspection fees on imported commodities, but the fees charged applied only to items for export. Flax, hemp, pork, beef, rice, flour, butter, tar, pitch, turpentine, staves, heading, shingles, lumber, tanned leather, deer skin, and indigo were all on the inspection list as well as tobacco during the colonial period. Most of the inspection legislation on the statute books applied, of course, to the largest export—tobacco. After the revolution the inspection fee for a cask of tobacco was raised to 8 s, and it apparently remained substantially unchanged during the entire period.[21] Laws adopted in 1784 established the following schedule of fees for the inspection of various items: [22]

1	Cask of beef or pork.	8 d.
1	Barrel or cask of rice, butter, flour, or fish.	8 d.
1	Barrel of tar.	2 d.
1	Barrel of pitch or turpentine.	3 d.
1	Barrel of flax	1 s.
	if cleaning necessary	3 s.
100	Barrel staves.	3 d.
1000	Shingles.	1 s.
1000	Feet of cut lumber.	1 s.

[21] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 104-109.
[22] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 580-586, 658-661.

The granting of drawbacks and export duties were other aspects of early tariff legislation which should be mentioned. There was a drawback of 2 d. per gallon granted on all imported molasses distilled in the state, which was designed by the legislature to encourage local distilleries. It was not until 1785 that the assembly acted on the matter of goods landed in North Carolina for re-export. Such goods were subject to the customary charges, but the shipper was given credit for the duties paid if the goods were re-exported in their original cask or container within a three month period.[23] There were no export duties in North Carolina during this period, although other southern states such as Maryland and Virginia experimented with this type of duty as a means of raising revenue. There had been a small export duty on deerskins in North Carolina in the colonial period, but despite this precedent the legislature failed to try this means of augmenting the state's income. Export duties were no longer popular in most states, and North Carolina was merely following the national trend in this respect.

When examining the tariff legislation of North Carolina one is impressed by the fact that there was so little of it. In many states the tariff enactments were quite numerous, but not so in North Carolina. Of all the southern states Georgia and North Carolina had the least legislation of this type. The schedules were short and were confined primarily to spiritous and malt liquors, coffee, sugar, and tea. Protectionism was virtually non-existent. There was also very little regulation of shipping in North Carolina, and the fees were kept to a minimum number when compared to those in use in other states. There is not a single example of state interference to prohibit exports during this period, whereas in other states, particularly during the war, the legislatures interfered often to prevent exportation of badly needed commodities or to proclaim embargoes. Yet some similarity may be noted between the tariff system in North Carolina and those developing in other states.

[23] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 718-720, 798-802.

By 1789 North Carolina, like her sister states, was admitting American products duty free, was granting special consideration to American ships as far as tonnage charges were concerned, and was treating shippers from other states the same as her own merchants. Any discrimination that is evident in North Carolina was directed against foreign states which did not conclude a treaty with the United States. The spirit of cooperation in North Carolina was becoming quite evident, and it is apparent not only in dealings with other states but in those with the central government as well.

On February 3, 1781, Congress proposed to levy a special 5 per cent ad valorem duty on imports and requested each state legislature to act on this matter.[24] The North Carolina legislature responded during the same year and granted Congress the right to levy the 5 per cent impost on all imports and on all prizes, but with the provision that it was not to go into effect until the other states had granted similar powers.[25]

Every state except Rhode Island eventually acceded to the request, but before sufficient pressure could be applied on this state to gain its assent, a counter movement set in. On December 24, 1782, Virginia repealed its law empowering Congress to enact the 5 per cent impost on the ground that Rhode Island's failure to comply invalidated the grant. Within a short time other states followed suit, and the impost scheme of 1781 was lost.

North Carolina repealed her grant in 1783.[26] On April 18, 1783, Congress made another attempt to have the states approve a grant of duties on enumerated articles for twenty-five years as well as a special ad valorem duty of five per cent on other items and on all prizes. This was sent to the states for their approval.[27] The North Carolina legislature complied in 1784, but once again this special grant to Congress was lost because New York failed to act.[28]

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[24] W. C. Ford, and others, (eds.), *The Journal of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1904-1937), XIX, 102, 112-113. Hereafter referred to as Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress.*

[25] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 405-406.

[26] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 510.

[27] Ford, *Journals of Continental Congress*, XXIV, 257-261.

[28] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 547-549.

On April 30, 1784, Congress resolved that it should be given power for fifteen years to prohibit any goods, wares, or merchandize from being imported into or exported from any state in vessels belonging to or navigated by the subjects of any power with which there was no treaty of commerce. The assent of nine states was necessary for this to go into effect, but when the North Carolina legislature acted on this request it attached the qualification that its law would not become effective until all the states passed similar legislation. A congressional committee reported on March 3, 1786, that Delaware, South Carolina, and Georgia had not passed any acts to grant Congress this power, and that New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and North Carolina had passed laws which were not conformable to the requests of Congress. These states were urged to comply at once, but the provision never went into operation before the new government was established.[29]

It is significant that all but one of the states were willing to cooperate with Congress in granting it the special power to levy duties requested in 1781 and 1783. The impost resolution of 1783 with its long enumerated list as well as ad valorem duty stimulated the tendency in most states to agree on a basic enumerated list, but the individual rates on items continued to vary and were determined by local considerations. Nevertheless, there was a great deal of harmony prevailing. North Carolina and the other states were compelled long before 1789 to agree on a general tariff policy which was coming to prevail everywhere. By 1789 variation in rates and systems was the exception rather than the rule.

[29] Ford, *Journals of Continental Congress*, XXX, 93.

JOHN CHAVIS AS A PREACHER TO WHITES

By MARGARET BURR DESCHAMPS

John Chavis, accomplished free Negro, has long been recognized as a teacher of children of prominent white families in Raleigh.[1] He ought also to be known as a preacher to whites. Prior to the opening of his school about 1808, Chavis was licensed as a "probationer for the holy ministry" by Lexington Presbytery in Virginia.[2] Because he served the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church from 1801 to 1807 as a missionary to slaves in the upper South,[3] it has been assumed that his ministry was chiefly to Negroes.

Although sent by the church to serve his own race, Chavis preached to far more whites than Negroes on his missionary tours. In May, 1803, the clerk of the Standing Committee of Missions wrote the following summary of Chavis's travels during the past year for presentation to the General Assembly:

> Mr. John Chavis introduces his narrative by reminding the Assembly, that at the time of making his former report three months of the time for which he had been engaged were unexpired; he has since completed that tour of duty by visiting as a missionary the western parts of Virginia, which appear to present natural obstacles that require no small share of zeal and perserverance to surmount them. He met with very friendly receptions and great kindness from the people in those parts, who seem to have attended the preaching of the word in as great numbers as could reasonably have been expected,—to have heard it gladly, and in some instances profitably.

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[1] The most scholarly account of Chavis's life is Edgar W. Knight's "Notes on John Chavis," *North Carolina Historical Review*, VII (July, 1930), 326-345. Research for this paper was done while the writer was Elizabeth Avery Colton fellow of the American Association of University Women, 1951-1952.

[2] "Minutes of Lexington Presbytery, 1800-1810," November 19, 1800. Manuscript in Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia. Hereafter referred to as "Minutes of Lexington Presbytery, 1800-1810."

[3] *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, A.D. 1789 to 1820 Inclusive* (Philadelphia, 1867), 229, *passim*. Hereafter referred to as *Minutes of the General Assembly*.

The following statement is made by the Committee from Mr. Chavis's Journal, to give the Assembly a view of the numbers and proportion of *blacks* who attended Divine service;

In Bedford County about 150 persons attended,		No blacks are mentioned
Rock Bridge Ditto	100	Ditto
Lexington Ditto	400	100, a revival of religion here
Falling Spring	50	none mentioned
Kanawah	200	30
Ditto meeting house	30	
Kanford's	30	none
Morris's	30	(mentions an old Affrican woman as being much affected and weeping.)
Johnson's	50	none mentioned
Kanawah Court House	150	50
George Lee's	100	none mentioned, a revival of religion among the Baptists.
Kanawah River about	80	person attended no blacks mentioned
Ditto	60	Ditto
Coal River	200	20 Here one opposer of religion was made to fall and weep. He never saw a people more desirous to be instructed.
Kanawah Courthouse	100	15
E. Hughes's	180	5
Baptist meeting house) in Green Briar County	200	20 (numbers appeared to be (deeply imprest: he was strongly solicited to settle here.
Lewisburgh	250	50
Botetourt County	200	50
Rockbridge Ditto— Lebanon	200	80

In the tour he preached 23 sermons, and received $7.74.

He began his mission under the appointment of last year, on the 18th of July, and continued in it for 7 months and 3 weeks, travelling in the Counties of Mecklinburg, Lunenburg, and Nottoway in Virginia; and in Granville, Person, Wake, Warren, Orange, Chatham, Randolph, and Caswell, in North Carolina. In this tour he preached 68 times, and delivered 8 exhortations; attended several religious societies, assisted twice in the administration of the Lord's Supper, and collected $1.86. He was several times prevented from preaching, by bodily indisposition.

The proportion of Blacks who attended was greater than on his former route, as appears from the following statement of the numbers of his congregations on different occasions, Vizt,

Mecklinburg	persons....250	....Blacks	50
Person	500		150
Ditto	35		15
Ditto	40		15
Mecklinburg	800		300
Lunenburg	150		
Mecklinburg	persons.... 50	Blacks	
Bluestone	200		50
Ditto	150		50
New Bethel	300		100
Person	200		10
Wake	600		50
Person	250		80
Warren	30		20
Granville	250		10
Gillarns Meeting House	300		80
Granvill	150		30
Chatham	450		150
Ditto	300		50
Ditto	70		20
Ditto	400		150
Granville	30		10
Caswell	200		20
Granville	400		150
Cullon's, a Baptist) Meeting house)	150		50
Poplar Creek	250		80
Granville	500		180[4]

So well did the white population attend his services that Presbyterian leaders soon came to regard Chavis's popularity as a problem. While their attitude is more clearly revealed in the unpublished records of the Committee of Missions, some indication of their feeling is found in the published proceedings of the General Assembly of 1805. At that meeting the Synod of Virginia reported that "Mr. Chavis, a missionary to the blacks, itinerated in several counties in the

[4] "Minutes of the Standing Committee of Missions, 1802-1807," May 21, 1803. Manuscript in Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., New York City. Hereafter referred to as "Minutes of the Standing Committee on Missions, 1802-1807." The minutes give only the clerk's condensation of Chavis's report rather than the original.

south parts of the State; but owing to some peculiar circumstances stated in his journal, his mission was not attended with any considerable success." No hint was given in the printed records as to the "peculiar circumstances," and before the Assembly adjourned Chavis was re-appointed as a missionary. However, it should be noted that the travel directions to the Negro preacher for another year instructed him to "employ himself chiefly among the blacks and people of colour." [5]

The manuscript minutes of the Committee of Missions show why these explicit directions were given to Chavis and throw some light on the difficulties of his previous mission. Apparently, Chavis found that the slaves preferred the emotional and illiterate exhortation of a fellow bondsman to the sermon of a man of education and dignity; hence, he tended to preach to whites rather than to his own race. As he had been employed to minister to Negroes, a few Presbyterians regarded his misssionary activities as something less than successful. They "intimated . . . that Mr. Chavis was not properly attentive to the Instruction of the Blacks, which was the primary object of his Mission." The chairman of the Committee of Missions promised to question Chavis about the matter so that he might "be stimulated to greater fidelity in [the] future" or given "an opportunity for his own vindication." [6]

Before the General Assembly met again Chavis replied in writing to the charge of neglecting his own race to preach to the white population. Unfortunately his letter was not preserved and no further mention of the affair occurs in the minutes of the Committee.[7] But the preacher evidently explained his conduct to the complete satisfaction of the Committee and the Assembly, for in 1806 he was appointed as missionary "among the blacks and free people of colour in Maryland, if practicable, otherwise at his discretion." [8] Thus

[5] *Minutes of the General Assembly*, 323, 344.
[6] "Minutes of the Standing Committee of Missions, 1802-1807," May 17, 1806.
[7] "Minutes of the Standing Committee of Missions, 1802-1807." The minutes state that the letter was received, but it was not copied into the record.
[8] *Minutes of the General Assembly*, 367.

he won the privilege of preaching to whites with whom he was more congenial and from whom he doubtless received more attention.

As Chavis's missionary reports show, the Great Revival was sweeping the South Atlantic states in the years that he was traveling for the General Assembly. Since he rode and preached in parts of North Carolina and Virginia where the religious fervor was greatest, he was in an excellent position to observe and describe it. From him people received information about the spiritual awakening, which many seem to have regarded as the beginning of the millenium, and passed it on in their letters to friends and relatives. It is regrettable that writers did nothing more than mention Chavis's name, but the casual manner in which the observations of the free Negro were introduced into letters indicates that he was a well known and acceptable visitor even to the lady of the house.

In January, 1802, Ann Smith, daughter of Samuel Smith in Granville County, North Carolina, described "The Great Revival of Religion about the Harfields [Hawfields]" for her relatives in South Carolina. Her information came from "Mr. Chavis and Uncle Wm. Webb . . . who have been at the Meetings where this great work was going forward." [9] Later in the same year, Moses Hoge, Presbyterian minister in Shepherdstown, Virginia, and afterwards president of Hampden-Sydney College, wrote: "By Mr. J. Chavis I have had some account of the work going on in Mr. Wilson's Congregations." [10] Association with the Smiths and the Hoges shows that Chavis's contacts were with the most prominent of Presbyterian families.

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[9] Ann Smith to Polly Williamson, January 16, 1802, in the Williamson Papers, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. A sketch of Samuel Smith, Presbyterian layman who migrated from Essex County, Virginia, to Granville County in the early 1760's to occupy land granted by the Earl of Granville, can be found in the Samuel Smith Downey Papers, Duke University library. For information on William Webb, Presbyterian layman at Tar River, see G. C. Shaw, *John Chavis, 1763-1838* (Binghamton, 1931), 19-20. Hereafter referred to as Shaw, *John Chavis*.

[10] Moses Hoge to James Hoge, July 20, 1802, in Hoge Collection, Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, Montreat, N. C. William Wilson was pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Augusta, Virginia. A history of the Hoge family is found in Peyton H. Hoge, *Moses Drury Hoge* (Richmond, 1899), 1-29.

Chavis' last preaching mission for the General Assembly was performed in 1807.[11] After that time his chief occupation was his school in Raleigh. Yet, he continued to preach not only from the pulpit, but also in what he described as "private and public conversations with my neighbors."[12] In 1824 he proposed to supply the pulpit of Old Providence, an interdenominational church near Oxford which had originally been sponsored by his Presbyterian friend William Webb. It was in the area of North Carolina where Chavis had spent much of his time at the turn of the century, and where, according to some accounts, he had been born and raised. Doubtless, he looked forward to pleasant weekends of visiting and worshipping with old friends. But the liberalism which followed the Revolution and for a time characterized the Great Revival had waned. Chavis, who twenty years earlier had moved freely among the most prominent Granville families, failed to find "such familiar and hospitable entertainment as was desired and necessary" and "discontinued his visits."[13]

The experience with the members of Old Providence Church was a foretaste of a more bitter lot which awaited the free Negro. In 1831 Chavis, like the rest of his race, was forbidden by the state legislature to preach at all. When he sought advice from his friends in Orange Presbytery, who had taken him under their care when he moved from Virginia to North Carolina in 1805, they recommended that he abide by the law.[14]

A feeble old man with no means of support, Chavis then applied to the presbytery for financial aid.[15] Among the members of a committee appointed to assume responsibility in the care of the old man and his wife were Samuel Smith

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[11] *Minutes of the General Assembly*, 391.

[12] *North Carolina Presbyterian*, December 27, 1882.

[13] Shaw, *John Chavis*, 21-22, publishes the records of the church which relate to Chavis.

[14] "Minutes of Orange Presbytery, 1831-1836," April 18, 1832, manuscript in Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches. Hereafter referred to as "Minutes of Orange Presbytery, 1831-1836."

[15] The presbytery decided to give Chavis fifty dollars annually as long as he lived, and apparently paid that amount to him until he died in 1838. "Minutes of Orange Presbytery, 1831-1836, 1836-1846," September 5, 1832, *passim*.

Downey, Presbyterian elder who was a grandson of Samuel Smith, and William McPheeters, minister in Raleigh. Both men had probably known John Chavis for more than thirty years,[16] and their interest in his welfare doubtless led to their appointment to the committee. A letter written by McPheeters to Downey in 1834 [17] shows Chavis's pitiful plight at that time, and also serves as a commentary on the change which had taken place in the whites' attitude toward the free Negro preacher. With the decline of liberalism, paternalism replaced the spirit of equalitarianism which had earlier characterized the Presbyterians' relationships with Chavis.

September 3, 1834

Dear Sir,

I have lately received two letters from our Old Friend John Chavis.

In the 1st he makes known to me his difficulties, distresses, and wants - Says that he is a miserable man - Old and infirm - his wife a dying - or at least on her death-bed - in want of the necessaries of life - and without money to procure them.

In the 2nd he say[s] that he had applied to you (lately, I suppose,) for some money - having understood that you had some for him in your hands - and that the messenger, on his return, stated that you had sent the money over to me, &c

If any money has been forwarded to me, I have not as yet received it - But probably the money referred to, as sent to me, was that which you put into my hands last year.

At the last meeting of Presbytery the following minute was adopted - "Resolved, that the Committee hitherto appointed in the case of Mr. Chavis, be directed to inquire into his situation, and make such provision for him as his necessities may require"

Yourself and Dr. Graham are members of the Committee - who the others are I dont recollect -

In Raleigh I collected for Mr Chavis in October or November last about $20 - This sum, with what you put into my hands, was all delivered over to him last year - of the way in which it was expended by him he gave account to Presbytery at the last

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[16] For Chavis's relations with Downey see Shaw, *John Chavis*, 30. Chavis and McPheeters presented themselves as candidates for the ministry at the fall session of Lexington Presbytery in 1799. See "Minutes of Lexington Presbytery, 1794-1800," October 18, 19, 1799. Manuscript in Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va. Subsequent minutes show that Chavis was licensed on November 19, 1800, and McPheeters not until April 18,1802.

[17] This letter is in the Samuel Smith Downey Papers, Duke University library.

meeting - Presbytery then, with the view of providing for him during the present year, passed the Resolution above recited -

I think it will require in advance, on the part of Presbytery, [the amount] of 5 dollars a month - or 60 dollars a year to support the Old Man and his Wife - If this sum cant be got with some degree of certainty and punctuality, I see no other chance for him but the Poor House - Please to write to Mr. Chavis and give him any information you may possess -

I am yours &c
Wm McPheeters

Thus unpublished records of the Presbyterian Church, as well as letters written by its members, show that while serving as a missionary in North Carolina and Virginia, John Chavis preached to and moved freely among white Presbyterians. Even after teaching became his chief occupation he continued to minister to them. In the last years of his life, when he was unable to earn his livelihood, it was to these old friends that he turned for aid. His relationships with them illustrate both the early promise and the ultimate tragedy of his own career and that of other free Negroes of his generation.

PAPERS FROM THE FIFTY-FOURTH ANNUAL SESSION OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, RALEIGH, DECEMBER, 1954

Introduction

By Christopher Crittenden

The fifty-fourth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association, one of the most successful ever conducted, was held at the Sir Walter Hotel in Raleigh, December 3, 1954. Following the morning business meeting, Dr. Paul Murray of Greenville spoke on *"The North Carolina Historical Review* - The First Thirty Years"; Mr. Harry L. Golden of Charlotte talked on "The Jewish People of North Carolina"; and Mr. Robert Mason of Sanford reviewed North Carolina fiction of the year. The R. D. W. Connor, Roanoke-Chowan, and American Association of University Women awards were then announced. At the luncheon meeting Dr. Leonard Hurley reviewed North Carolina non-fiction of the year. At the annual dinner Mrs. Inglis Fletcher delivered an informal presidential address. In the evening Dr. Louis B. Wright spoke on "Elizabethan Politics and Colonial Enterprise," and the Mayflower and Sir Walter Raleigh awards were announced.[1] All the papers presented at the various meetings are reproduced in the pages that follow. The presidential address, which was not written is necessarily omitted.

[1] For details regarding the meetings and different awards, see *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXII (1955), 135-136.

THIRTY YEARS OF THE NEW HISTORY: A STUDY OF *The North Carolina Historical Review,* 1924-1953

By Paul Murray

Thirty years are a short period in the life history of a people. In like manner, the thirty annual volumes of *The North Carolina Historical Review,* 1924-1953, are but a small segment of the total picture of North Carolina's cultural growth. It is only when one attempts to comprehend such a segment of our cultural heritage that he realizes the immensity of the task of the serious historian who is not satisfied with the glittering generalities too often bandied about in standard treatises on cultural history. To avoid falling into such a pit it is here proposed that this study be limited to three phases of recent historiography: (1) a characterization of history writing concerning North Carolina, 1886-1929; (2) the founding of the *Review;* (3) a summary analysis of the content of the *Review,* 1924-1953, together with an evaluation of its major effects on North Carolina history.

The foundations of the literary structure of North Carolina history were laid during the first half of the nineteenth century in the writings of Hugh Williamson, Francois Xavier Martin, Francis Lister Hawks, and John Hill Wheeler. The framework of that structure was reared during the forty-three years which elapsed between the appearance of the first volume of *The Colonial Records* from the hand of William Lawrence Saunders in 1886 to the publication of Robert Digges Wimberley Connor's *North Carolina: Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth* in 1929. Many and able were the skilled artisans whose trademarks are stamped on every beam, joint, and truss in that edifice. Their contributions are so clear and distinct that any attempt at listing by one person must

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the third phase of this study was presented in the paper read to the State Literary and Historical Association, December 3, 1954.

surely be both unnecessary and incomplete.[1] There are at least ten, however, whose work entitles them to be ranked as master workmen. In addition to Saunders and Connor, they are: Walter Clark, Samuel A'Court Ashe, Daniel Harvey Hill, John Spencer Bassett, Charles Lee Coon, William Kenneth Boyd, Adelaide Lisetta Fries, and Joseph Gregoire de Roulhac Hamilton.

All of these were trained in the classical tradition which is our most valuable heritage in education from the nineteenth century; each of them, in addition to outstanding work in history, was a leading participant in some phase of statewide public service. In this respect, a casual remark by Miss Fries[2] to the effect that she did not know how to say "No" in regard to her community and her church might well be taken with variations to expresss the sentiment of the entire group. They were, indeed, known as active and leading citizens of the commonwealth of North Carolina and their lives as individuals expressed in a superior way the aspirations and ambitions of North Carolina people.

In these circumstances is to be found the key to a concise statement of the concept of North Carolina history with which the *Review* began its work in 1924. Clearly these masters of the preceding generation considered the main business of history to be the depicting of the common effort of people in their basic human organizations.[3] Since the state is primarily a political entity and since North Carolina history is rich in materials involving federal relations, they naturally highlighted political developments within the state and the numerous interrelationships between it and its "co-states." They gave some attention to the origin and growth

[1] Stephen B. Weeks, "North Carolina Historians," *Proceedings and Addresses of the Fifteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1915), 71-86. This is the latest effort to list and characterize North Carolina historians discovered in this study.

[2] Made to the author at a meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina in Greensboro, November 13, 1948.

[3] J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, "Vitality in State History," *Proceedings of the Twentieth and Twenty-First Annual Sessions of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1922), 11-19. In this presidential address of 1920, Dr. Hamilton spoke of "movements" rather than "organizations."

of social institutions, especially churches, schools and colleges, and the Masonic Order; but on the whole they did an indifferent job of integrating these to their central theme of political development. Likewise, in an age that considered the personal income of even a candidate for public office as a private matter, they gave relatively little attention to what we now call economic history. For example, they treated slavery as a factor in politics and a means of social control at much greater length than they did in its presently more basic significance as the dominant system of labor in ante bellum agriculture.

A three-period chronology is almost a corollary to the concept of North Carolina history as the development of institutions within the state and their interrelationship with like institutions of nationwide character. By 1783 the designation Tar Heel was probably not in general use, but the individuality of the state had been formed through the interplay of human effort, natural resources, and the transmutation of British and German ideals into American institutions. The decade ending in 1783 is crowded with events indicative of the transition from the status of colony to that of a self-directing state. During these years the people of the state, acting through freely chosen leaders, declared their independence of Great Britain, established a government on the untried principle of popular sovereignty, initiated the means for implementing the social ideals of the Revolution, and entered the "permanent union" of the American states.

The second or federal period in North Carolina history was an era of rapid nationalization, a fact that has been slurred over in our general histories of the United States by overabsorption in the details on which the basic issue was fought. North Carolina historians of the Old School, on the other hand, presented clearly the basic factors in the changing concept of the Federal Union. Among many other contributions they showed that the conservative leaders of North Carolina in the 1850's and early 1860's were swept against their better judgment into the experiment of a Southern Confederacy. The period properly ends with the surrender of Johnston to Sher-

man[4] and the establishment of military government as a symbol that, for good or ill, national ideals must triumph over sectional and state interests.

The masters of the Old School recognized the period of North Carolina history from the end of the Civil War to 1925 as one of increasing complexity. They did a masterful job of presenting Reconstruction as the proud reaction of an outraged people to oppression by a Federal government that had thrown off all constitutional restraints on its power to do evil. They strove valiantly to fit the new facts of race relations, industrial mechanization, and extremes of economic and social status into the familiar pattern of a loosely stratified society, an agricultural economy, and a federal system of government. They gave us some good chapters of general description on the twentieth century, but left the field of interpretation of recent trends to be divided into the compartments occupied by the political scientists, the economists, the sociologists, and the literary critics.

As has been indicated before, the leaders of the Old School were characterized by an active interest in public affairs. Actually the move for the publication of history under the auspices of the state was given its first effective impetus during the 1880's and 1890's by the leadership of these historically minded public men, especially William L. Saunders, Walter Clark, and Samuel A. Ashe. The first active element for popularization of the movement was the organization of patriotic societies during the nineties. At the turn of the century North Carolina had state bodies affiliated with the following national or sectional organizations: The Sons of the Revolution (Raleigh, 1893-), the Colonial Dames of America (Wilmington, 1894-), the Daughters of the Revolution (Raleigh, 1896-), the Society of the Cincinnati (reorganized,

[4] The volume division of the Connor-Boyd-Hamilton, *History of North Carolina*, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1919), brings the Federal period to an end at 1860. The author of this essay is convinced that this is a matter of convenience, personal interest, and influence of the census reports more than it is an incident of historical interpretation. William K. Boyd and J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, in *A Syllabus of North Carolina History, 1584-1876* (Durham, 1913), suggest a presentation of the Civil War as an integral phase of the state's development. See also Daniel H. Hill, *A History of North Carolina in the War Between the States*, 2 vols. (Raleigh, 1926).

Raleigh, 1896-), the United Daughters of the Confederacy (Wilmington, 1897-), the Daughters of the American Revolution (Waynesville, 1901-), and the United Confederate Veterans.[5] There was little effort at correlating the work of these various groups, and some of them far outdistanced others in the achievement of their common endeavors. These were the organization of local chapters, the marking of historic sites, the erection of memorials, the collection of relics and records, and the general awakening of public opinion to the recognition of historic factors in the cultural growth of the state.

The pioneer organization in the periodical publication of formal historical articles in North Carolina was The Daughters of the Revolution. The members of this group on December 13, 1900, resolved to erect a memorial to the participants in the Edenton Tea Party, October 25, 1774. As a means of raising funds they hit upon the scheme of establishing and selling subscriptions to a periodical publication. *The North Carolina Booklet* (1901-1926) was the result.[6] The editors of the *Booklet* were chosen from the membership of The Daughters of the Revolution, but they were able from the first to obtain numerous articles from reputable historians and leading public men of the day.

The editors of the *Booklet* also named an advisory board from the active historians of the state; and as the venture grew in scope and scholarship the many useful articles appearing in its various numbers actually overshadowed in the minds of historians both the organization and the cause it represented. Its advisory board and list of contributors comprised most of the able historians in the state during the first quarter of the century and many amateurs of better than average ability. Its first and most basic function was to furnish the indispensable link between those capable of writing history and those interested in reading it. That many of its contributions were of a high order of scholar-

[5] *Literary and Historical Activities in North Carolina, 1900-1905* (Raleigh, 1907), I, 500-537.

[6] *The North Carolina Booklet*, I No. 2 (Raleigh, May 10, 1901); *Literary and Historical Activities*, I, 508-521.

ship is best attested by a comparison of the coverage of events and personalities in the first volume of Ashe, *History of North Carolina* (Greensboro, 1909) and that in Connor's survey based on studies available in 1928.[7]

On October 23, 1900, the friends of history in North Carolina achieved their first formal unity when the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association was formed and three months later Walter Clark was chosen as its first president. The Association elected Henry Groves Connor as its second president and at its third annual meeting on January 23, 1903, passed a resolution requesting the General Assembly to establish a historical commission. A bill establishing such a commission with the power to publish materials on North Carolina history was written by William Joseph Peele and passed by the General Assembly a few days later. The Commission of five members did little more during the first four years of its existence than organize by electing Peele as Chairman and R. D. W. Connor as secretary.[8] Individual members of the Commission, however, continued their activities in the patriotic societies and other agencies for the promotion of public interest in history. At the meeting of the Literary and Historical Association in 1906, Connor, then an assistant in the office of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, made a plea for more vigorous state action in a paper, "A State Library Building and Department of Archives and Records."[9]

A new day for the publication of history dawned in 1907 when Connor wrote and the General Assembly passed a bill which put the Commission on a permanent basis, appropriated $5,000 annually for its support, and authorized the hiring of a paid secretary.[10] At a salary of $2,000 a year

[7] This statement is not intended to minimize the fact that Connor also had the advantage of access to the *Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society*, Series I-XVI, 1897-1926; and the *James Sprunt Historical Monographs*, Nos. 1-8, Vols. 9-18, 1900-1926.

[8] William B. Brown, "The State Literary and Historical Association, 1900-1950," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXVIII (April, 1951), 157-159; J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, "The Preservation of North Carolina History", *North Carolina Historical Review*, IV (January, 1927), 11-12.

[9] *The North Carolina Booklet*, VI, No. 3, (January, 1907,) 159-176, 206.

[10] R. D. W. Connor, *The North Carolina Historical Commission* . . . (Bulletin No. 1, North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, 1907), 4-8. There is a complete financial report in *The Second Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission*, 1906-1908 (Raleigh, 1909), 15-18.

Connor entered upon a career as secretary and active executive head of the Commission's work that continued until 1921. Daniel H. Hill, president of the Literary and Historical Association and already at work on his *History of North Carolina in the War Between the States,* succeeded as secretary to the Commission; Connor became Kenan Professor of History and Government at the University of North Carolina.[11]

In the meantime, a representative group of the state's interested citizens was keeping up the activities of the Literary and Historical Association. Active lobbying probably declined with the change of meetings in 1911 from January to November, but there can be no doubt of the influence of resolutions passed and of individual members with the General Assembly; while the annual meeting with its papers, reports on publications, public receptions, and the sponsorship of other cultural groups was a patent demonstration of statewide interest that everybody could see. A succession of leaders in various phases of intellectual interests served as officers of the Association. Connor was president, 1911-1912, and became secretary in 1912, thus joining in one person the active direction of affairs in both the Commission and Association. The first occasion that two full-time, professional historians served successively as president was the biennium, 1921-1923, when William K. Boyd, Professor of History at Trinity College, was succeeded by Adelaide L. Fries, Archivist of the Moravian Church and a leader in the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs.[12]

It is thus notable that by the early twenties three lines of development in the state had converged on the policy of a forward step in the publishing of history. These were: (1) the

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[11] Henry S. Stroupe, "The North Carolina Department of Archives and History - The First Half Century," *North Carolina Historical Review,* XXXI (April, 1954), 184-193.

[12] Brown, "The State Literary and Historical Association, 1900-1950," *North Carolina Historical Review,* XXVIII (April, 1951), 159-197. A complete list of at least 650 members in 1911 is given in *Proceedings of the Eleventh and Twelfth Annual Meetings of the State Literary and Historical Association* (Raleigh, 1912), 122-137. Hereafter cited as *Proceedings . . . State Literary and Historical Association.* The membership was around 250 less in 1922, after the formation of other groups. *Proceedings . . . State Literary and Historical Association* (Raleigh, 1923), 97-101.

Literary and Historical Association and related groups; (2) active history departments in colleges and the University of North Carolina; [13] (3) the North Carolina Historical Commission. During the years, 1907-1923, there was a small but steady stream of publications from the office of the Commission. Substantial additions were made to public and private records. Proceedings of the Literary and Historical Association, memorial speeches at unveiling ceremonies, reports on activities of the patriotic societies, booklets to aid teachers of North Carolina history, and other pamphlets possessed one common characteristic: they were *about* North Carolina history to a greater extent than they *were* North Carolina history. Some of the papers read at the meeting of the Association, on the other hand, were on a high plane of scholarship; and events during the three-year administration of Secretary Hill indicate that the members and staff of the Commission were virtually of the unanimous opinion that the emphasis should be shifted to this type of publication.

The first formal step in the direction of an expanded program of scholarly publication came in February, 1922, when Connor introduced at a meeting of the Commission two proposals: (1) that a fellow be appointed at the University to work in North Carolina history under the joint supervision of the Commission and the Department of History; (2) that the Commission offer a prize to college students for the best play depicting some phase of North Carolina history.[14] At the following meeting of the Commission, "A letter was read from Dr. W. K. Boyd, President of the State Literary and Historical Association, in reference to the joint publication by the Commission and the Association of a historical quar-

[13] J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, "History in the South - a Retrospect of Half a Century," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXI (April, 1954), 173-175; William B. Hamilton, *Fifty Years of The South Atlantic Quarterly* (Durham, 1952), 6-8, 84. The smaller colleges followed closely the lead of Trinity and the University in the teaching of North Carolina history, though obviously they could not match the publication of historical materials. See note 7 above.

[14] Minutes of the North Carolina Historical Commission, February 28, 1922. All the minutes herein used are headed: "Office of the Historical Commission, Raleigh." They are located in the Department of Archives and History and were made available through the means of a microfilm strip. Hereafter cited as Minutes of Commission.

terly. Mr. Noble moved that the chairman and three members be appointed to consider the whole proposition, to formulate the views of the Commission, and if possible, have a conference with the officers of the State Literary and Historical Association. The chairman appointed Messrs. Pittman, Noble, and Clarkson." [15]

When the matter came before the Commission for a decision J. Bryan Grimes, Chairman of the Commission, had died and Thomas M. Pittman had been chosen as his successor. The reorganized Commission acted favorably on Connor's request for a fellow in North Carolina history at the University and appropriated $500 annually for his remuneration. "The question of the establishment by the Commission of a quarterly magazine was then discussed at some length. It was decided to start the quarterly as soon as arrangements could be made and the Chairman and Secretary were to get the matter under way, and given power to complete all necessary details." Robert Burton House was appointed Archivist, but was also directed to arrange for the publication of the proposed quarterly.[16] He was formally appointed editor after he had prepared for publication two numbers of *The North Carolina Historical Review*. The report of the Secretary to the meeting in which House was appointed editor also formally announced the launching of the *Review* and stated that "this publication is gaining steadily but slowly in paid circulation." [17] This statement was purely wishful thinking: six months after it was written the number of copies of each issue to be published was fixed at 1,500[18] and until very recently has remained substantially at the same figure.

The launching of the *Review* meant a new departure in policy in that it expanded the possibilities for the utilization of historical materials on North Carolina from the staff at Raleigh and a few interested individuals in the state to the hundreds of students reached through the membership of

[15] Minutes of Commission, November 20, 1922.
[16] Minutes of Commission, April 17, 1923; letter, Chapel Hill, June 23, 1954, R. B. House to author.
[17] Minutes of Commission, April 18, 1924. See also *Tenth Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission* (Raleigh, 1925), 8.
[18] Minutes of Commission, October 17, 1924.

the Literary and Historical Association and libraries and universities in every section of the country. Yet in spite of the lack of significant income from subscriptions the new policy was instituted with only minor adjustments in the financial phase of the Commission's program. The General Assembly in 1921 and 1923 appropriated $24,000 to maintain the Commission for each fiscal year, July 1, 1921-June 30, 1925.[19] At this time printing of historical materials was done, along with that of other state departments, "under the supervision of the Commissioner of Labor and Printing under a continuing appropriation of $5,000 for each biennial period." Actually the break-down of the Commission's expenditure for 1923-1924 revealed that 92.6 per cent of the total appropriation went to "Personal Services." More than half of this latter total went into clerical salaries, while the first expenditure clearly attributable to the *Review* alone was the payment of $1,500, January, 1924-June, 1925, to "special writers for the *Review*." Upon the death of Secretary Hill in the summer of 1924 and the naming of House as acting secretary there were some changes in both executive and clerical salaries which reduced these items by around $1,500.[20]

In the first budget made under the provisions of the Budget Act of 1925 the Commission cut the figure for special writers to $500 per annum and appointed one of its members to comply with the order of the Budget Commission that all departments of the state government include their printing costs in their own budgets. The funds paid to writers for the *Review* were allocated under the direction of the Editorial Board in fees ranging from $500 to one writer downward to no compensation for contributors to the sections on Historical News and Historical Notes.[21] In the budget request for 1924-1925 the item "professional and technical salaries" was increased from $235 to $2,325,[22] presumably to pay fees to the

[19] Report of state auditor incorporated into Minutes of Commission, June 27, 1922; Minutes of Commission, April 17, 1923.

[20] Minutes of Executive Committee, North Carolina Historical Commission, August 1, 1924; Minutes of Commission, October 11, 1924.

[21] Minutes of Commission, October 17, 1924; letter, Chapel Hill, June 23, 1954, R. B. House to author.

[22] Minutes of Commission, October 17, 1925.

members of the Editorial Board. The falling off of appropriations in the depression years brought a temporary curtailment of the size of the *Review* and the cessation of payments to contributors and members of the Editorial Board.[23]

The first issue of the *Review,* January, 1924, bears clear evidence that it was rather hastily thrown together from materials on hand; it was a departure from former publications of the Commission in that twenty-two of its ninety-two pages were devoted to reports of the doings of historians in the state, book reviews, and a list of articles on North Carolina recently published in other periodicals. The April issue of 1924 contained the first article written mainly from published original sources. It was a factual report by Alexander B. Andrews, of Raleigh, on the life of Richard Dobbs Spaight, and was primarily a collection of references from official records on Spaight's activities in the politics of the Revolution and the early federal period. By the end of the first year the content of the *Review* was set in the familiar pattern of today, and only minor changes in form have since occurred. The practice of identifying contributors as to residence and occupation was initiated in January, 1927.

The founding of the *Review* was the mature fruit of North Carolina's Golden Age of history writing. The nature of its growth and the spirit of its life have been heavily influenced by the movement in American historiography identified with the decade of the twenties and generally known as the New History. Literally reams of complicated and sometimes controversial interpretations have emerged from discussions and investigations of scholars both before and after the publication of Harry Elmer Barnes, *The New History and the Social Studies*[24] in 1925. In spite of all this, we can

[23] Related to the author by David Leroy Corbitt, who became assistant editor in 1926. A comparison of budget reports for the decade following June 30, 1924, reveals that the total annual expenditure of the Commission increased gradually to $30,584 in the fiscal year 1930-1931. It declined to $20,380 in 1931-1932. For the clearest comparison see *The Budget, 1933-1935* (Raleigh, 1933), 275.

[24] Reviewed by Alex M. Arnett, *North Carolina Historical Review,* II (October, 1925), 528-530. See also W. W. Pierson, Jr., "Scientific and Interpretative History," *North Carolina Historical Review, III* (April, 1926), 163-183, for a specific example of the influence of Barnes and the New History.

now see that the New History was little more than an intensified drive for general acceptance of three basic criteria for the production of good history known and followed by the masters of the craft since the days of Herodotus. In short, the New History demanded: (1) that every event and circumstance affecting an appreciable portion of a people be considered as a legitimate subject for historical study; (2) that historical investigators be broadly familiar with the culture in which they work and that they base their investigations on contemporary records; (3) that interpretations and conclusions follow closely the facts derived from reliable sources rather than from preconceived notions in politics, theology, and social theory. The New History has itself passed into history, but these criteria remain as the most generally accepted standards of excellence in adjudging historical productions.

Summary Distribution of Contributions by Subject Matter

Years	North Carolina	South and Southeast	National and Miscellaneous	Totals
1924-1933	134	48	9	191
1934-1943	124	12	3	139
1944-1953	162	32	18	212
Totals	420	92	30	542

The range of subjects treated in the 542 contributions[25] to the *Review* is sufficient to satisfy the most rabid advocate of the broad view of history. A classification on the basis of location reveals 420 contributions dealing with persons and events in North Carolina, 92 with the South or some one of North Carolina's Southern neighbors, and 30 dealing with matters of national import or affairs of the mind and spirit that have no geographic limits. Most of the studies of neighboring states and South have a high degree of utility for stu-

[25] The term "contribution" is used to designate a separate item in a single issue. It includes interpretative articles, factual reports, edited sources, and installments of studies extended into more than one issue. The author is deeply indebted to a former student, Miss Bettie Jane Dougherty, who typed on 542 separate cards the bibliographical and biographical information here summarized.

dents of North Carolina history in that they fill in connecting links for developments in this state, such as the detailed accounts of Indian relations in South Carolina, Virginia, and Georgia, ante bellum railway developments in Virginia, and the origin of the grandfather clause in reconstruction politics in Louisiana. These also serve a distinct interest by pointing up and emphasizing areas of possible exploitation in North Carolina. In the postbellum era, for example, there are altogether 28 studies on the South and states of the Southeast, most of which should be paralleled by studies in North Carolina.

In the much exploited field of economic and social history the range is so wide that one actually finds it easier to note the omissions than to generalize on the subjects treated. It is mildly ironic that the Tar Heel state has not produced a published historical study of the turpentine industry. Though the entire vegetable kingdom has not been covered, there is a start in a treatment of the gourd in history. Much less attention has been given to manufacturing than to agriculture and commerce, and no study of banking has yet received the approval of the Editorial Board.

From the earliest days of the *Review* there has been a small trickle of articles dealing with the published works that have been written or enjoyed by North Carolinians. Textbooks, novels, newspapers and periodicals, histories, and plays have attracted the attention of investigators most often, though the activities in North Carolina of that indefatigable literary hack and book pedlar, Parson Mason Locke Weems, was the theme of a recent offering. Studies in this category are particularly significant, since prior to the days of O. Henry and Tom Wolfe, North Carolina had not produced a single literary figure of sufficient importance to be included in the standard surveys and textbooks in American literature. The enthusiasm and thoroughness of these articles also add the substance of hope to the faith of the founders of the Literary and Historical Association that literary and historical forces could be joined in effective and fruitful union. Reviews of current publications in history have compared favorably with those in the regional and national pro-

fessional journals; while the annual reports on publications concerned with North Carolinians have been a joy to librarians and a solace to that large company of readers whose personal budget places book buying in the realm of wishful thinking.

Every issue of the *Review* through 1953 contained at least one contribution in the field of edited source materials. Most of these represent no new materials or revolutionary viewpoints in history, but are excellent vehicles for the stimulation of interest in the basic stuff of history in presenting human documents in simple and straightforward fashion. No particular policy of including or excluding materials by the Department of Archives and History seems to have been followed, though there are cases of important documents in North Carolina history being made available to students within the state through publication in the *Review*. No doubt some aspirants for advanced degrees have spent money and time going to Washington and to libraries in New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania to gain access to materials they could have found in more convenient form in the files of the *Review* in their hometown libraries.

Distribution of Contributors by Residence

Years	North Carolina	Other States	Washington & British Isles	Totals
1924-1933	35	44	0	79
1934-1943	39	44	10	93
1944-1953	74	50	9	133
Totals	148	138	19	305

Contributors have been almost equally divided between dwellers in the state and those whose home addresses are scattered from California to the British Isles. It is noticeable that the number of new contributors from states other than North Carolina has remained fairly constant throughout the three decades. The increase in contributors from outside the state in the two decades since 1933 is almost entirely accounted for in duplications, twelve new contributors from Washington, four from England, and one from Wales. The full flower of the joint movements of the New History and the

new education is seen in the fact that contributors in North Carolina, 1944-1953, were exactly equal to the corresponding total for the preceding two decades. The total of names appearing one or more times for each of the three decades covered is 305, but the substraction of duplications reduces to around 275 the number of people who made one or more contributions. Truly the days of giants in the land have been succeeded by an age in which a multitude of mere men inhabit the earth.

The manner of these men—and women—is as different from that of the giants of the Old School as educational practices of the twentieth century are at variance with those of the nineteenth century. The emphasis in our colleges on general and somewhat elementary training in reading and writing plus concentration in vocational subject matter has produced a generation of specialists in this and other fields of scholarship. The products of our assembly line procedure are of such uniform character that luck in locating materials, persistence in sticking to the last, physical endurance, and financial backing have become the most common determinants in the volume of production by individual scholars. In all of these the balance is heavily weighted in favor of residents within the state.

With so many scholars crowding into a relatively restricted area it had to happen that somebody would get into somebody else's hair. Just how many and whose offering failed to make the grade and why they failed are delicate subjects that had best be left to the discretion of the Editorial Board. It may be safely pointed out, however, that sources were covered in sufficient detail and handled with enough skill that no rival scholar has challenged in the pages of the *Review* an interpretative article in its major conclusions. Three articles have been subjects of subsequent letters to the Editor; two of these pointed out probable errors in the use of similar names for different individuals, and the third raised a question concerning the validity of an inference from a quotation. One of the Englishmen wrote a short article taking another to task for an error of two years in timing the removal of Joseph Gales from Newark to Sheffield.

A sampling of vocations followed by contributors indicates that at least three-fourths are teachers in colleges and universities. The second largest vocational group is made up of professional researchers, archivists, archeologists, and the like, to whom history is considerably more than an avocation. A few newspaper and periodical editors add color to the prevailing academic style of writing; while small groups of secondary school teachers, lawyers, soldiers, ministers, state employees, and housewives keep alive the illusion that history is not yet monopolized by the historians.

As the upbringing of the *Review* in the strict admonition of the New History is reflected in the range of subject-matter and the characteristics of its contributors, so is its ancestry in the Old School revealed in the interpretations it presents. Not much more than a dozen contributions violate the three-period chronology by inclusion of the years 1783 and 1865. The greatest volume of contributions and the fewest deviations from standard interpretations are to be found in the 186 studies of the federal period. Detailed studies of the social life and economic status of slaves and free Negroes merely substantiate inferences formerly made by intuition and slight sampling of sources. Pictures of life in the towns and health resorts reveal the white-collar class in its cultural and leisure activities and supplement the older record of absorption in politics and farming. Even the valuable contributions dealing with publications repeat again the familiar refrain that success in politics, farming, and the law was the open sesame in ante bellum North Carolina to economic affluence and social prestige. Excellent treatments of gold mining, iron refining, and tobacco manufacturing present these activities as adjuncts to the agricultural system. The score for originality of interpretation is a little better for the period of the Civil War where the regulation of manufacturing, the growth of defeatism, the problem of refugees, and the uses of slave labor are treated as significant phases of the sectional test of strength in North Carolina.

The 98 contributions to the colonial and Revolutionary era constitute a mine of sound findings worthy of being refined and incorporated into the general narrative of North Caro-

lina history. More than a dozen analyses of political developments describe the evolution of law enforcement and representation, the transition from the proprietary system to the royal government, and the emergence of a political self-consciousness in the active leaders at county and provincial level. Careful study of these, most of which come in the first half of the life of the *Review*, would do much to remove the erroneous idea in the minds of many students that the American Revolution really began with the first permanent settlement in the Albemarle. Other studies round out the picture of colonial life in agriculture, modes of travel, commerce, and the beginnings of religious denominations; while one series by a contributor[26] who unfortunately has "gone west," presents a cameo of the colonial era in the settlement, economic life, and political development of Granville County. Careful evaluations of the lives of important leaders in the Revolution and the formation of the Confederation add to the understanding of personalities in the history of this dynamic period. The richest set of edited sources is the series of eighteenth century tracts collected by William K. Boyd and later republished in book form.

Under the most liberal application of the three-fold test of excellence laid down by the New History only 58 of the 136 contributions in the postbellum era can be accounted as having added anything more than contemporary atmosphere to North Carolina history. Slightly more than half of these deal mainly with the period up to 1900, and together make a fresh, though hardly original approach to North Carolina history. In contrast to the Old School, the four contributions on Reconstruction do not attack the Fourteenth Amendment; rather they accept it by inference as a consequence of the Civil War and work out political developments in the light of that revolutionary change in federal relations and the obligations of the state to its citizens. William W. Holden is objectively presented as the center of the pardon machine and later as the not so innocent pawn in a political attack and counter-attack that led to his impeachment. Something

[26] Nannie Mae Tilley, chairman, history department, East Texas State Teachers College, Commerce, Texas.

of the Republican effort to play the role of the party of the common man is reflected in treatments of radical disfranchisement and debtor relief. Several excellent studies portraying the growth of railways and manufacturing during the 1880's as contrasted to the plight of farmers and factory wage earners make more understandable the efforts of church people and liberals to get child labor laws passed and the phenomenal growth of the Farmers' Alliance. The rising interest in education is clearly set forth in studies dealing with the efforts of religious denominations and the running fight in the General Assembly and the state courts for an adequate public school system.

The dependence of the *Review* on the writers of the Old School for interpretative leads is suggested again by the complete absence of clear interpretations in the 25 or 30 studies dealing primarily with the twentieth century. Eight historians deal effectively with North Carolina phases of national politics, the organization and activities of their fellow workers, and the enlightened leadership of liberal Southerners originating in North Carolina; about an equal number of state employees sketch legislative and administrative developments in various phases of the rapidly expanding state services. The human bases of the social order are examined in treatments of the Farmers' Union, the organization of the war effort in 1917-1918, and the labor movement; and evaluations of general literary and intellectual development present pictures of the various authors' specialties. But the unifying element of over-all historical characterization is absent and cannot be supplied by any reasonable inference.

Speculation on the observable complexities of the social order in twentieth century North Carolina and our failure to interpret the nature of that society could lead to extreme pessimism. It is possible that we are bewildered by the overwhelming multiplicity of our historical resources and are stumbling like the proverbial blind dog in a meat house. On the other hand, a more optimistic view is that our gropings need not be in vain if by them we are able to arrive at a basic understanding of the forces that are shaping our

civilization. North Carolina historians, at least, have not yet taken the easy way out by accepting the twentieth century at its own Gargantuan evaluation, though recently advised so to do by one of eminent reputation in the profession.[27] That mechanization in industry, corporate structure in business, and authoritarianism in national and international affairs have together created a new world in the past seventy years is obvious to anyone with the most elementary training in historical observation. But history is not the bondservant of big business in the twentieth century any more than it was the handmaiden of the church in the early Middle Ages or the amanuensis of the schoolmen in the late Middle Ages. Perhaps it is but another expression of an individual's inherent conservatism on this matter to assert the conviction that our preceptors of the first quarter of the century were correct: in a democratic society there is no excuse for history except to interpret and explain the successive failures and successes of people as they strive together under responsible leadership to establish and maintain worthwhile institutions. The plain, unvarnished truth is that we need desperately a host of sound monographic studies on the twentieth century.

It is increasingly evident that we of the New History do not have that intuitive grasp of historical realities that was the greatest asset of the Old School. They opened up the colonial period as a preliminary to the Revolution and Independence; we have added valuable studies that place the era on a firm base of understanding in its world setting. They charted a broad course through the maze of conflicting evidence in the federal period; we have cleared out many revealing by-paths along the way. In their disjointed studies of the postbellum era they contributed a vigorous moral conviction[28] in matters of political and social justice as a base line

[27] Allan Nevins, "New Lamps for Old in History," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXI (April, 1954), 140-251.

[28] Recent reactions of members of the Old School on this point are interesting. In 1948 Connor asserted privately that historians should wait until the immediate survivors of public figures had died before revealing the full story of those figures. Dr. Hamilton in a series of articles in *The News and Observer* (see especially the issue of Sunday, June 21, 1953) implies strongly that "a number of unsuspected Democrats," not including Zebulon B. Vance, were involved financially in the Littlefied-Swepson frauds, 1869-1874.

for a survey of the field; we have made only a few fragmentary investigations, too scanty for a complete picture and too scattered to form any pattern of interpretation. Of course, no one is naive enough to believe that an accumulation of research monographs would suffice as an atonement for this signal failure. Rather the hope of the New History is that honest research will lead to factual knowlege and that sober reflection will add to our knowledge the understanding on which to base an explanation of our own times.

THE JEWISH PEOPLE OF NORTH CAROLINA

By Harry L. Golden

The American Jewish community is celebrating the 300th anniversary of first Jewish settlement in what is now the United States. In September, 1654, twenty-three Jews landed on Manhattan Island. They were travelers in search of freedom who won for themselves and for their descendants the right to citizenship, the right to worship as Jews, and the right to enjoy the opportunities of freedom in America.

It is entirely natural that the Jewish people should celebrate this sixth Jubilee year of freedom in America. A people persecuted in all the millenniums of its history, we could never have survived without the sustaining hope of a better world ahead.

And thus, as we look backward and then forward, two propositions should be foremost in our minds. First, it is only in those lands where freedom has endured, and especially in the United States, that the Jew's contribution to civilization has been equalled or exceeded by the benefits he has enjoyed. This is because the splendid product, democracy, made available to all, exceeds the sum of the contributions of each. While we shall continue to add to the strength of this country both as Americans and as transmitters of the Jewish tradition and vitality, we expect nothing in return except that as Americans, sharing in the common heritage, participating in the common endeavor, we may continue to build our common future.

When we think in terms of a Jewish 300th anniversary celebration, or more specifically in terms of the Jewish experience in one of our sovereign states—North Carolina—the historian has one great advantage. He may approach the record of the entire history of human progression with rich rewards in source material. The Jew is the one fixture in the index of recorded human experience. Thus when we discuss a fragment of this experience in North Carolina, for instance, we may begin, if we wish, with the Roman historian, Tacitus who in his account of the funeral of Julius Caesar, who wrote that "The Jews remained for three days to intone their ancient

funeral chants."[1] It is therefore the Roman historian who gives us the clue to the "Jewish contribution" to our society. The Jew was considered "ancient" some nineteen centuries ago, yet he appears on the daily scene in each of the eras of history with the enthusiasm of a newly-arrived immigrant. Contemporaneous with all of recorded history, he refuses to take the "glorious" past seriously. Neither has he brooded too long over the horrors of an Inquisitor Torquemada, a Cossack Chmielnitski, or the Teutonic furioso, Hitler. In essence the Jew is now what he always was, an eternal optimist with a sense of daily life-affirmation of undiminished vitality betraying no slackening of his energies during all the thirty centuries of his history. His record of human experience may also be called "glamorous," since he looks into our modern world with the eyes of former ages and with the knowledge that is Jewish by race. But most of this he leaves to Cecil B. De Mille. His basic "contribution" to America is that after having lived with, and survived, the Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Hittites, Phillistines, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, the Jew at this very moment in his history considers it of prime importance to become a member of the Board of Directors of the Community Chest of "Monroe, N. C.," and thousands of "Monroes" in every nook and corner of our land and indeed of the entire Western World. This zest for life is the true Jewish "contribution" to North Carolina; to America; and to civilization itself.

In approaching his subject, the Jewish historian must be wary of a pitfall—the danger that racial pride may cause him to blow up a few names out of all proportion to their proper place in the building of a great society. This would not only be presumptuous but it would betray a sense of insecurity, which is unwarranted in the light of 300 years of uninterrupted freedom. North Carolina, of course, is now, and has been in the past, a predominantly Gentile society, and we must be careful to take no liberties with that basic fact.

Yet the fact itself (of the preponderant Gentile section of America), offers the Jewish historian an unusual opportunity to study the "ingredients" which have coalesced into the com-

[1] Will Durant, *Caesar and Christ* (New York: Simon and Schuster, *The Story of Civilization*), III, 199.

pletely free society, and which in specific terms of the Carolinas may be called correctly a 300-year-old "laboratory of philo-semitism."

What then are these "ingredients"? One point in particular impresses itself immediately. The new eighteenth century attitude toward the Jews was not an American innovation, but a common development of the Anglo-Saxon world.[2] It was not geography that ameliorated the savage prejudices of the Old World, but an idea—a Humanism which had its roots in the Anglo-Calvinist tradition of the British Isles and Holland. When the Dutch lost Brazil to Portugal the Jews again had to seek out Dutch or Anglo-Saxons, and that is how they came to establish their first settlement on this continent in the year 1654. It was specifically this Atlantic-Puritan nexus which produced a Roger Williams in New England and a John Locke for the Carolinas, who gave expression to this new Idea, of which the philosopher, Rabbi Leo Baeck, has said: ". . . it broke all ties with antiquity . . . it no longer carried the Middle Ages on its back." [3]

Immediately in the wake of the Quakers, French Huguenots, Moravians, and Jews, this Anglo-Saxon society in the Carolinas invited the philosopher John Locke to establish its own tradition in terms of the new land. In the same year (1668) that the Ukrainian Bogdan Chmielnitski was massacring more than a half-million Jews in Eastern Europe, Locke wrote the *Fundamental Constitutions*[4] for the Carolinas ". . . in as ample manner as they (the people) might desire, freedom and liberty of conscience in all religious or spiritual things." The Constitutions expressly stated that as "Jews, heathens, and other dissenters" might be induced to settle in the Colony, "any seven or more persons agreeing in any religion shall constitute a church or profession."

These Anglo-Saxons who left their country and faced the dangers of the ocean to seek in the wilderness of North Ameri-

[2] Cecil Roth, *Two Cradles of Jewish Liberty,* (London: Anglo-Jewish Association, 1955), 18.

[3] Address before the Union of American Hebrew Congregation, quoted in *Time* magazine, Aug. 18, 1952.

[4] George Bancroft, *History of the United States* (New York, 1886), III, 314.

ca the right to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience had created a new idea in human relations. And for the first time in the entire history of the Diaspora the Jews did not enter upon a new land under sufferance, nor even by "negotiation." The Anglo-Saxons had eliminated the "host" and "guest" relationship. Indeed, the immigrant of today was by right the "host" of tomorrow. But so far-reaching an advance in intellectual Humanism required its own period of gestation. The precursors of this Americanism did not quite know from the beginning how to solve the problem of the relation of their faiths to this New Freedom. The Anglican Church attempted to establish the pattern by weight of numbers. In North Carolina this tradition persisted, at least on paper, for nearly a century after the establishment of the Bill of Rights. A constitutional provision forbade public office to anyone who denied the "being of God or the truth of the Protestant religion, or the divine authority of either the Old or New Testament or who shall hold Religious principles incompatible with the freedom and safety of the State." It is pertinent to our study to note carefully that during this entire ninety-year debate for the repeal of this provision, we have been unable to uncover a single derogatory reference to the Jews, as a people. The provision, which involved Catholics, Jews, Quakers, and Deists, was clearly in conflict with Article 19 of the Bill of Rights. There was no pride in this constitutional provision, and as a matter of fact, Catholics, Jews, Quakers, and Deists had held public office. An effort to expel Jacob Henry, a Jew, had failed in 1809.[5] The Catholics

[5] Jacob Henry was elected to the state legislature in 1808. A year later, upon reflection, an opponent tried to unseat him and based his action upon the provision in the state constitution which required "belief in the divine authority of the New Testament." Henry addressed the legislature:

> It is difficult to conceive how such a provision crept into the Constitution, unless it is from the difficulty the human mind feels in suddenly emancipating itself from fetters by which it has long been enchained: ... If a man should hold religious principles incompatible with the freedom and safety of the State, I do not hesitate to pronounce that he should be excluded from the public councils of the same; and I trust, if I know myself, no one would be more ready to aid and assist than myself. But I should really be at a loss to specify any known religious principles which are thus dangerous. It is surely a question between a man and his maker, and requires more than human attributes to pronounce which of the numerous sects prevailing in the world is most acceptable to the Deity. If a man fulfills the duties of that re-

were admitted to the British House of Commons in 1828; the Jews in 1858; and the rationalists who refused to take an oath in the name of any God, in 1884. It was no coincidence that North Carolina followed the Mother Country in almost perfect chronological order.

In the constitutional process of the free society, religious freedom is the last to be developed and to become perfect, as demonstrated by the example of England and America, as well as after the French Revolution. The memories of common persecutions, however, were finally the cause, through necessary evolution, of the glorious and full emancipation of religion taught to the world by the English-speaking civilization.

Thus, when we discuss the Jewish people of North Carolina, we are on solid ground when we look at them as a continuing culture and tradition. This is true not only of the Jew, but of all our peoples. Certainly the mind and the heart of one section of our state reflects much more than the physical presence of the Moravians, but goes back to its roots in the

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> ligion, which his education or his conscience has pointed to him as the true one, no person, I hold, in this, our land of liberty, has a right to arraign him at the bar of any inquisition; and the day, I trust, has long passed, when principles merely speculative were propagated by force; when the sincere and pious were made victims, and the light-minded bribed into hypocrites. Governments only concern the actions and conduct of man, and not his speculative notions. . . . Shall this free country set an example of persecution, which even the returning reason of enslaved Europe would not submit to? Will you bind the conscience in chains? Will you drive from your shores and from the shelter of your Constitution all who do not lay their oblations on the same altar, observe the same ritual, and subscribe to the same dogmas? If so, which among the various sects into which we are divided, shall be the favored one?. . .

The legislature allowed Henry to keep his seat on a technicality. The fight went on. John Branch, James Iredell, W. N. Edwards, William Gaston, Zebulon B. Vance, but above all, Nathaniel Macon, were the Tar Heel statesmen who kept the struggle alive for the sixty years it took for the final elimination of the disability clause. Henry's speech was reprinted in a book called the *American Orator*, and made a profound impression even outside of North Carolina. In speaking on the *Maryland Jew Bill*, in 1818, the Hon. H. M. Brackenridge said: "In the State of North Carolina there is a memorable instance on record of an attempt to expel Mr. Henry, a Jew, from the legislative body of which he had been elected a member. The speech he delivered on that occasion I hold in my hand. It is published in a collection called the *American Orator*, a book given to your children at school and containing those republican truths you wish to see earliest implanted in their minds. Mr. Henry prevailed, and it is part of our education as Americans to love and cherish the sentiments uttered by him on that occasion." Leon Huhner, "Religious Liberty in North Carolina With Special Reference to the Jews," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* (New York, 1907) No. 16, 37-71.

forests of Bohemia. By the same token the attitudes, and what we call the "American way of life" within our North Carolina society, are anchored deeply in the Anglo-Calvinist traditions and cultures of the British Isles; and so it is proper that we approach the history of the Jewish people, as a people —as a continuing cultural and religious group; and on that basis our findings dwarf the combined influence of all the individuals within that group over these entire 300 years. This influence is clearly stamped upon the consciousness of North Carolina, and on the day-to-day living of its people, as it is stamped upon the whole of western civilization. You have but to travel a few miles in any direction to come under its influence—*Pisgah, Cedars of Lebanon, Mount Olive, Mount Gilead, Mt. Hebron, Nebo, Ararat, Winston-Salem*— and at every crossroads in the length and breadth of our state the inscription: "This way to Beth El Chapel." *And Abraham called the place Beth El,* House of God. And from the pulpit of every church of every denomination every Sunday, the Hebraic ideal:

> It hath been told thee, O Man, what is good,
> And what the Lord doth require of thee;
> Only to do justice, and to love mercy, and to walk
> humbly with thy God.

In this interpretation of our history the life of the Jewish people within this society takes on its proper perspective the substance which it has in truth transferred to the ebb and flow of the daily life of the Gentile community in which it has lived in peace and in prosperity.

It has a further historical significance. In fact it assumes great proportions in keeping with the history of America as a nation; the story of the transplanting of the Nordic and Mediterranean cultures which compose the fabric of this country. Look at it once, a few scattered settlements along the Atlantic seaboard. Look at it again, a mighty nation—the mightiest nation the world has ever seen. Where did they come from? Clerks and soldiers from England, seamen from Scotland, laborers from Ireland, miners from Wales, peasants from Italy, woodcutters from Sweden, farmers from Ger-

many, tailors from Russia, Negroes from Africa; Christian and Jew, the pious and the unchurched; the disinherited and the adventurers, the persecuted, the tired and the homeless—and they became Americans—Americans all. Woodrow Wilson was right—America is nothing except in terms of every one of them.

North Carolina's participation in the American Jewish Tercentenary parallels the 300 years of recorded history. The earliest Jews undoubtedly came from the Barbadoes, of Spanish-Portugese origin. Since early Jewish settlers established the indigo trade in America, we may assume that many of these traders and exporters were established along the North Carolina seacoast. But the earliest name of record appears to be that of Aaron Moses,[6] who appears as a witness to a will in 1740. In 1750 we run across a petition to a council by David David for a grant of 180 acres of land at New Hanover. His petition was granted, and in 1752 David appears on the muster roll of the New Hanover County militia in Captain Merrick's company.

Jewish participation in the Revolutionary War was part of the natural process of advancing equality. Most of the 2,000 Jews in the colonies backed the independence movement, and names of Jewish merchants appear on the Non-Importation resolutions. The volunteers for Washington's army from North Carolina include the names of Aaron Cohen of Albemarle, J. Nathan of Charlotte, and Sigmund Freudenthal of New Hanover.[7] However, only the records of the 10th regiment of the North Carolina line are complete and they include William Solomon, in Sharp's Company, Abraham Moses, Lazarus Solomon, in Rhodes's Company, Isaac Sampson, in Brevard's Company, and Moses Stern on the roll of the North Carolina Battalion.[8] Aaron Cohen's daughter,

[6] Leon Huhner, "The Jews in North Carolina Prior to 1800," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* (New York, 1925), No. 29, 141. Hereafter cited as Huhner, "Jews in North Carolina."

[7] Aaron Cohen's gravestone (d. 1819) in the Baltimore Hebrew Benevolent Society cemetery is inscribed, "A Soldier in Washington's Army." References to J. Nathan and Sigmund Freudenthal were supplied by descendants; I. L. Lyon, Philadelphia, Pa.; and Mrs. Walter Rausch, New York, New York, respectively.

[8] Huhner, "Jews of North Carolina," 144-145.

Elizabeth, was the first interment in the Hebrew Cemetery of Charlotte, which secured its charter in 1859.[9]

The name of Francis Salvador, the most famous Jew of South Carolina, also appears in North Carolina history. Salvador came to Charleston from England in 1773. He bought lands in South Carolina and lodged with a Jewish friend, Richard A. Rapely of Coroneka, commonly called Cornacre. Salvador was reared in luxury, but placed his entire fortune at the disposal of his adopted land. He had been in the colony only a year when he was elected to the South Carolina General Assembly, probably the first Jew in history to be elected to public office by a Christian community. (Interesting note: In 1954, Hon. Solomon Blatt, a Jew of Barnwell, was re-elected for the ninth term as the Speaker of the same General Assembly.) In a rare work entitled "Narrative of Colonel David Fanning, a Tory in the Revolutionary War, giving an Account of his Adventures in North Carolina from 1775 to 1783," [10] occurs the following under date of July, 1775:

> We called musters in various counties, and captains presented two papers for the inhabitants to sign, one to see who were friends of the King and Government, and the other to see who would join the rebellion.

Fanning relates how he presented the two papers, and that 118 signed in favor of the king. His narrative then continues:

> There were several advertisements set up in every part of said district that there was a very great Presbyterian minister to call at the different places to preach and baptize children. . . . But at the time appointed, instead of meeting a minister, we all went to meet two Jews by name of Silvedoor and Rapely, and after making many speeches in favor of the rebellion and used all their endeavors to delude the people away, at last presented rebellion papers to see who would sign them. They were severely reprimanded by Henry O'Neil and many others. It came so high that they had much adue to get off with their lives.

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[9] The Hebrew Cemetery in Charlotte was organized in 1859. Prior to that date it was the custom to ship the remains of the dead either to the earlier established Hebrew cemeteries in Charleston, S. C., Wilmington or Statesville, or more often to relatives in northern centers.

[10] Huhner, "Jews of North Carolina," 142.

The rebels then found that we were fully determined to oppose them.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, we begin to find records of political and commercial activities involving North Carolina Jews. Jacob Mordecai established the first private school for girls in the South, at Warrenton, in 1809.[11] The school boarded an average of eighty girls a year and each pupil was sent to the church of parental choice. The textbooks used were *Brooks' Gazetter, Guthrie's Grammar of Geography, Tooke's Pantheon,* and *Blair's Rhetoric.* In addition, music, embroidery, and sewing were taught. One of Mordecai's sons, George Washington Mordecai, also played an important role in the economic and cultural development of the state. He was the first president of the state-owned Bank of North Carolina, and built the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad, which ran from the State Capital to the Roanoke River. The family was assimilated into Christianity toward the end of the nineteenth century; its most distinguished member of this generation was the late Samuel Fox Mordecai, for many years dean of the Trinity College (later Duke University) Law School. Reared in the Christian religion[12] from

[11] Huhner, "Jews of North Carolina," 146.

[12] Harry L. Golden, "Jews of the South," *American Jewish Congress Weekly,* December, 1952. Jewish "assimilation" into Christianity during the nineteenth century was fairly consistent in the Carolinas and the South. The absence of any "communal" activity; the greater distances between towns; the sparsity of numbers, and the religious character of the section, all contributed to this pattern. Oddly enough very few formal conversions were involved. In the main, the process was the result of a "mixed-marriage," nearly always involving a Jewish male and a Gentile female. The head of the family maintained at least a tenuous tie with Judaism, but upon his death the Gentile widow and the children integrated into the main stream of the Protestant majority. Most of the Spanish Jews of Colonial days and many of the German Jews of the mid-nineteenth century were thus absorbed into the several Christian denominations. (At the present time, 1955, at least ninety per cent of the Jewish people of the Carolinas—and the South—are first and second generation citizens of Eastern European origin). Many leading Christian families of the Carolinas today bear the same names as those on tombstones erected eighty and ninety years ago in the Hebrew cemeteries of Charleston and Camden, S. C., and Charlotte, N. C. This Jewish assimilation into Christianity in the Carolinas (and generally throughout the South) has been obscured due to the lack of authentic data. There are no records, of course. The numbers involved were not large, but the percentage was the highest in the country. In addition to "evidence" gathered from the old synagogue membership rolls and tombstones in the Jewish cemeteries, new sources of information on these conversions are now available. These sources are the Christian families involved. The writer has found that there is now

birth, he had once been mentioned for the position of president of Trinity College. Dean Mordecai wrote a humorous sonnet:[13]

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a disposition to recall Jewish ancestors with both pride and affection. This is particularly true of those families who have acquired the greatest sense of "security" through wealth and prestige. This higher percentage of Jews becoming totally integrated into the Protestant majority was due also to the fact that there never was any "compulsion" to leave the Jewish faith either out of fear or as a requirement to thrive and prosper. This was true even during the periods of the two Ku Klux Klans. Furthermore, there was also an affinity on religious grounds. It has raised the percentage of converts through mixed-marriage, but it has also intensified a greater religious consciousness among the Jews themselves. In the Carolinas where the people have long since been divorced from European influence, the Gentile has not completely separated his Jewish neighbor from the image he carries of Abraham or Jeremiah. The Southern Protestant "understood" the Jew as a member of a religious group—either as a pious Jew, or as a convert to Christianity. When the Jew was neither he became (to the Southerner) an "enigma." But this has worked both ways. The Jews have always been alert to reflect the habits and the attitudes of the Protestant majority. Thus in the case of Zionism, for instance, there would not have been the almost unanimous support for the movement if the "majority" had been hostile to the idea. Southern Protestantism was wholly receptive: *"It's in the Book."*

While "mixed-marriage" continues at the approximate ratio of one out of every eight marriages involving a Jewish male, we find a surprising development in recent years. At least half of the Gentile brides involved are entering the Jewish faith. (Few mixed-marriages have involved a Jewish female. In the early days, the European immigrant who came into the Carolinas and the south was unmarried, usually a teen-age boy. He did not come into contact with Jewish girls. In the first place there weren't many. Secondly, the Jewish families that were already established here, were well integrated into the upper middle-class, at least on an economic level, and often on a social level too. This family, usually of German origin, was not going to turn the young daughter over to an immigrant from Russia, or Poland. The daughter would have been spoken for by one of the other Jewish families of equal status, or was living with relatives in Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York. There has been very little change in this pattern. The Jewish girls have less opportunity for "outside" contacts than the boys who are out selling or managing as soon as they leave high school or college. Since the Jews represent a single proprietary class, the girls are under no pressure to start a career or earn wages. In fact, the girl's "freedom" from any economic worries is part of the growing "status" of the family. In the smaller towns the family still sends the daughter off to relatives in the large cities to expose her to larger Jewish communities).

There is yet another development of major significance in the life of the Jewish people of the Carolinas and the south in general. The new generation of native-born Jewish boys and girls are the backbone of Jewish religious life in the South. The older generation was intent upon "getting ahead." That, together with a social segregation that was partly imposed and partly self-imposed, gave them little or no contact with the Christian society at the personal level. But their children are now living with it from day-to-day. The values that are constantly stressed by their Gentile classmates and friends are in terms of "Sunday School," "church," "my preacher," and "The Bible." This new generation of native-born Jews in the Carolinas and the South may very well be on its way to the establishment of an American-type Jewish orthodoxy.

[13] Mordecai's *Miscellanies* (Durham, published privately, 1927), 35. I am indebted to Mr. Thad Stem, Jr., of Oxford, N. C., for the loan of a rare copy.

With trite constructive platitude,
I now express my gratitude
To each and every person who
heard my 'naug'ral through;
And I'm sure that my election
Shows great powers of selection
In those who chose for President
Mr. Mordecai, the Jew.

For the Jewish people, the American Civil War was an important milestone. Its significance lies not so much in the individual participation (which based on proportionate numbers represented a mere detail) but on its demonstration of the responsibility of citizenship. The Jews had not been long out of the ghettos of Europe where for nearly 1600 years they lived as a homogeneous community under European law of group activity and group responsibility. This homogeneity was intensified by the struggle to survive in surroundings of unrelieved hostility. Yet in freedom Jews of the South generally supported the Confederacy and Jews of the North followed the Union fortunes, in proportion to their relative numbers. Thus nearly 2,000 years of in-group living was shattered in a single moment by that same American idea that permits each citizen to determine his views in accordance with the dictates of his private conscience.

Paradoxically this American right to behave "separately" unloosed the first serious attack (in the United States) upon the Jews as a people.[14] The radical abolitionists, using the secessionism of Judah P. Benjamin (Secretary of State of the Confederacy), attempted to create in America an awareness for the European concept of "group responsibility" as it concerned the Jews.[15] Notwithstanding the fact that Rabbi

[14] Judd L. Teller's excellent work, *Scapegoat of Revolution* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955), 84-88. Hereafter cited as Teller, *Scapegoat of Revolution.*

[15] Of course, in Gentile folklore "All the Jews stick together," which once prompted the observation from that noble mind, Bernard Berenson, "Oh, if we only possessed some of the qualities with which we are reproached." Bernard Berenson, *Rumor and Reflection* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1952), 145. Winston Churchill, probably the most "aware" Anglo-Saxon of our century, has written, "One Jew is a Prime Minister, two Jews are a Prime Minister and a Leader of the Loyal Opposition." Winston Churchill, *Greek and Jew,* from an address quoted in the *New York Times,* Jan. 11, 1948. Thus, while the Jewish stereotype is still with us to some

David Einhorn had fled Baltimore before a pro-slavery lynch mob, most of the important abolitionist editors, clergymen, and politicians attempted to equate the Jews' refusal to endorse en bloc the abolitionist cause with treason against the Republic.[16]

From North Carolina came the six Cohen brothers for the 40th Infantry, and the first Jew to fall for the Confederacy was Albert Lurie Moses of Charlotte, who died at the Battle of Seven Pines. He had seized an eight-inch shell with the fuse burning, fallen into a gun pit and saved many lives. The shell has since been engraved and stands over his grave near Columbus, Ga.

When the war broke out Major Alfred Mordecai,[17] an instructor in Ordnance at West Point, was in charge of the Wa-

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degree—the identification of the individual with the group as a whole has never entered into American law. In the entire history of the United States there have been only two isolated instances of an "official" attempt to identify the actions of one or a few with a group as a people. The first was the Civil War "Order No. 11" issued by General Grant who, irked by the activities of some peddlers "barred" the Jews "as a race" from certain war areas. *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, Series 1, Volume XVII, Part 2, 424, issued on December 17, 1862, expelling all Jews from his (Grant's) department. On January 7, 1863, by direction of General Halleck, then general-in-chief, this order was revoked. This order can be found in the same volume as above, 544. The second such attempt was made in January, 1955, when the office of the Secretary of Agriculture attempted to identify a major segment of American Jewry (of Russion origin) with the alleged "un-American" beliefs of a single individual. In each case the American people rejected the idea quickly and decisively.

[16] Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise, founder of American Reform Judaism, himself an ardent Abolitionist, answered the critics of the southern Jews; ". . . the Jew is as little responsible for the politics of other Jews as the Catholic, Protestant, Deist or Atheist is for the politics of his co-religionists. . . . If the largest portion of the Jewish population of Richmond, Charleston, and New Orleans give aid and comfort to rebellion, as our opponents maintain, they do exactly as others do in the same localities. . . . You Abolitionists with the grandiloquent and bombastic declamations of philanthropy, freedom, and attachment to the Government, why do you not go down South and expound your doctrines to the community; and if you dare not do it, why do you expect the Jews there to stand in opposition to the mass of the people?" Teller, *Scapegoat of Revolution.* Interestingly enough Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of War and later Secretary of State in the cabinet of Jefferson Davis, who raised the ire of the Abolitionists against Jews as a people, was used for the same purpose in the South. During Benjamin's hassle with General "Stonewall" Jackson over the loss of Roanoke Island, demands were made upon the President of the Confederacy to remove "Mr. Israelite." A Rev. Willicomb of Virginia demanded the removal of Benjamin as a member of the "tribe which killed Jesus." The irony of this situation on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line is that Mr. Benjamin, born a Jew, was never known to have practised the religion or to speak "as a Jew" at any time in his entire public career. He was buried in Paris with the rites of the Roman Catholic Church.

[17] A son of Jacob Mordecai of Warrenton, N. C., Gratz Mordecai, "Notice of Jacob Mordecai, Founder and Proprietor from 1809 to 1818 of the

tervleit (N. Y.) Arsenal, the largest in the country. He resigned his commission stating that he was unwilling "to forge arms to be used against my aged mother, brothers and sisters" (in North Carolina).

In the Woodlawn Cemetery at Elmira, New York, site of a Federal camp for Confederate prisoners of war, the North Carolina Jews who are buried include Levi Southan, Co. A, 28th N. C. Inf.; Edward Harris, Co. G, 26th; I. M. Pinner, Co. E, 2nd; Jesse Simons, Co. G, 20th; Daniel Jonas, Co. D, 1st; Nathan Altman, Co. G., 40th; Henry Daniel, Co. F, 10th; J. Israel, Co. E, 51st; Moses Simmons, Co. G, 20th; David Lewis, Co. C, 22nd. From Charlotte also came J. Roessler, one of the founders of the first local Jewish congregation, who was a captain in the 40th Infantry; and Lewis Leon, a prominent Charlotte citizen after the war, who had originally enlisted in South Carolina.[18]

Warrenton (N. C.) Female Seminary," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* (New York, 1897), No. 6, 124-138. Jacob Mordecai married Judith Myers of Philadelphia. They lived in New York, Philadelphia, Richmond, Petersburg, and finally Warrenton (N. C.) where he established a country store in 1791. He also shipped tobacco and cotton to northern markets. Jacob's wife died in the birth of their seventh child. The eldest son Moses, and eldest daughter Rachel were born in Richmond. All the other children were born in Warrenton, and they included sons Solomon, who studied medicine and practiced in Mobile, Alabama; Alfred, appointed to West Point from North Carolina in 1823; George Washington Mordecai, practiced law in Raleigh, was first president of the Bank of the State of North Carolina, and president of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad. He was a member of the commission appointed by Governor Charles Manly to study plans for a Hospital for Mental Patients. "Dix Hill" near Raleigh was chosen by him. Another son, Samuel, settled in Richmond, Va., and was the author of *Richmond in By-Gone Days*. Major Alfred Mordecai mentioned above was the author of three text books used in West Point, *Reports of Experiments in Gunpowder, 1854-59, Artillery for the United States Land Service,* and *Ordnance Manual for Use of the Officers in the United States Army, first edition, 1841, second edition, 1850.* Upon his resignation from the Army he settled in Philadelphia. After the war he helped build the Mexico and Pacific Railroad from Vera Cruz to the Pacific Ocean. Upon his return to Philadephia he became Secretary and Treasurer of the Pennsylvania Canal Company, controlled by the Pennsylvania Railroad. The letter quoted giving his reason for resignation from the Army was included in his memoirs privately printed in Philadelphia in 1886 on the occasion of his fiftieth wedding anniversary.

[18] "Integration," especially in time of trouble, is universal. Pvt. Lewis Leon of Charlotte, marksman in the 53rd North Carolina Infantry, kept a diary. (Mr. John R. Peacock of High Point, N. C., who owns it, graciously sent a photostatic copy to the American Jewish Historical Society in 1952.) It is interesting to note that a young Jewish immigrant from Poland on September 19, 1862, recorded: "This morning they read an order from *our father* R. E. Lee in which he gave furlough to all Israelites in honor of Jewish New Year. Wortheim, Oppenheim, Norment, Katz, and myself, as well as Lieut. E. Cohen, worshipped" (italics mine).

The Jews of North Carolina followed the pattern of the three major waves of immigration to the United States. First the Spanish-Portugese, then the German Jews, and finally after 1880, the Jews from Eastern Europe, who brought the pattern of communal life which included an emphasis on learning, self-help, social justice, and keen responsibility for the Jew overseas.

The Jews who came to North Carolina in the second half of the nineteenth century, like those in all other sections of the eastern seaboard, found that the streets were neither paved with gold, nor that dollars grew on trees. They turned to the one profession open to them. They became peddlers. The Cherokees identified them as "egg-eaters." The basis for this may be in the fact that some of the peddlers adhered to the dietary laws of Moses and avoided meat of any kind until they returned to their "base of operations" on Friday evening in time to observe the Sabbath.

For Virginia and the Carolinas, the main source of merchandise supply was at Baltimore, Maryland, but within each state the peddlers had "way stations" where they stored small stocks and which they called "home for Sabbath." In North Carolina these "stations" were at Wilmington, Albemarle, and Yanceyville. Often the peddlers during the last two decades of the nineteenth century made one of these "way station-warehouses" a permanent home. In the August 2, 1860, issue of the *Hebrew Leader* (N. Y.) there was included the following advertisement: "Wanted by the Israelites of Wilmington, North Carolina, Hazan, Schocket, Mohel. Communicate M. Hirschberger, Wilmington, N. C." [19] [An individual who could combine the professions of cantor, ritual butcher, and circumciser]

The peddler was a walking "department store." When he first came through North Carolina and the other states of our country, he sometimes carried as much as 125 pounds on his back, and his goods included not only the minor accessories such as suspenders, socks, handkerchiefs, and needles, but also the finer linens, curtains, taffetas for the

[19] American Jewish Archives, Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of Religion (Cincinnati, Ohio), June 1952, 109.

farm wife's Sunday dress, ribbons for the youngsters, and many gewgaws which helped brighten the monotony of isolated living.

The peddler's coming was a gala event in the lives of the North Carolina farmers and pioneers. They all came out of the fields, and while the women folk and children began to examine the wares, the farmer himself would probably be asking the peddler about news from the adjoining county, or from the state capital; perhaps even a word about Bismarck or Queen Victoria. The Tar Heel novelist, Bernice Kelly Harris, who has given us the most vivid picture of rural life in eastern North Carolina, writes that the coming of the peddler was an event in the rural day of not many events. "When he was seen turning the corner at Old Uncle Nat's, we children rushed from the mulberry orchard houseward to persuade Mother to let the peddler open his packs, just to let him open his packs, even if nothing was to be bought. . . . Mother bought only needles and pins to pay the peddler for his trouble in opening the packs. . . ." [20]

Eventually, the peddler became the merchant and many of them acquired great wealth and distinction such as Joseph Fels, founder of the Fels Naptha Company, who started as a peddler and whose father before him had peddled out of Yanceyville, N. C. Many another peddler's son rose to eminence as a "merchant prince," and within a half-century the peddler had indeed raised the entire business of buying and

[20] Bernice Kelly Harris, Foreword, *Folk Plays of Eastern Carolina* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1940), xxi. At first the peddler was referred to as a "Dutchman." A death notice in *The Landmark* (Statesville), October 11, 1884, refers to the transportation of the "remains of A. Blum, a Dutch peddler" from Wilmington to Baltimore. Both Josephus Daniels in his *Tar Heel Editor* and Mrs. Harris in the above mentioned book of plays, speak of the "Dutch" peddler. It is interesting to note that Professor Oscar Handlin states that in early New England, too, the Jewish peddler was "looked upon as just another kind of German." *Adventure in Freedom* (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1954), 85-88. The term "Jew-peddler" began to appear in the public prints in the early part of this century, and later developed into the term "Jew-store" which is still widely used among the rural white and Negro populations. It was not intended as an insult, since customers upon entering the establishment often asked: "Is this a Jew-store?" The interest in the designation was probably heightened by a legend that a Jewish merchant would make every possible concession or sacrifice to record a "first" sale of the day, and that he would accept any "offer" rather than lose his first customer. The farmers would vie with one another to be the first one in the store to get a "bargain" on their own terms.

selling into the realm of the nobler arts—a profession comparable in dignity to that of the jurist and physician.

Essentially, however, the Jewish community of North Carolina, like the state itself, has recorded the most important part of its history during the past fifty years. The saga of Moses Henry Cone and his brother, Caesar Cone, of Greensboro, is the story of the industrial development of North Carolina into the greatest textile-producing area in the world. The Cones were the first to introduce a variety of cotton manufactures as well as the orderly method of world-wide distribution. They were pioneers in the establishment of a welfare program to afford their employees every opportunity for social, mental, physical, and spiritual advancement.[21]

[21] Herman Cone came to the United States from his native Altenstadt, Bavaria, in 1854, and opened a country store in Jonesboro, Tennessee. During the Civil War he added a small foundry where he manufactured bullets for the Confederate Army. In 1870 with his two oldest boys, Moses H. and Monroe, he established a wholesale grocery, leather and cigar business in Baltimore, Maryland. Later, another son, Caesar, joined the business. (Monroe died in 1891). Another son, Bernard, studied law and in his youth was associated with the famous New York law firm, Guggenheim, Untermyer and Marshall. The Cone connection with North Carolina and the textile business came through their wholesale establishment in Baltimore. After one of the serious economic depressions, many of the country stores in North Carolina were in debt to the Cones of Baltimore. When things began to pick up these merchants were still not able to discharge their debts, and were forced to make smaller purchases for cash, or seek credit elsewhere. Moses H. Cone wrote them all a letter. He said that he was sorry for their predicament, but he urged them to buy what goods they needed, and not to worry about the old accounts, that they could pay when they felt perfectly secure in their survival. Out of this came the friendship and the connections in North Carolina which led to the fabulous Cone enterprises. When the Cones entered the textile business, the southern mills had no credit with the New York banks; they were making only one product, and its distribution was based on a chaotic competition among themselves. The Cones established the Cone Export and Commission Company which, with several other commission houses, became the bankers for the southern mills. They also introduced a variety of manufactures into the industry, and an orderly method of world-wide distribution. Other children of the fabulous Herman Cone achieved distinction in the arts and sciences. Dr. Claribel Cone graduated with honors as an M. D. from the Women's Medical College at Baltimore. In 1903, she was elected to the presidency of the institution. Dr. Cone's great interest was the study of preventive medicine. She lectured at Johns Hopkins and did research at the Pasteur Institute in Paris. Her sister, Miss Etta Cone, was a pioneer worker in favor of woman suffrage. She was also an art collector who, with her brother Frederick Cone, began to collect original paintings by French artists who included Matisse and Picasso. After the death of Miss Etta Cone in 1949 the Baltimore Museum of Art had the privilege of making a selection from the paintings collected by Miss Etta and Frederick. This exhibit is now on display at the Baltimore Museum of Art. Cyrus Adler, Necrology (Caesar Cone). *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society,* (New York, 1918), No. 26, 118-122.

Today the company operates 600,000 spindles—nearly three per cent of the entire textile industry and in the last decade the Cones have "plowed" back more than $50,000,000 for modernization and expansion of their operations.[22]

The Jewish migration from the large northern centers into North Carolina in more substantial numbers began in the first decade of this century when the rolling mills and textile plants were beginning to flourish. As the population grew, merchants established retail stores in every city, town, and rural way-station in the state. Nearly all these retail establishments sold "soft goods"—ready-to-wear clothing and accessories.[23] The initial success of these small merchants was due to the fact that they permitted the Negro to try on the

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[22] Speech by Herman Cone quoted in *Greensboro Daily News*, January 16, 1955.

[23] The entire economy of the Jew in North Carolina (and the South) is based on self-employment. If a man loses his business and lacks the capital to try again, he will find it necessary to go to one of the metropolitan centers in the North to find a job. When the young man is ready to embark upon his career he will go into business with his father or father-in-law, or he may take a job as a salesman, traveling the territory for a (Jewish) manufacturer, wholesaler or mill agent. In effect the 3,180 Jewish families in North Carolina represent a single proprietary class of small capitalists; retailers, jobbers, wholesalers, manufacturers or mill agents. Their activities center around the manufacture and distribution of textiles, wholesalers and mill agents for the knitting and hosiery mills, operators of retail stores (ready-to-wear and credit jewelry), manufacture and distribution of chemicals, and dealers in textile machinery, metals, metal scrap, linen service and supply, and cotton waste. There are no Jews in banking, insurance, publishing, or in the food, drug, beverage, tobacco and construction industries. If we are to accept a yardstick (Mark Twain) that "successful business is honest business," the Jews of North Carolina (and the South) have achieved a record that compares favorably with the general community. At least eighty per cent of the establishments, plants, and stores doing business today are operating under original certificate of ownership or articles of incorporation. During the past three or four years many traveling salesmen have established their homes in North Carolina. Most of these men have covered the territory for many years but continued to maintain their homes in the metropolitan centers in the North. A few years ago, however, they began to move South. The territory involved usually includes Virginia and the two Carolinas, which makes the city of Greensboro, N. C., the most convenient "base" from which to operate. Because of this influx of several hundred traveling men and their families during the past three years, Greensboro now has the largest Jewish population in the state with approximately 500 families.

There is yet another development which may eventually change the character of Jewish life in the Carolinas if not in the entire South. Dozens of manufacturers in the needle trades have established factories in the Carolinas during the past five years. For the first time, we now find a few Jewish "employees" in the several communities—factory superintendents, machinists, designers, and cutters.

merchandise for size and fit without the obligation to make the purchase.[24]

In 1910 there were five established congregations, of which Temple Israel of Wilmington had been the first; and there was one secular organization, the first state-chartered YMHA, at Asheville. In 1955 there are 27 established congregations, a full-time "circuit-riding" rabbi to minister to the small towns, and over 40 local and state-wide fraternities, charity federations, and associations, including Hillel establishments at both Duke and the University of North Carolina.[25]

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[24] In the mercantile establishments of the South the rule governing Negroes for many years after the Reconstruction period was:—"Don't touch it if you're not going to buy it." The Jewish merchants in general did not follow this policy, and in fact catered to this Negro market for ready-to-wear and other apparel. The relationship was never beyond that of tradesman and customer. As the (Jewish) merchants prospered, they identified themselves more and more with the white Protestant middle class and eventually assumed the attitudes and even the prejudices of the white majority.

[25] According to the census records for 1870 (State Department of Archives and History) there were approximately 250-300 Jews in North Carolina. Since there were no established congregations, the writer made the estimate on the basis of "name" and "place of birth," for example, "Morris Springer, age 35, born in Poland." Of these 250-300 Jews in the state, four were native-born, eleven were born in South Carolina, two hundred and ten gave Germany, Bavaria, or Prussia as their birthplace, nine were natives of Philadelphia, two from New York, eighteen from Poland, seven from England, and one from Holland. (No census reports were available for hundreds of isolated communities of the state, but this would not have any substantial bearing on our figures.) The "importance" of the individual community followed the pattern of the state's industrial development. In 1870 the most important "Jewish" community was Statesville, N. C. This was due primarily to the presence of the Wallace family. Isaac and David Wallace were peddlers who started in the vicinity of Bamberg, South Carolina, upon their arrival in this country in 1859. A few years later they moved to Statesville where they established a mercantile business. They sold supplies to the farmers, ran a small banking business and a drug counter. They encouraged the farmers to bring their roots and herbs to the Wallace store and soon the brothers developed a crude drug business on a national scale which was to help the farmers of five North Carolina counties for nearly seventy-five years. Toward the end of the nineteenth century Wilmington, the seaport of North Carolina, became the largest Jewish community. It was here that the first formal congregation had been organized in 1867. The first synagogue in the state was built there in 1875. The importance shifted again to the western part of the state with the great industrial development of the Piedmont section. Since the 1920's the cities of Charlotte, Greensboro, Durham, and Winston-Salem have had the largest and most active communities. In the November, 1875, issue of *The American Israelite*, published by Rabbi Isaac Myer Wise in Cincinnati, Ohio, appeared this item: "Charlotte, North Carolina, is a city of 8,000 or 9,000 inhabitants and we have about twenty-five Jewish families. The Jewish ladies of the city have established a Society under the name of the Ladies Benevolent Society. It is now a year old. Last Purim we gave a ball, and cleared $100.00. The last meeting took place in the home of J. Rintels and the following were elected officers for the year 1876: President, Mrs. J. Rintels; Vice-President, Mrs. A. Frankenthal; Secretary, Mrs. J. Rothschild;

The responsibility of citizenship includes, of course, the responsibility of wealth, and the Jewish citizens of North Carolina, no less than their Gentile neighbors, have done their part. The North Carolina community has one of the outstanding records in the nation for humanitarianism in coming to the rescue of stricken brethren overseas, a record in which the Gentile community also played a notable part. The many benefactions include endowments for science and cancer research from the James Heineman family of Charlotte and Robert J. Gurney of Gastonia; in education, the Weil family of Goldsboro with the Weil Lectures on Citizenship at the University of North Carolina; and the Cones of Greensboro in the humanities, with recreation halls, a colored YMCA, the 35,000-acre "Moses H. Cone Memorial Park" at Blowing Rock, deeded to the government for public use, and the "Moses H. Cone Memorial Hospital" at Greensboro.

But essentially North Carolina, like America itself, is PEOPLE: of strong men and weak, of bold visionaries and of frightened newcomers, of men and women who may never even have set foot in the commonwealth, but whose works have left us richer in mind, in body and in spirit; of people like the Jewish immigrant, Dr. Joseph Goldberger, who found the cure for pellagra and helped thousands of our southern children to grow up with sturdy legs; of Julius Rosenwald of Sears Roebuck who contributed millions of dollars to provide elementary schooling for the rural colored population of North Carolina, and the rest of the south; of Mrs. Connor, the Roman Catholic mother of Judge Henry Groves Connor, and of Mrs. Emil Rosenthal, wife of a Jewish merchant of Wilson, and Mrs. Mary Cleaves Daniels, a Methodist and mother of Josephus Daniels—three women who were known as the "Three Almoners"—who pioneered in welfare work and

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Treasurer, Mrs. J. Baumgarten; Trustees of the School Committee, Miss E. Baruch, Miss L. Goldberg, and Mrs. F. Frankenthal. Our town is small but gives promise of becoming a greater city than any of her sister cities." Signed: "A. S."

In 1880 Washington Duke brought some 200 Jewish cigarette makers to Durham, but they returned to the North after a year when a dispute arose over the scale of wages. In 1955 the estimated Jewish population based on synagogue and fraternal memberships is 3,180 families or approximately 10,000 souls.

ministrations in the days when there were no trained nurses, no hospitals, no Red Cross or Community Chest organizations; of Zebulon Baird Vance,[26] whose address *The Scattered*

[26] Zebulon B. Vance was Civil War governor of North Carolina. Elected again in 1876, he served three elective terms in the United States Senate. He died in 1894, and his name was chosen to represent North Carolina in the National Hall of Statuary in Washington. The address, *The Scattered Nation,* was read from hundreds of pulpits and reprinted in nearly every newspaper and journal published in the South:

> This curious phenomenon (the Gulf Stream) in the physical world has its counterpart in the moral. There is a lonely river in the midst of the ocean of mankind. The mightiest floods of human temptation have never caused it to overflow and the fiercest fires of human cruelty, though seven times heated in the furnace of religious bigotry, have never caused it to dry up, although its waves for two thousand years have rolled crimson with the blood of its martyrs. Its fountain is in the grey dawn of the world's history, and its mouth is somewhere in the shadows of eternity. It too refuses to mingle with the surrounding waves, and the line which divides its restless billows from the common waters of humanity is also plainly visible to the eye. It is the Jewish race. . . .
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> The Jew is beyond doubt the most remarkable man of this world past or present. Of all the stories of the sons of men, there is none so wild, so wonderful, so full of extreme mutation, so replete with suffering and horror, so abounding in extraordinary providences, so overflowing with scenic romance. There is no man who approaches him in the extent and character of the influence which he has exercised over the human family. His history is the history of our civilization and progress in this world, and our faith and hope in that which is to come. From him have we derived the form and pattern of all that is excellent on earth or in heaven. . . .
>
> Even now, though the Jews have long since ceased to exist as a consolidated nation, inhabiting a common country, and for eighteen hundred years have been scattered far and near over the wide earth, their strange customs, their distinct features, personal peculiarities and their *scattered unity,* make them still a wonder and an astonishment. . . .

It is quite possible that Vance's life-long friendship for the Jewish people may have had its origin in an experience at the end of the Civil War. Vance, the war-time governor of North Carolina, returned to his home in Statesville under orders of the Union General Schofield. On May 13, 1865, a squadron of General Hugh J. Kilpatrick's cavalry surrounded his home, arrested him and prepared to take him to Washington. As the railroad and telegraph lines had been completely destroyed, Statesville was cut off from the outside world. The Union officer in charge wanted the Governor to ride horseback thirty-five miles to the railroad at Salisbury. A Jewish merchant, Samuel Wittkowsky, urged the Union officer to spare the Governor this indignity. It was agreed that Wittkowsky would "deliver" Governor Vance to Salisbury. And on that May day, the famous war governor and the immigrant Jew started out on the long buggy ride surrounded by two hundred Union cavalry. Clement Dowd, *Life of Zebulon B. Vance* (Charlotte, N. C. 1897). Full text of *The Scattered Nation,* 369, 399. Vance's experiences with Wittkowsky are related in the same volume, 95. Wittkowsky became one of the most successful business men in the state. He established the first building and loan enterprise in the South and amassed a huge fortune. At the funeral of Senator Vance, Wittkowsky was among state and national dignitaries who delivered eulogies. With the simple faith of Anatole France's "Juggler," Mr. Wittkowsky said: "No Israelite in North Carolina ever voted against Zebulon B. Vance." *Charlotte Observer,* April 17, 1894.

Nation raised our prestige as a people; of Nathaniel Macon who successfully defeated an early hate organization; of a Josephus Daniels who always held out the hand of friendship and brotherhood; of a Mallissia Haywood, of Montgomery

[27] Mallissia Haywood befriended the Jewish peddlers who covered the wide rural area of eastern and central North Carolina. Mr. Harry Richter recalls her in an interesting letter to the writer. Harry Richter and Moses Richter, Jewish immigrants from Russia, came to North Carolina as peddlers in the closing days of the nineteenth century. Today Moses Richter of Mt. Gilead, N. C. is the largest independent peach distributor in the country serving hundreds of farmers and peach growers in the Carolinas. He also operates several large mills manufacturing cotton and rayon finished products. Harry Richter, a merchant of Norwood, N. C., recalls Mallissia Haywood and the early days of the peddler in the state:

> The first time I met the Haywoods was in the late afternoon of a warm spring day. They were both engaged in chopping cotton. It was in the early part of the century and I, a young man, newly arrived from Southern Russia, was peddling my wares in the sparse settlements of Montgomery County, North Carolina. No transactions were made, but the Haywoods displayed a curious interest in me. They offered me lodging for the night which I gladly accepted. It was quite evident that the Haywoods were very poor, earning their livelihood from a none too impressive farm. (Cotton was selling at $25.00 a bale and corn in proportion.) Still, there was a serenity and orderliness about the place that made it quaint, if not attractive.
>
> The dominant figure in this idyllic environment was the mistress of the home herself. Her name was Mallissia Frances. I later learned that she was related, on her mother's side, to Flora MacDonald. Of this she was very proud. One had the feeling that she was different from the other women that lived in the little houses down the road. Not outstanding in any particular way, she seemingly possessed in proper balance the many qualities that are the making of a remarkable personality. She was kindness itself and her face had an exalted look, a strange glow that visibly came from inner depths.
>
> The evening was spent in difficult conversation (I was barely three months in the country) and right there and then I received my first lesson in English. Mallissia Haywood, a school teacher in her younger days, introduced me into the intricacies of the English language. This lesson was followed up by many others on my subsequent visits.
>
> Before the year was over I terminated my peddling career and went to work in a gold mine, near Candor, N. C., known as the Montgomery Mine. The Haywoods had by this time opened a boarding house near the mine. Instead of being an occasional visitor, I now became a full-fledged boarder. There were other boarders also and since the Haywoods maintained their touch with the soil, still growing the white man's crops, cotton and corn, Mallissia was busier than ever. I frequently wondered where she found the strength to cope with all her activities.
>
> Though deeply religious, she was most tolerant of the beliefs of others. This was clearly demonstrated when on long winter nights we'd all sit and listen to Mallissia's readings from the Bible. When I expressed my preference for the Old Testament, she seemed bewildered at first, but after a brief explanation, she acquiesced most graciously with all her natural tact and charm and, thereafter, refrained from her favorite New Testament in my presence. I later realized the unfairness of my position and requested that

County, who at the turn of the century made her farmhouse a haven of rest for the Jewish peddlers traveling over the state and helped them with their English lessons, joined them in their ancient morning prayers, and listened to their letters from Europe.

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she alternate between the Old and New Testaments. I somehow felt that the great Hillel would have done likewise. The letters I'd get from home written in Yiddish, had to be read aloud in the original, just for the sound of the only foreign language she ever heard. Then it had to be translated word for word.

She frequently reminded me of my duties towards my parents on 'the other side.' It made her very happy every time I sent money to my parents.

The dietary observances of her Jew boarders were looked after most carefully. The biscuits were prepared without lard and the eggs were kept at a safe distance from the inevitable porker, of which there were always several varieties on the table. She was an educated woman according to the standards of late 19th and early 20th century, and although looked up to by her less endowed sisters, never made a display of her superiority. She was as modest and plain as the rocky, unyielding fields which she helped till. She was probably the hardest working woman I ever met. She could do a man's full time job as well as any man. Like the frontier women of an earlier date and the wives of the pioneers before them, she had the love and the joy of work in her heart. It was quite natural and no hardship whatsoever, to work in the fields from early morning till dark, a full day in the hot sun. This besides cooking, sewing, laundering (by hand) and the rearing of a sizeable family.

But let it be remembered that the case of Mallissia Haywood, remarkable woman that she was, was not an isolated one. There were many Mallissias in those days throughout the length and breadth of the land. It was they who befriended us, confused, bewildered immigrants newly arrived from a different world, with the European milieu still in our bones. The adjustment was difficult, sometimes painful, and it was the Mallissias in every state in the union who gave us the care and warmth that meant so much in the early stages of our becoming Americans. Many, like myself, were mere youngsters, fresh from the last embrace of their mothers, left alone with their fears and longings for the sons they were never to see again—our sad-eyed mothers in the ghettos of Europe who gave so much of themselves and received so little in return—

Our heroic mothers who never knew youth, were made to marry at an early age, reared large families and, in many cases, were also the bread earners of their children and a pious impractical husband, well learned in the Law—

Our good mothers who would leave their hungry brood to cover the town, with kerchief in hand, collecting pittances for some unfortunate widow or dowry for a poor bride—

Mothers are the same all over the world and here we were to find the same mothers in another incarnation. They took us into their homes, gave us the best rooms in the house, the choicest bed and made us feel that we were more than mere laughable individuals with a foreign accent. They raised our dignity and gave us hope. To them we were the sons of the old proud Hebrews with the blood of prophets in our veins. They were the first to make us feel that we really belonged. From a letter to the author from Harry Richter, Norwood, N. C., October 14, 1954.

Because indeed, there would be no history to tell unless we spoke of PEOPLE—the People of North Carolina and the People of America, who inspired adherence to the religious law of Jeremiah: "Pray ye for the peace of the city in which ye dwell."

NORTH CAROLINA FICTION, 1953-1954

By Robert Mason

From the pens of North Carolina novelists, story-tellers, poets, and rhymesters there came this year 32 books. Spread before one, they form a fascinating exhibit of the artist's, the typesetter's, and the bookbinder's skills, for all are new; their dustjackets intact and inviting, their pages crisp and unsoiled. A few are of standard thickness, but most are thin; volumes of poetry and children's works predominate. The 32 hardly would fill a shelf of a living room bookcase.

But what an investment of search, of knowledge, of talent —and of vanity—we have represented here. How many years of experience, of reflection, of note-making, and of the dreadfully hard work of writing have gone into these gay and these somber-backed books! One is likely to wonder, too, of the thrills of triumph among the first-time authors mirrored in the by-lines, and whether the scattering of production-writers who contributed to the display did not experience, upon the press-room delivery, an odd mixture of satisfaction and misgivings.

Most of all, one lifting this book and that of the 32, arranging them into the three general classifications, is likely to speculate upon the quality of this year's North Carolina fiction, poetry, and children's art-stories: is there permanency here, or will these volumes soon be forgotten, like the autumn leaves their jackets suggest? What has been the Tar Teel contribution to the regional, the national, and the world literature in the year now ending?

Time will have the final say. Already the popular success —and that is important, although not conclusive—of two or three is evidence that creations of some stature are in the list; the majority, meanwhile, can be expected to survive only in narrow spaces. But no hour devoted to the reading of these books can be wasted. Even where quality is lacking (and often it is in the privately brought-out scraps of verse and essays), inspiration is evident, and as likely as not contagious.

Four books of the 32 are novels and another is a collection of short stories; all these bear the imprint of first-line publishing houses. A sixth is drama—a work which thousands know as one of the great outdoor productions of which North Carolina peculiarly is the capital, in both writing and enactment. Except for the fact that all qualify as fiction, common ground is scarce among them. While all except one are of southern setting, and two of the novels relate the construction of personal empires through ruthlessness and the effect of this upon several lives, in no case is the similarity remarkable. The authors are as heterogeneous as their plots and techniques: some came into the state, others were born here and founded their careers elsewhere; only two, I think, are native North Carolinians who have remained. A couple of these writers are still in their youth. Future successes may be expected of all save one. He is dead.

One of the novels will fit more easily than any of the others into the broad pattern of southern literature as it is generally recognized from a world point of view. That is *The Plantation,* by Ovid Williams Pierce.

I do not mean to imply that this distinguished book is stereotyped; nothing could be further from the truth. Indeed, its gentleness, its simplicity, its beauty give it rareness. But it has that characteristic which the Literary Supplement of the London *Times* in a recent and salutary article on American writing found to be shared by the South's best prose artists: a passionate feeling for Place. Here Place is not treated in merely its historical and prideful meaning , but "in its sensory meaning , the breathing world of sight and smell and sound, in its earth and water and sky, in its time and its season."

Mr. Pierce's story is dedicated to Place—a plantation in northeastern North Carolina (it could have been in two or three other southern states, but not in random part of any) early in this century, in a period critical to plantation life: Tradition hangs by a cobweb, mold is in the air.

There are, of course, people in the story, and skillfully done, too, but they are subject to Place. They occupy three levels, all according to the standards of Place—the owners

and the Negroes, both long established and each depending upon the other, and white persons of a lesser (and, it being the South, fixed) station, brought in as near-stranger and stranger out of need. In the solemn dignity of Place, the individuals of all three strata have dignity, too; and Mr. Pierce's presentation of that points up a skill which ranks him, with this single book, near the top of the South's new writers.

But attention to Place, or lack of it, is not the sole basis for judging writing, and I shall not explore it further, except to say that each of this year's North Carolina authors of fiction who employs familiar setting practices a fundamental rule of story-telling and gives readers reason to be grateful for his insight.

Event is the foundation of *The Kingpin,* by Thomas Wicker—a novel obviously based on North Carolina's senatorial contest of two summers ago. Any person who observed the progress of that campaign is certain to recognize practices and persons—but he must not look too closely. Mr. Wicker blends history with imagination, changing things as actually they occurred to suit the requirements of story and thesis: that is standard practice, too. The book makes me think of *Number One,* which John Dos Passos wrote a dozen years ago, and thereby a little sad; that was a chronicle of Huey Long's tactics, and it is not pleasant to be reminded that Longism to any degree had its counterpart in our state.

One dozen stories make up *The Gentle Insurrection,* by Doris Betts. The title story is not the best but in theme is representative: patience and frustration, hope and discouragement, realism and the refusal to recognize it are intertwined in simple lives, adding up to tragedy—the hallmark of the young writer, which the young southern writer is likely to confuse with his birthright. I liked particularly "Serpents and Doves"; it is a fine character study worked out with mature compassion. Sometimes the people whom Mrs. Betts uses for her stories are superficial, but never discouragingly so; she is also given to caricature, but never cruelly. The remarkable thing is that in her years she has discovered and discerned so much. Her future is bright.

The strange and slick world of advertising centered in New York's skyscrapers is the setting of *The Whip Hand,* by Ian Gordon, who abandoned the hucksters for the husks of a writer's table. The dustjacket illustration is most prophetic. It shows a desk and chair in a modernistic office; on the desk are a man's tie and two martini glasses, on the chair and under it are a woman's coat and her shoes. The gone addict of the light novel and box of chocolates no doubt will be prepared for the ending. I was not.

Those fortunate ones who have seen *Unto These Hills,* Kermit Hunter's drama of the Cherokees, know it for its tremendous stage qualities. Reading the play, which has been brought out in illustrated book form by the University of North Carolina Press, is almost as rewarding as sitting beneath the stars in the Great Smokies theater and seeing a climaxing chapter of the Red Man's past unfold. The economy of dialogue, as contrasted to the speech-writing which authors of historical pageants have not always been able to resist, is the work of a thorough technician; the narrator's passages are the product of a poet truly humble before his subject.

Good-bye, My Lady. That is the title of James Street's last complete book of fiction. At about the time it was published, we said, "Good-bye, Jimmie." For Mr. Street, who was born in Mississippi and newspapered in half a dozen places, most successfully (and conspiciously) in New York, died in the home he had chosen to be his last—Chapel Hill.

Here is not Mr. Street's masterpiece. But like the author himself, the little book is dearly compelling—and full of fine sentiment. It is about a boy—a subject the author was as competent to write on as Mark Twain or William Saroyan —and his dog. As Mr. Pierce chose a critical time in the life of a plantation to forge into a story, so Mr. Street selected an especially sensitive time in a boy's life: that mystical period when he passes from childhood into manhood. To guide Skeeter through this stage of testing, there is old Uncle Jesse, who is short on book learning but long on the ways of the swamp.

But wait, isn't this the *Reader's Digest* formula for entertaining the person who likes to slip his mind into neutral when he reads: boy with chin up, little dog, unforgettable character? Of course it is. But into this universal appeal James Street wove his surprisingly great knowledge of the lower Mississippi country and its people, his humor, his mastery of the yarn, his respect for regionalism, his tolerance, and his tremendous sense of the individual's right to stand in the sun.

James Street lived in North Carolina for nine years. The writing part of the state can say, "Thanks, Jimmie, for all of them."

Exactly half of all this year's fiction by North Carolinians is for children. The number should not be surprising; the youth market is an ample one and, I'm told, often a lucrative one.

The boundary between senior and junior books of the 32 is as thin as a flyleaf. Any child above ten should appreciate Mr. Street's book. And no adult should find *Penny Rose*, by Mebane Holoman Burgwyn, below his range of interests. Mrs. Burgwyn tells a first-rate story of a nearly-grown girl and her problems, including (of course!) those of the heart. There's a mystery in the background, and when it is cleared up, a lot of things suddenly assume satisfactory perspective; the climax comes fairly tumbling upon the reader. This author has a fine talent.

Burgess Leonard contributed two of the books for youngsters, one about football, the other about baseball. A university varsity star to whom I lent *One-Man Backfield* found it authentic and absorbing. As a baseball fan of long standing, after picking up *The Rookie Fights Back* I was reluctant to put it down.

It is difficult to speak with conviction about books for really little folks. A friend of mine who writes them once assured me that most are worthless, and I suppose they are, from a strictly critical view. Pictures receive quite as much, and sometimes more, emphasis than text, inasmuch as subschool-age children who must be read to, enjoy looking at

the illustrations and identifying the words with them. I had the feeling, though, that the most skillfully executed of these pictures might have the least appeal to children. One set is done in crayon, as best I can tell, uniform in blue-grey and somewhat eerie in quality. Shouldn't they be livelier? My favorite pictures among the lot are in a tiny book about chickens and dogs and cats. The colors are brilliant and the lines so few and subtle as to be absolutely delightful. I hope children like these; I am sure James Whistler would have.

I have come at last, and not without trepidation, to the books of poetry, of which the year brought ten—seven of them by women. I shall not take them all up singly, because the pattern of the majority is the same.

However, Thad Stem's *The Jackknife Horse* deserves close attention, for it seemed to me that here is an original Tar Heel voice. Mr. Stem is producing what he calls "Ageless Fruit in solitary blossoms." Yet, in the same poem, he is capable of such a foolishness as "the mad suns that bite/ The despondent apple trees." He has energy and poetic vision:

> Not by a bushelful of oceans, nor a peck of April clouds,
> Not by a jugful of raindrops and rose buds.

There are moments of Robert Frost, others when he brings a rather proletarian (in the best sense) tone, as "This ding-dong-who's-got-the-whiskey existence." While I don't care so much for the allegation that "the night comes like a rancid lover," he can strike at the sordid with real eloquence:

> God, the times are like a broken bone
> That will not knit, or like a blind dog
> Chasing a cat up a dead-end alley.

Beyond any doubt, the *Maximus Poems,* by Charles Olson, are the most ambitious work represented in the year's collection. These poems seek and demand comparison with Ezra Pond's *The Cantos,* and perhaps also with William Carlos Williams's *Paterson.* But the comparison is earned only

by virture of prolixity and complexity—both of which, I fear, here seem relatively superfluous. The thing is, Pound had such a vast storehouse of cultural odds and ends to draw on and so much to make out of them, that his complexity was necessary. Here, such is not the case.

But Mr. Olson is no phoney. I am cheered by his willingness to experiment, for that is necessary to the growth of all the arts, and sometimes his colloquialisms and juxtapositions lead to startling insights.

Julian Mason applied a superior intellect to the poems making up *Search Party,* but with him poetry is a less serious matter, I think, than with Mr. Stem and Mr. Olson. He lays words like a good craftsman lays bricks: precisely and neatly, and with the effect pleasing in detail and substantial overall. And brick-laying is a most beneficial occupation as a hobby as well as a trade.

In *The Year's at the Spring,* by Ruth Vail, there is a poem which I liked particularly, "The Sea Magic." It contains these lines:

> We hear the cold surf-notes on the restless sea
> On moonstruck sands,
> For the little while we are standing here together
> Clasping each other's hands.

This and some of Mrs. Vail's other sea poems prompt me to generalize that our poets who write in fulfillment of an urge to capture the life and the scenes and the moods about them would be better off coping with the woods and the waves and those other evidences of our frontiers and our trails and giving less attention to the reflections and speculations that could, ever so often, be quite adequately expressed in a sigh, or perhaps an oath.

Unusually successful in the many competitions open to poets has been Charlotte Young, here represented by *The Heart Has Many Reasons.* I found in "Requiem" a quality all its own:

Rivers shall hurry down to the ocean,
Trade winds relentlessly sweep,
The earth shall turn in two-fold motion—
And I shall sleep and sleep. . . .

The Farmer will rise in the grey dawn weather,
The lark will shape her low nest,
Philosophers piece the cosmos together—
But I shall rest and rest. . . .

Many, many of the verses in these neatly printed volumes are parochial, with moralities simplified into utter unreality. (Where do people get the idea that morals come easily?) Nearly all the writers have a habit of presenting stock phrases with which they are accustomed to evoking conditioned responses. Sometimes one does not have to read; one merely drowses and is lulled into a kind of euphoria. Listen: "dimpled knees," "smoothwhite shoulder," "fragile spires of thought," "tear-filled voice," "my daddy's dear face," "rich fertile soil." The poems become almost interchangeable—and so, for that matter, are the critical plaudits on the dust jackets. Here one finds "girlish lips," "wishful face," "lovely thoughts," "tender dreams," "happy heart," "silver night," "pale pearl moon."

But there is the other side of the ledger. In one of the books I found what seemed to be pleasant, refreshing naivete; several short items elsewhere recalled the gem-like works of the Japanese and Chinese; individual strength stands out in scattered offerings. The free verse is, I think, generally the most successful.

Most of these North Carolina poems look with trust and hope upon a world that often seems cruel. And that I will not have the hardihood to disavow.

NORTH CAROLINA NON-FICTION BOOKS, 1953-1954

By Leonard B. Hurley

In the play *Hamlet* when the elderly, extremely talkative, and somewhat tedious old Polonius, about to give before the Danish court at Elsinore a long speech that will have the exordium, the narrative part, and the peroration, says near its beginning

> Since brevity is the soul of wit [meaning wisdom]
> and tediousness the limbs and outward flourishes,
> I will be brief,

Then Queen Gertrude, who on the whole loves the old courtier, and knows full well that he seldom can be brief, kindly admonishes:

> More matter and less art.

As one who certainly was never noted for his wit (meaning wisdom), nor for essential brevity, and who is now called upon to review twenty-eight books of a most varied nature in little more than as many minutes, I am painfully conscious that I must follow the Queen's advice—get in matter at the expense of art in the getting in, and yet that in so doing I can hardly hope to escape the tediousness which makes "the limbs and outward flourishes." But, I am somewhat comforted by a speech that comes a little later in the play, wherein after Hamlet has instructed old Polonius to look well after the entertainment of the players who have come by invitation to visit the court, Polonius replies:

> My Lord, I will use them according to their desert,

Hamlet cries

> God's bodykin's man, much better! Use every
> man after his desert and who shall 'scape whipping?
> Use them after your own honor and dignity. The
> less they deserve, the more merit is in your bounty.
> Take them in.

I feel assured that this august assembly will use me so—not after my desert, no matter how little that may be, but according to its own honor and dignity, with the merit all in its own bounty.

Five years ago Mr. William T. Polk pointed out to this group on just such an occasion as this, that North Carolina could fairly be termed a state of writing. Four years ago Mrs. Dorothy G. Thorne observed that if the previous year had been that in which North Carolina writers discovered tobacco, 1950 was the year in which they discovered great men—eleven out of the twenty-eight books in fields other than fiction and poetry that year having been biographical studies. In 1951 Professor Frontis W. Johnston expressed satisfaction in his inability to find any common denominator for the eighteen volumes he had examined, inasmuch as the infinite riches of variety was only to be expected from a state so celebrated for varied resources. In 1952 Mr. Legette Blythe was pleased that he had not found it possible to divide books into well-defined categories—noting that each stood alone, differing in many respects from its fellows, because each was the work of an individual seeing things and recording them in his own individual way. And last year Mr. Hoke Norris spoke of his gratification in having met forty or more North Carolina writers attending a single writers' conference, in Boone in August; emphasized the amazing and fruitful revelation that had come to him in reading the twenty-one books submitted in the competition for the Mayflower award; and pointed out that North Carolina had long before passed from Mr. Mencken's Sahara of the Bozart region to assume a position of some leadership in the Southern Literary Renaissance.

Now, this year I can but follow in their footsteps, to proclaim again the rich variety of the year's offerings, to testify once more to the difficulty of the task facing those who would read these works for a comparative evaluation, to confess to having made a brave initial attempt to review each book, only to fall back eventually before the limits of time allotted here, which brings the necessity for little more than bare

mention of some books, a very brief comment on others, and a somewhat longer but still relatively brief examination of a few; and for convenience, somewhat arbitrarily to arrange them in groups after the general fashion of library classification, while realizing that no such arrangement can be altogether satisfactory or feasible.

There are twenty-eight books in this year's harvest. Six of these were brought out by a university press - one each by Cornell, Duke, Harvard, Louisana State, the University of Chicago, and the University of North Carolina Press. A dozen or more were published by nationally known publishing firms including Dial Press, Doubleday, Abingdon-Cokesbury, Samuel French, Harpers, Lippincotts, Little-Brown, MacMillan, Scribners, Broadman, and William Morrow. Others were printed by less well-known firms, were privately printed, or were published by societies or organized groups —including the Philosophical Library, the Exposition Press, the Divers Press, the North Carolina Grange, a North Carolina church, and the State Department of Archives and History.

No specific trends are to be noted. Perhaps there were fewer biographies and autobiographical studies. Only two of the books are by women, and both of these, Mrs. Ella Earl Cotton and Miss Ruby F. Johnston, are educated, cultivated women of the Negro race, who are now, or have been, workers in education and in social fields. Seven of the books are by ministers, at least twelve by teachers, two by newspaper editors. Nearly half could be classified as books of a scholarly nature—in a sense the product of scholarly research, including texts. It might also be said that in comparison with the books of several recent years, there is this year less concentration on North Carolina, although several of the best of the books do deal with the State in the past or the present or in both. For example, in comparison with 1951 when eight out of eighteen books had decided connection with North Carolina, this year only eight out of twenty-eight do, whereas twenty have little connection with North Carolina other than that of having been produced by a North Carolinian.

But enough of preliminaries. Let us turn to the books themselves.

First, let us consider books having a religious aspect, books, that is, that bear in some way on religious themes. At least nine such books are to be found in the offering for the year –possibly ten, though several of these might also be classified as historical works or as social history. Seven of these books are by North Carolina ministers. Suppose we start with a practical, yet deeply moving book on the art and science of preaching, pass thence to four books of sermons, consider briefly a work dealing with the relation of religion to the treatment of alcoholics, and move then to several books that combine the theme of religion with the social and historical theme.

The True and Lively Word, A Practical Guide to Effective Preaching, by James T. Cleland is made up of five lectures delivered in February, 1953, to the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Massachusetts. They are "The Words of the Bible," "The Word of God," "The Word of the World," "The Word and the Words of the Preacher," and "The Word in the Believer." In these the writer says he has sought to outline, what, as he sees it, preaching is all about: "its starting point; its content; its setting; its exponent; its outcome." He takes as its starting point this difinition of a sermon: "A manifestation of the Incarnate Word, from the Written Word, by the Spoken Word." Every sermon, Dr. Cleland maintains, must explain the ways of God and must at the same time show understanding of human affairs and human interests. It must be addressed not to a theologian but to the layman in language and terms that the average member of the congregation can understand. He emphasizes the need of the process of digging through, turning up and testing a passage of scripture that the real word of God may be found therein. Constantly must the minister draw the eternal out of the temporal and, in reverse order, the temporal out of the eternal, and above all he must himself "*be* the word reincarnated." Dr. Cleland is Professor of Preaching in the Duke University Divinity School and Preacher to the Uni-

versity; and these lectures which, as the Christian Century observes, are "lectures on preaching delivered to Episcopal students by a Presbyterian who normally writes for the Methodists" seemed a good work with which to begin, since "with this ecumenical start one expects a broadly intelligent treatment," and that expectation is not disappointed.

Of the four volumes of sermons among this years' books, the first I would mention is that by the Reverend John A. Redhead, entitled *Getting to Know God—Sixteen Sermons to Make Him Real to You.* Dr. Redhead begins his simple but forceful series with the sermon that gives his volume its title, "Getting to Know God—What is God Like, Who is He? Where is He? How can a Man Get to Know Him?"—follows this with three sermons entitled "A God Who Grows," "A Glimpse of God," "Look at God Through Christ," then comes to "Pathways to God," followed by six sermons, one each on The Wisdom—,The Love—, The Will—, The Power—, The Providence—, and the Holiness of God. He passes thence to three sermons on "The Triumphant God," "The Saving God," and "The Healing God," and concludes with two sermons, "The God of All Comfort" and "The God of All Grace." Choosing four texts from the Old Testament and twelve from the New, the author sets forth in uncomplicated style, in straightforward language, and with a wealth of assurance his conception of the way men must follow to come to know God through his son, Jesus Christ.

A second, and a most interesting volume of sermons, is found in *The Mandate To Humanity,* by the Reverend Edwin McNeill Poteat, with its subtitle *The Ten Command ments, Divine Imperatives For Man and Society, An Inquiry into the History and Meaning of the Ten Commandments and Their Relation to Contemporary Culture.* The volume recalls, and I think compares very favorably with, Dr. Poteat's volume of 1951, *The Parables of Crises,* in which he also inquired into the history and meaning of sixteen of the last parables of Jesus in a discussion which greatly stressed the times in which these parables were spoken and the comparable tensions of the mid-twentieth century. Again "his

approach is that of the scholar; his aim that of the pastor," for Dr. Poteat reasons well, fills his pages with shrewd observation, proves continually interesting, writes with clarity and at times in sparkling style, but seldom with moving simplicity, though nearly always with a real, imaginative choice of words. For many, I think, the book will not read easily.

One notes that here Dr. Poteat presents his discussion of the ten commandments in sixteen chapters. The first three chapters: "The Right to Command," "Man Meets God," and "No Other God," deal with the bases on which man recognizes the will and the right of God to give commandments, and deal with the first great commandment—Thou Shall Have No Other Gods before me—and this is seen as the result of monolatry rather than monotheism or polytheism. Chapter four, "Man's Other Gods," is presented in the author's words as something of a parenthesis, a recapitulation for purpose of keeping continuity clear, and deals with man's Other God, the ego, the thing within himself which tricks him into false ideas about the good. Chapter Five, "The Image Problem," deals with the Second Commandment, and chapter six, "The Jealously of God" and seven, "The Name of God," deal with the third. And these first three commandments, says Dr. Poteat, "are more profitably understoond as three parts of one great commandment." Chapter seven, "The Sabbath Day," deals with the Fourth Commandment—one as long as, and much more detailed than, the first three taken together, and chapter nine deals with the Fifth Commandment which sets up the importance of the family. Chapter ten, "Our Moral Bill of Rights," is again a parenthetic chapter pointing forward to the four maxims which follow in the great Mandate, exposing the problem of Morality in its simple essence. And chapters eleven, "The Right to Life," and twelve, "The Right to Integrity," thirteen, "The Right to Property," and fourteen, "The Right to Justice" deal with the Sixth through the Ninth Commandments, Thou Shalt Not Kill, Commit Adultery, Steal, Bear False Witness. The Tenth Commandments which as our writer says "falls back to an attitude of

mind and for that reason does not belong with group six through nine" is considered in Chapter Fifteen, and the final chapter, "Conclusion," sums up the whole discussion. Throughout these sixteen chapters, readers will observe, Dr. Poteat brings into sharp focus the stern conflict between Marxist and Hebrew-Christian concepts of man's moral nature. And in his excellent and informative fourteen-page Introduction the writer deals with what he says, "Nowadays any effort to set forth what the biblical record has to say must begin with:" namely "an understanding of a literary problem that is involved in its history." This solid book of two hundred thirty-one pages is longer and more complex than the two already reviewed, or, I believe, than the one to follow. The book is dedicated to Dr. Poteat's congregation of the Pullen Memorial Baptist Church, Raleigh.

A third book of sermons, I must treat more briefly: The Rev. J. Winston Pearce's *I Believe*: *Twelve Studies in the Christian Faith.* Here is a small volume of one hundred twenty pages. Dr. Pearce, pastor of the First Baptist Church in Durham, beginning with a sermon "What a Great Faith Will Do For You," continues with eleven sermons each of which uses the words of the title *I Believe*: I believe in God,— in Jesus Christ,— in the Holy Spirit, in the Incarnation,— in the Forgiveness of Sin,— in The Church,— in Prayer,— in The Priesthood of All Believers,— in The Bible,—in The Resurrection,— in Continuing Incarnation. In informal, readable style, with apt references and an abundance of illustrative stories, a devout minister, through giving his own personal beliefs, reaffirms what he conceives to be the heart of Christian faith.

A volume almost twice the length of *I Believe* is found in the fourth book of sermons or related religious essays, Billy Graham's *Peace With God*: *How To Choose in The Hour of Decision.* Here the material is arranged in three divisions each containing six discussions averaging ten to fifteen pages in length: Part One—The Problem; Part Two—The Solution; Part Three—The Result. As the *New York Times* recently stated: "Mr Graham speaks and writes for the *average* man.

His is the 'old time religion,' full of fire and enthusiasm, the Bible-preaching of American Protestantism from frontier to TV." This book of sermons, which as the author says in his preface has "literally been prepared on our knees," presents an analysis of the teachings of this well-recognized fundamentalist evangelist—teachings, we should probably remember, which have a wide currency because of the weekly radio talks "Hour of Decision" and because of his evangelistic campaigns in many cities in the United States and abroad. Believing that people today are disorganized, bewildered, and frightened because they are sinful; and that the divine wisdom of God as set forth in His word has in it all that man needs for a good life, a peaceful life, and for salvation; that man if he will but read the Word will have made peace with God and will be saved from eternal damnation; Graham here sets forth his creed in detail.

A somewhat more specialized book having a religious theme is found in Dr. George Aiken Taylor's *A Sober Faith, Religion and Alcoholics Anonymous.* Seeing that belief in God and a willingness to let God help is a basic belief and attitude in those who work through Alcoholics Anonymous; that the program of this group is basically a simple one completely founded on spiritual principles, a program consisting of twelve definitely outlined steps; recognizing that this program quite clearly has a close kinship with religion but that Alcoholics Anonymous has succeeded with cures where the church has failed, Dr. Taylor wished to know whether those in this organization had found something in religion, something whose presence was hitherto unsuspected, and so he probes into this question and analyzes each of the twelve steps to show its parallel to religion and to suggest how each —the church and Alcoholics Anonymous—many benefit from the other.

We turn now to four books which combine with the church —or the religious —note, the historical or sociological theme. First a work entitled—*The Presbyterian Congregation on Rocky River.* This rather solidly written book of more than two hundred pages, which the author Thomas Hugh Spence,

Jr. dedicates to his father, a native born Scot who was pastor of Rocky River Church 1916-1931, tells the story of this congregation near Concord through the course of two centuries, from its foundation by the vanguard of the sturdy Scotch-Irish who poured into the region in the eighteenth century, many of them to settle on the banks of this river and its branches, on to the present. The book is relatively well organized and is written in a clear, straightforward pleasing style; it amply illustrates the development through the years in North Carolina of a phase of life that has added to the stature and to the richness of spirit in this region.

Two other books that have connection with the religious theme and with the social or historical are *the Development of Negro Religion,* by Ruby F. Johnston, and *Negro Slave Songs of the United States,* by Dr. Miles Mark Fisher. The first of these, published by the Philosophical Library, New York, is arranged in two parts. First, "A Condensed History of Negro Religion," presented in two chapters; and second, "Religion in Transition," presented in seven chapters. Miss Johnston states as the aim of her study: ". . . to present functional aspects of the Christian religion among contemporary American Negroes . . . to demonstrate the origin and development of the concept of Christianity among Negroes, and to point out the progress of change in belief and action conditioned by the social environment in which this evolution occurred." She finds that in the course of time certain features of religion were accentuated among the American Negroes, that in an effort to adjust members to "perplexing, baffling, staggering experiences in a new world, a distinct flavor in religious manifestation developed from the social background and habitat of a transplanted people . . . submerged feelings unexperienced in real-life situations found an outlet in intense emotional expression in the church. Desire for recognition . . . security unfulfilled in everyday activities received fulfillment . . . instruments for procurement of freedom were formented in the church. Religion became the way of life." Hence Miss Johnston's objective becomes in her words, "to give major consideration to these functions—emotional, psy-

chological, social—as the Negro conceived them at various periods, with an account of the modifications, subordinance, and displacement of one form by another as the goals of the race were achieved in the American cultural setting as the American society itself underwent metamorphosis." This study, based as it is on a social survey made of Negro churches in Boston, Massachusetts, and in South Carolina—three rural churches in or near Orangeburg, S. C., served by a single pastor—is really more a sociological than a religious work. It presents some interesting material for those who would understand the Negro in our world today.

Negro Slave Songs of the United States is a scholarly study published by the Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association, Its author, Dr. Miles Mark Fisher, is both teacher and preacher—Professor of Church History at Shaw University, Pastor of White Rock Baptist Church in Durham. The present work is the outgrowth of, and revision of, a doctoral dissertation prepared in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. It is Dr. Fisher's thesis that, "the so-called 'Slave Songs' of the United States are best understood when they are considered as expressions of individual Negroes which can be dated and assigned to a geographical locale. They are, in brief, historical documents. As such they reflect Negro behavior which as Frederick Law Olmstead concluded in 1860, emphasized African background patterns rather than the Christianity of the nineteenth century."

Dr. Fisher has arranged his study of Negro slave songs—spirituals—in *nine* numbered divisions. He opens with a twenty-six page discussion of "History in the Music of Negroes." He closes with a fifteen-page summary section of "Understanding Spirituals." Between this opening and this closing discussion are seven numbered sections each approximately fourteen to twenty pages in length, each considering a group of spirituals but centered around an outstanding one, these drawn from definite periods in American history. For example, the first to be considered, grouped around "Sinner Please," are from the years 1740 to 1815; second, those grouped around "Deep River" are from the years 1816 to 1831;

third, those centering about "Steal Away" come from the years 1800 to 1831; next those from the fourth, fifth, and sixth sections and centering respectively about the spirituals "You'd Better Min'," "I am Bound for the Promised Land," and "When I Die" all come from the years 1832-1867; and finally those grouped with "Look What a Wonder Jedus Done" represent the years 1861 to 1867.

In the course of this study Dr. Fisher reviews in a detailed manner the history of various attitudes toward Negro slave music or slave songs, and arrives at a conclusion that agrees with what he discovers to be the later approach—the historical approach; that is to say that the slave "took a good look at *this world* and told what he saw"—that as John Lowell said in 1939, a "true interpretation" of spirituals held that they were evidences of the Negro's obsession with freedom and justice, and they included plans of strategy with which these could be achieved; and that, as V. F. Calverton has it, "there is more, far more than the ordinary Christian zeal embedded in Negro spirituals. They are *not* mere religious hymn written or recited to sweeten the service or improve the ritual." Rather "they are the aching, poignant cry of an entire people." So, says Dr. Fisher in the concluding paragraphs of his introductory chapter, "That negro spirituals are historical documents from the negro people may be postulated in five statements: The primary function of African Music was to give the history of a people; African Negroes were transplanted to the Americas along with their gifts of song; the first extended collection of slave songs was advertised as historical documents from the negro people; such an evolution of slave songs was perceived by divers people; Negro spirituals are best understood in harmony with this historical interpretation."

One other scholarly study in this category I would mention as a most impressive work among the year's books, *The Russian Church and the Soviet State,* by Dr. John Shelton Curtis. Dr. Curtis maintains an attitude of scrupulous objectivity as he tells with extraordinary clarity a most complex story, that of the changing position of the Russian Orthodox

Church in relation to the Soviet State from 1917 down to the end of the year 1950. This last-named date was chosen because, by that time, the author declares "the revolutionary aspects of the relationship had ended, and, after the striking developments during World War II, a *modus vivendi* that promises to have considerable duration has been established . . . no significant changes appear to be in prospect."

Dr. Curtis, professor of history at Duke University, has indeed produced a book that is a superb piece of scholarship. The work is based on original sources discovered both in America and in Europe. It deals with a problem about which, I am told, specialists in the Russian field have long been lacking information, and hence is likely to be regarded as the definitive work on the subject so long as Soviet records remain closed to western scholars. I know that some of these scholars find the style of the work, though not inferior to that in the average monograph, yet not quite on the same high level with its scholarship; and feel that though the nature of the material is admittedly not of the type that lends itself to vivid and dramatic treatment, some parts of the study seem much richer than others. For example, the treatment of the first ten year period to 1928 is on the whole much more impressive than that given the following twenty-three years, and that even if the official Soviet sources became, as the author says 'less abundant' after that year, that these, nevertheless might have been supplemented with profit by the contribution which stories of Soviet emigrants as living witnesses—especially after 1938— would probably have made. Despite the claim on the book-jacket that the work "will interest the general reader as well as the entire theological audience" one may with reason suspect that only that portion of the theological audience which is directly concerned with religious problems behind the iron curtain will be drawn to it, and that the average reader will not find it of great appeal. It is, as I have said, a thorough and a scholarly work, carefully documented, well balanced, and on the whole, material interestingly presented. It should greatly please historians.

Now, having spoken of six books with religious themes, and four that combine religion and the church with historical and social themes, I turn from these ten to ask your attention to another group of ten whose primary interest is history, or history and biography. Let us begin here with a short work on an early North Carolina charter, pass to an excellent history of North Carolina from the earliest years to the present, and then roughly following chronological order, consider a work dealing with the Revolutionary War period, one concerned with the Civil War period, one concerned with more restricted but important events in North Carolina in the years 1900-1911, one that covers the years 1912 to the 1940's but stresses the period 1912-1920; one that considers a specialized phase of the state's progress from 1929 to the present, and two that stress biographical themes outside this country or outside this state.

The Carolina Charter of 1663—How It Came to North Carolina and Its Place in History, by William S. Powell, is an extremely interesting and a most attractively arranged small book of seventy-nine pages published by the State Department of Archives and History. Ownership of this early charter now makes North Carolina one of seven states possessing copies of their original charters. This book is primarily concerned with telling the story of how this original document of 1663 was acquired by the state, rather than with narrating the history of the granting of this seventeenth century charter to the Eight Lord Proprietors by King Charles II. But something of that phase of the story is also told. The narrative proper which runs to only twenty pages is in two sections: how the Charter came to North Carolina; and the origin of the Charter. The full text of the four-page charter follows, comprising some fifteen printed pages of this little volume. The text is followed then, by biographical sketches of the eight Lords Proprietors, all personal friends of the King. Portraits of seven of these proprietors are given, Sir John Colleton being the only one not shown. Also given here are portraits of King Charles II and of John Locke, author of the *Fundamental Constitutions* drawn up for the

Carolinas under the direction of the Earl of Shaftsbury and adopted by the proprietors on July 21, 1669. Numerous other interesting illustrations and several interesting maps are included. The work is furnished with an excellent bibliography.

The most solid work in history among the books this year is, without doubt, a very impressive volume running to more than six hundred and fifty pages, entitled *North Carolina, The History of a Southern State,* by Hugh Talmage Lefler and the late Albert Ray Newsome. Except for school texts this is the first one-volume history of North Carolina that has appeared in this century. It is, moreover, the first single volume history of this state to be written by professional historians. Dr. Lefler is—as Dr. Newsome was—professor of history at the University of North Carolina. The work is published by the University of North Carolina Press.

The book has balance and proportion, as well as good narrative style—an essentially readable style—and excellent documentation. It is a most scholarly work. Most readers will praise the book's proportional allotment of space and emphasis to well-defined periods in the state's development and in national history. For example, of its nearly six hundred pages of text, two hundred pages, or twelve chapters, are accorded to the years from the beginnings up to the outbreak of the American Revolution; two hundred and twelve pages, or seventeen chapters, are given to the years from 1775 up to the outbreak of the Civil War; and one hundred seventy-eight pages, or seventeen chapters, are allotted the years 1861 up to and including the national and state elections of 1952. There will undoubtedly be some readers, however, who will hold that the section dealing with the twentieth century is on the whole somewhat less satisfying than the first two-thirds of the volume, and may wonder if this is not partly to be accounted for by the fact that the events of the past ninety-three years since the outbreak of the Civil War are accorded slightly less space than that given the eighty-five years between 1775 and 1861. But other forms of balance and proportion are also well maintained; for example, between the history of the state in political and military affairs on the one hand, and its develop-

ment in agriculture, trade, transportation, industry, education, social organization, religion and literature on the other.

Throughout, the story of North Carolina is told as records reveal it, beginning with the earliest voyages in the exploration in the sixteenth century and coming down or up essentially to the present—and told, as I have said, in first-rate narrative style. But, whereas, the narrative method predominates the authors never hesitate to evaluate, to praise, or to criticize wherever they feel the need so to do. The reader notes with satisfaction, too, that within the the narrative quotations are used with telling effect. These are never overdone, but wherever the authors sense that the words of individuals living in a period or participating in an event would point-up its depiction, they have used them both frequently and effectively. Since the authors state that they have been primarily interested in showing how North Carolinians have through the years lived and made a living and our attention is thus kept on the people in their state, these quotations, so aptly used serve their purpose well. Perhaps their relative absence from, or at least their less frequent use in, the last quarter of the book would help to account for the relative—but only relative—thinness of that part.

All in all this is a scholarly study of the first rank, comprehensive, well-balanced, and very readable, the product of more than five years of carefully planned work. I believe the volume was in part designed as a college text. As such it will be valuable. But this well-rounded history of North Carolina will be of great interest and value also to the general reader.

Another brief but quite good historical study is Clark William Bell's *The First Saratoga. Being The Saga of John Young and His Sloop-of-War.* This is Mr. Bell's fifth book dealing with American naval history, and is written with all the assurance customarily found in the works of this writer, known for his easy familiarity with colonial and revolutionary America and especially as an authority on our navy in the Revolution. In this little volume of one hundred and fifty pages he brings to vivid life, a largely forgotten hero of the American Revolution. All that is known about this sloop-of-war in

the continental navy, and its gallant young Captain, John Young, is set forth with skill and verve.

Friend of Robert Morris and Francis Lewis, companion in naval circles of John Paul Jones, Seth Harding, and John Barry, this inspiring leader of a devoted young band of naval officers serving the *Saratoga*—the first of several ships of that name to win fame in our naval history—experiences exciting adventure and achieves honor and recognition in a stirring and critical period. Captain Young and his sloop, it seems, played an important role in raids upon British ships, especially those bringing supplies to British troops in this country. After these cruises filled with successful engagements and with spectacular victories which brought rich prizes, the ship and all its company disappeared during a West India storm in 1781. The chapters bring exciting events before us in swift succession. This little book, published by the Louisiana State University Press, furnishes good reading matter.

I believe that the liveliest book of history—indeed the liveliest book of this year's lot—is to be found in *The Civil War* as told by James Street, in what he calls in the subtitle "An Unvarnished Account of the Late but Still Lively Hostilities." And, indeed, unvarnished and still lively is his buoyant and pointed account. The book is profusely illustrated in less lively, but telling fashion in line and wash drawings by John Allan Maxwell. The text book is arranged in eight untitled sections. Truly, as the jacket says, "the book is filled with historical asides that will amaze" the reader. It is literally crammed with lively anecdote, and crisply pointed up by what one reviewer would insist is "informed but opinionated data." Mr. Street would himself, I believe, be the first to agree that, of course, he is opinionated. His opening sentence reads: "Almost a hundred years after the first shot was fired, we Americans cannot even agree on a name for our Civil War Between the States, much less on what caused it or exactly what happened." Then he proceeds to tell us what caused it—and there, of course, is his opinion—and to tell of many of the things that happened, grim, gallant, foolish, well or foolishly planned and executed, and often amazing

or unbelievable, and to tell it, as has been said, "in prose as impetuously indecorous as the Yankees' departure at Bull Run."

To North Carolinians of my generation who began the growing-up process in small North Carolina towns just before the turn of the century, towns still lying under the dark shadow of this great conflict (the bloodiest in human history to that date) the term *The War* could signify only one conflict. It is an experience to hear Mr. Street speak of it as he does here, for as the book-jacket frankly points out "Mr Street has a way of stalking into history's barnyards and staring at the sacred cows and then pinching them: of pointing to the black sheep, the scapegoats, the jackasses; the wise barn owls in the loft, and to the rats in the corn crib." Readers who had followed his story of the Dabney tribe in his novels displaying strange turns in our great civil conflict would be prepared for this attitude. The reader turns away from this book enlightened, saddened, wryly amused, half angered at times, but with his faith in a people unbroken. Swallowing some of the facts therein—or even more, some of the freely tossed-off opinions—will leave him with a decidedly tart, even puckered after-taste. But the reader who begins this crisply written book will certainly finish it, or I miss my guess.

Let me quote: "Fifty years ago on the flat beach land of Kill Devil Hill near Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, twelve seconds at 10:37 o'clock on the morning of December 17, 1903, changed the course of the world events to come," so says Mr. Aycock Brown in beginning his brief monograph, *The Birth of Aviation.* "On that day," he continues, "the world's first power-driven heavier-than-air machine in which man made free, controlled and sustained flight, took off into a twenty-seven mile wind, climbed to an altitude of about ten feet and remained aloft for twelve seconds. The actual distance covered was only one hundred and twenty feet; nevertheless it was the most historic of all flights, because it was the first powered flight of all time and the birth of modern aviation."

For the fiftieth anniversary of the great event Mr. Brown tells the story—as his sub-title states it "Story of the Wright

Brothers' Flights at Kitty Hawk and Kill Devil Hill, North North Carolina." Mr. Brown makes no attempt to give the life story of the two famous Wright brothers. Little attention is given to the days of their youth and early manhood in Dayton as they planned in the bicycle shop of their home town for glider and powered flight. Nor does he attempt to deal with their achievements in later life. Instead, the author concentrates on "their successful experience there on the windswept outer banks of North Carolina," the story of Wilbur and Orville Wright and its Kitty Hawk-Kill Devil Hill setting from 1900 to 1911. As to happenings that in later years became the subject of controversies, the writer attempts to present both sides of a question and leaves it at that.

The brief text of Mr. Brown's story, given in thirty-two unnumbered pages, is preceded by fourteen pages—followed by fifteen pages—of excellent photographs, numbering fifty-nine in all, and spanning the half-century; the story is well told and well documented in words and pictures.

We come next to what I should think has been one of the two most widely read books of the year that came from a North Carolina writer, *The End of Innocence,* by Jonathan Daniels. If, as Mr. Marquis Childs has said, Mr. Daniels's book of several years past, *The Man of Independence* is "brilliant political biography," I should hazard the opinion that *The End of Innocence* is equally good or better in that field, and as the portrait of an era—certainly Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. has recently termed it Jonathan Daniel's *best* book. Jonathan Daniels has indeed had a unique opportunity to know the inside story of the development of these United States from the beginning of the Wilson era through the period of President Truman. His father, Josephus Daniels, who is at the center of his present study, served in the administrations of Cleveland, of Wilson, and of Roosevelt. Through the eyes of one who as a young adolescent went to live in Washington with that father in the eight years when Wilson was in the White House, and who was there again as a young man, and as a mature man, as administrative assistant and as press secretary to Roosevelt, and

one who above all was close to his father through all these years, we here see the men and the age, concentrating mainly on the Wilson era. He presents his father through-out as an innocent in some measure, but wise with the innocence of faith, of genuine belief in a type of democracy whose weaknesses he knew but in whose strength he firmly believed.

That his account of these tumultuous years is less an historical than an emotional enterprise, Mr. Daniels himself admits; he speaks of it as "memory ridden and emotion torn." But if it be an emotionally informed story of the relationships and the interrelationships of Wilson, Bryan, Daniels, Roosevelt,—F. D. R. and Teddy—of Col. House, and Col. McCawley of the Marines, of Secretary of War Baker, and Senator Lodge, and Col. Robert Mean Thompson of the Navy League, of both the first and the second Mrs. Wilson, and the younger Eleanor Roosevelt, and of numerous others, drawn oftentimes in few but revealing lines—and always with emphasis on the two men he knew best and loved most, his father and Franklin Roosevelt, nevertheless, the book is a warmly human story and a most informing and moving one. It is truly the portrait of an era, a beautiful and sympathetic portrait of an era, the end of America's "innocent parochialism" and its entrance upon an era of World Power, with the big ideas, the big government which a big war brought, a position, as we now know, into which we moved to stay, and moved with the pain and the awakened knowledge that always comes in the moving from innocence into sophistication. Moreover, it is more than an enthralling story. Here we have brilliant memoir, a most carefully documented presentation of events and the men who moved through them shaping them and being shaped by them. Here we find also, keen analysis of the working of the democratic system in America and an affirmation of belief in such democracy. One understands that it was not F. D. R. alone who learned of democracy through Josephus Daniels.

Certainly, to this reader for one, the portrait of the developing Roosevelt is as enthralling as that of the staunch old southern democrat who was his mentor, sometimes his

antagonist, always his friend—the man who, as Henry Steel Commager observed, "better than any other figure in public life linked up the Populist Era with the New Freedom, and then with the New Deal, remaining consistent and unspoiled through half a century." The writer can and does view both men at times critically. He shows that the two did not work together in the Navy Department in those early years without a good deal of stress and strain; but that they came to understand, to like, and to trust one another he reveals clearly—and that the younger man learned much from the older. The author of *End of Innocence* states his conviction that "Roosevelt's arrival at appreciation of the meaning of such men as Daniels was more important than anything he [as Assistant Secretary of the Navy] learned under Daniels about dealing with labor, with steel and other magnates, with power in democracy in terms of the back country as well as of the ward rooms." To the young aristocrat, he continues, "there had been about Daniels almost the same deceptive appearance which a plain strong democratic American so often showed to the supercilious who suddenly confronted it in history. Roosevelt's greatest attainment when he departed [from the Navy Department] was that he was no longer self-deceived in democracy—and would not be so deceived again."

Although the book concentrates on the years from 1912 to the early 1920's, it does not end with the death of Wilson, the repudiation of the League of Nations, the coming of the Harding administration, and the crippling of Franklin Roosevelt. As the work had begun with Josephus Daniels in 1941 at seventy-nine, Ambassador in Mexico, and had gone back then to 1912, so it closes with the chapter bearing the book's title, "End of Innocence," a chapter opening with the author himself on that afternoon when as assistant to Roosevelt he received in the White House the news of Roosevelt's death in Georgia, and telephoned to his father in Raleigh only to find that he had already purchased his ticket to Washington. And it moves on to the speech made by Daniels at 85 in front of the house in Warm Springs in which Roosevelt died, quo-

ting at length from that speech so clearly affirming the old man's faith in democracy:

> We need not be the companion of our fears.
> Only the already lost can think of our future as besieged.
> We have more to give than to guard, our powers are not weapons but the tools with which to build the promise of democracy into the purpose of mankind. . . . Sometimes that faith is hard to hold. Even to an old man who has seen many years these times seem dark. But this place is lit with courage and is illuminated with faith.

The last chapter is to me a most provocative one, not the least because it so clearly bears the brand of the writer's beliefs, as well as those of his father. I find these words there and I like them; "I set it down as my faith that only the Visionaries have helped the people to shape their security and that those who most confidently regard themselves as realists have retarded it."

I find his book one of rare insight, skillful writing, enthralling warmth, and keen perception.

Samuel Reval Spencer, Jr., assistant to the President of Davidson College, has given us a historical essay or monograph, a slender little volume of one hundred nine pages entitled *Decision for War 1917: The Laconia Sinking and the Zimmerman Telegram as Key Factors in the Public Reaction Against Germany.* This work studies the facts back of an act which was probably the most significant act of the United States government in the first twenty-five years of the twentieth century—the decision to enter the First World War against Germany. The thesis here seems to be that following the break off of diplomatic relations with Germany on February 3, the sinking of the ocean liner, *Laconia,* on February 25, closely followed by the publication, on February 27, of the Zimmerman Telegram revealing the proposal by the German government of an alliance with Mexico and Japan against the United States, caused a profound shift in pubic opinion in America, made Americans to feel that Germany had attacked the United States, and hence, became in their eyes the "overt act" on the part of Germany which made war with

her necessary, so that by April 6, the Congress, called into special session, in response to the Presidential recommendation declared a state of war to exist between the United States and Germany.

It is natural, no doubt, that some readers should see this study as an attempt "to revise the revisionists," that is, those historical thinkers who held sway in the 1930's, the decade prior to our entry into World War II. Certainly he takes issue with the interpretation of that decade, that the disclosure of the Zimmerman message was carefully timed by the British; and he shows in a way that would seem to be conclusive that the British delivered the message as soon as they could. He maintains that it was not calculated cunning but the luck of circumstances that made the revelation of the message so sensational. He proves that the message was delivered before the sinking of the *Laconia* and before the plea by President Wilson on the day following, for armed neutrality. There would seem to be small doubt that the flaming headlines in the press immediately thereafter, as they blazoned the terms of the Zimmerman proposal, caused a powerful current in the stream of American public opinion. Of course, it is difficult to *prove* a shift in public opinion; and there are those who will not be persuaded by Dr. Spencer's argument, no doubt, because they will not give assent to the controlling assumptions that give him his frame of reference. I am not one of these, however. I found the book relatively convincing. Certainly, the author presents an interesting study of significant events.

Another work in the field of history, this item specialized twentieth century history, I must mention briefy. An organization numbering twelve thousand members all interested in agricultural pursuits, these coming from fifty-five countries and organized in two hundred local units "representing the major farming interests in all sections" of North Carolina, an organization that can rightfully boast a quarter century of varied and constructive public service rounded out its twenty-fifth anniversary on September 27, 1954. To review its history during these years Dr. Stuart Noblin, Associate

Professor of History and Political Science at the North Carolina State College, has written an interesting and informative booklet, *The Grange in North Carolina, 1929-1954, A Story of Agricultural Progress.* Beginning with a brief section called The Old Grange, Dr. Noblin recounts the founding in Guilford County in 1873—only six years after the birth of the National Grange—of the first North Carolina Grange or Patrons of Husbandry, the subsequent brief surge of interest and power in the movement only to recede before the mounting force of the Farmer's Alliance—Populist combination and the founding of a Department of Agriculture. Subsequent sections deal with "Reorganization," in the early fall of 1929 with Clarence Poe as leader; "Depression," the hard years in the early thirties, yet the steady growth of the grange under W. Kerr Scott; "New Deal"—the Grange from 1933 to 1937 under Earl S. Vanatta and Ben F. Wilson; "The War Years," the Grange under Harry B. Caldwell, 1937 to 1946; and "Since The War," the grange at work—the longest and most varied section of its history—the grange under Margaret H. Caldwell in the year 1946-47 and again her husband's direction, 1947 to the present. The sketch closes with the section "Silver Anniversary"—a summary. An appendix lists state conventions—date and place, national conventions held in North Carolina, officers and divisional leaders, executive committees, Directors of the Grange Mutual Fire Insurance Association of North Carolina, and awards granted during these years for distinguished service to agriculture.

Two works in this category remain to be considered—one in biographical history, one in sociological autobiography. The biographical history, one that challenges attention, is the work of Charles Richard Sanders of the Department of English, Duke University, *The Strachey Family, 1588-1932; Their Writings and Literary Associations,* published by the Duke University Press. I find this truly an engrossing book and have all too little time to speak of it here. The author announces his purpose thus: "To study humanity as it has displayed itself in the life of a comparatively small but highly interesting family over a period of about three hundred years

is the main object of the book." It presents the varied history of the versatile and gifted Strachey family through many generations. Beginning with Elizabethan times—1588, the year of the Spanish Armada—it passes quickly to William Strachey, who was in the great storm in July, 1609, that wrecked the fleet of Sir George Somers near the Bermudas, and who from Jamestown in July of the following year sent home a letter that is believed to have given Shakespeare material for the first act of *The Tempest,* and who became Lord De La Warr's secretary in Jamestown and thus the first secretary to an American colony, and it then moves through the centuries and the generations of Stracheys to arrive eventually at the Honorable John Strachey, who now in the days of the Second Elizabeth is a leader in the British Labor Party. We follow the Stracheys not only through the centuries but over the world, for their travels, their exploits, their residences were varied, and their interests and works wide spread. Dr. Sanders may be interested mainly in the contributions of the family to literature—for as he says, the Stracheys were a writing family—a family with a genius for friendships and their friendships among men of the literary world as well as the world of public life were many and varied: with John Donne, with the Elder Crashaw, with John Locke, with men of the Enlightenment, with Robert Southey and Walter Savage Landor, with Carlyle and Kitty Kirkpatrick, with Edward Lear of nonsense-verse fame—to mention but a few—and always the author shares their interests and exploits in travel and exploration, in science, in government and parliamentarianism and diplomacy, in the Empire, in fine arts, in the Church, in sanitation, finance, legal systems and even railroads. Always the Stracheys made their mark and always they left the imprint of a strong personality. From William Strachey then, author of *The True Repository,* and *The History of Virginia,* down through the years to J. St. Loe Strachey, powerful editor of *The Spectator* from 1898 to 1925 and to Giles Lytton Strachey, author, literary critic, and eminent biographer with whose death in 1932 the story virtually closes, the author, in ingenious though somewhat loosely

coordinated fashion, follows his purpose of studying humanity as it develops in such a family over three hundred years —a remarkably interesting and yet in not a few ways, a typical upper class English family of distinction. Upon concluding the volume, the interested reader may well understand why the Strachey name in England is a symbol for the continuity of a people and a nation, such continuity as the old stone Manorhouse at Sutton Court, Somersetshire, and the wide-spread, deeply-based, persistent and continuous exploits of the family it housed and sent forth represent.

An unusual book in the field of history and autobiography is found in Ella Earl Cotten's *A Spark for My People*, with its sub-title *A Sociological Autobiography of a Negro Teacher.* In this little volume a dedicated woman—child of a marriage in 1880's between an independent young farmer in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia and a young colored girl who was a servant in his plantation home—tells the story of her childhood in the care of an unusual negro grandfather and grandmother, of her education at Knoxville College, of her marriage and motherhood, and of her forty years with her husband as both taught in the rural sections of the deep south. Eventually in Alabama, under the auspices of the United Presbyterian Church, as leaders in the school set-up they have their great opportunity to put theories into practice; and there they achieve a truly fine school spirit and community spirit and help to raise the educational level of an entire rural community.

In her foreword the author says, "Viewing the book in the same light as I would if someone else wrote it, the more appealing aspects of it, to me, would be in the long, continuous period of service in virgin soil, educationally. Equally as important, perhaps more, was the fact that good race relationships were possible and that life and labor could be worked out in a pattern of happiness for all around."

She dedicates her book to the colored teachers of the elementary level in the thirteen southern states, the audience for whom the book was prayerfully written.

Here is a tale told with relative simplicity, always without

bitterness and without self-satisfaction or anything bordering on conceit—told seemingly with a sense of deep dedication to her people and particularly to the cause of education for them. Any one of us, I believe, could read the book with profit.

Two books, *Quintology* and *Mayan Letters,* I find hard to classify. *Quintology* is a title coined by the author, J. Ray Shute, for a volume of five "themes on the same subject" as he puts it—really addresses in which liberalism and democracy are equated—as "Twin Lamps which have lighted the pathway of freedom down through the ages." *Mayan Letters* by Charles Olsen, contains seventeen letters written from the Yucatan by this historian and poet in the months February through July 1951, and edited by Robert Creely. Desiring to break away from what seemed to him the too simple Westernism stemming from our Greek culture, to move back, ever back, to a point of origin which would be capable of extending "history" in a new and more usable sense, to do more toward repossessing himself of the Indian past in the effort to find a civilization anterior to that which he has come from, the writer appears to feel that he has found that world in the Mayan.

Six books remain from our list. Each of these is in its way an impressive work. Four of them—in a sense all six of them —are the products of scholarly research. Three of them are in the field of science or social science—anthropology, sociology, psychology; three of them in the field of literature and the social world. Each of these books really deserves detailed comment. Yet I can but mention most of them briefly and then choose one for slightly longer but still relatively brief comment.

In *Culture and Personality,* John J. Honigman, anthropologist, writes a text book for those who would study in this new field, Culture and Personality—a synthetic or cross-discipline, not an insulated department of social science, as he explains; —a cross-discipline in which present knowledge reflects the work of psychologists, psychiatrists, sociologists, and anthropologists; "a young and rapidly expanding field of study,"

in which as the author observes, "the sum and organization of knowledge barely remains unchanged from one issue of a technical journal to the next." It would seem to be a quite good text.

In *The Human Animal,* by Winston La Barre, another anthropologist, Professor at Duke University, writes in more popular fashion—a fashion which combines sound scholarship with a quite readable style, clear and unusually intelligible for such a scientific work, a style free of technical jargon and lightened with not infrequent touches of humor. With definite purpose in mind the author integrates for the lay readers the minimum essentials of human biology, cultural anthropology, psychiatry and cognate fields. Believing that to be a responsible member of the human race, one must understand human nature, must have self-knowledge; and that one cannot today possess the necessary self-knowledge without a reasonable comprehension of man's biological, cultural and psychological inheritance, the author considers it the obligation of the scientist to "proletarianize" his field in order to give the general reader this most essential knowledge. And this Mr. La Barre does with most interesting results.

In an unusual book *The Personality of Shakespeare: A Venture in Psychological Method,* Harold Greer McCurdy, Associate Professor of Psychology at the University of North Carolina, combines an experimental study in psychological method with an approach to literary criticism. In brief, as a psychiatrist might use the day dreams, fancies, imaginings of his patient to get at personality—"a set of personal relations;" so Mr. McCurdy through a study of recurrent elements or themes found in twenty-three of the Master's plays, attempts to measure the personality projection of William Shakespeare. I found this stimulating reading, though I wanted to argue at times.

In *Dramatic Heritage* Paul Green brings together twenty-three varied essays and short papers devoted to life and the theatre. Many of them deal with phases of regional theatre and community festival and each will have its admiring read-

ers. Two, the critical essay on Paul Claudel, and the essay entitled "The Mystical Bernard Shaw" are exceptionally good—the latter, Paul Green at his best. As is usual with this writer always the subject is treated in an imaginative way, in vivid style, sometimes in poetic terms, always in language so beautifully accurate that it is a joy to read.

In the lively work, *The Gentleman of Renaissance France,* William Leon Wiley, of the University of North Carolina, has produced a scholarly and very readable book, one that should have appeal for cultivated readers everywhere—not merely those interested in Romance language and literature. Here he writes of the French *Gentilhomme,* studies the life and habits of the French gentleman, in the period 1515 to 1560, that is, in the last half-century of the Valois Dynasty, in the days of, and at the courts of Francis I and Henry II. I find the work thoroughly enjoyable as well as must illuminating. It gives a very full and extremely valuable account to the period. It is vivid, charming, delightful. It distresses me to present it so inadequately to you. But time limit forbids further comment.

And now we come to our final book, certainly one of the most delightful books to come from a North Carolina pen this year—delightful alike to both the expert and to the general reader, and one of the most widely read books of the year: William T. Polk's *Southern Accent, from Uncle Remus to Oak Ridge.* Critics have called the book "salty, sympathetic and sagacious," to quote one; "poetic, sardonic, erudite, and wise," to quote another; "provocative, intriguing"; "lively and often informative" to quote a third. I have found in the book all of these qualities and more. Looking at his own section of these United States, a section that has all too often been sentimentalized on the one hand, misunderstood, bitterly criticized, or debunked on the other, Mr. Polk himself says that he writes "out of love, shame, admiration, exasperation, perplexity and fascination," as he examines its life and its products during the turbulent and changing period of the past one hundred years from 1850 to 1953—from Uncle Remus to Oak Ridge.

Parts of the book are brilliant, it seems to me; parts hilarious. Some readers undoubtedly will feel that the book endeavors to do too much, or that it endeavors to cover too much ground. Some undoubtedly will prefer the first half to the latter part. Mr. Polk arranges his material in four parts: One, What is the South?—his attempted answer considered in four varied chapters; Two, What is the South Doing?—a question answered as best he can in six lively chapters; Third, What is the South Thinking?—his answer presented in three chapters, one on race dilemma, one on Southern statesmanship from Monticello (Jefferson) to Bilbo, and the last outlining seriously Main Currents in Southern Thought, 1850-1953; and the Fourth Part, What is the South Becoming?—in which some measure of answer to the query is offered under headings, "The Almost Irrestible Force," "The Not Quite Immovable Object," and finally, "Challenge and Response." Hilarious indeed, is the chapter including "A Scythe for Mother," Mr. Polk's caricature of a typical contemporary southern novel *a la* the imitators of a Faulkner, or a *Tobacco Road.* At the other pole is the serious chapter in which he analyzes the new industrial South. This is a healthy book, a delightful and readable volume, one of which all North Carolinians can be proud.

There, then, are the twenty-eight books for the year 1953-1954. Hurried and inadequate as my evaluation of them for you has, of necessity, been, I can only trust that I have made you feel in some measure the pride and gratification that was mine as I read them and as I came to realize the richness, the variety, and the value to be found in what our North Carolina writers had offered us.

ELIZABETHAN POLITICS AND COLONIAL ENTERPRISE

By Louis B. Wright

To North Carolinians it seems only natural that the first effort to found an English colony in the New World should have been directed to its shores. Clearly God was directing the English toward the Promised Land. But to citizens of other territories, the magnetic quality of the sandy stretches of beach in the neighborhood of Cape Hatteras has always been a matter of wonder. Had Raleigh's colonists found safer harbors and more fertile territory the story of Elizabethan efforts at colonization and of the later English colonies might have been different. But they did not; three times they returned to the same place, and no one has satisfactorily explained the fascination of this particular spot. It is true that Arthur Barlow after the first reconnaissance in 1584 gave an astonishing account of grapes growing in every bush and shrub so that, he wrote, "in all the world the like abundance is not to be found." To one intimately acquainted with the juice of the scuppernong and muscadine, fresh or fermented, this may provide a clue to the attraction of Roanoke Island and its environs. But it is not my purpose to discuss this evening the motives prompting the expeditions sent out by Raleigh to settle on the shores of North Carolina; but rather it is to survey the reasons why they were so long in coming.

England was late in claiming a place in the sun of the New World. Indeed, she almost lost her opportunity. For nearly a century before England gained a foothold, Spain had been creating a vast empire that stretched from Tierra del Fuego to Texas and beyond. She was comfortably settled in Florida and was reaching north, with an outpost on the coast of Georgia. Her explorers had ventured into Chesapeake Bay and other inlets of the North Atlantic seaboard. Her fishermen, along with those of France, had long frequented the cod fisheries around Newfoundland and Laborador. It seemed only a question of time before Spain would envelop

most of the New World. However, Jacques Cartier, it must not be forgotten, had explored the St. Lawrence in 1536 and claimed it for the King of France, but France had been as slow as England in proving her claim.

A faint hint of eventual opposition to Spain lay in the almost forgotten voyage of John Cabot, a Genoese, naturalized in Venice. He had entered the employ of the first Tudor king, Henry VII, and in 1497 had explored the northern coasts of America, probably the shores of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, and had reported to his royal master that he had claimed the country in his name. Upon the slender claims of Cabot's discovery, England later based her right to territory in the North Atlantic. Why had England, for nearly a century, done so little to assert these claims and to take such a rich possession? To us who have been steeped in the intricacies of geopolitics and the belief in the necessity of access to essential natural resources, it seems incredible that a nation as shrewd—and acquisitive—as the English would have been so negligent of its opportunities.

The answer lies of course in the tangled skein of Tudor politics and England's slow realization of her place in the international scene. We may see a similar parallel in the United States' own groping toward political maturity, and her slowness to grasp the implications of international power and responsibility. For a long time England's destinies were controlled by doctrines that our own isolationists would understand and approve. But there were many complicating factors.

The first was the instability of the Tudor throne. Looking backward from our point of vantage in time, we remember the long reign of the first Elizabeth and think that few monarchs could have felt more secure in the affections of their countrymen. But we forget that Henry VII had a very shaky title to the crown which he snatched from Richard III, and that Henry VIII in his efforts to establish a male line of succession, stirred up a hornet's nest at home and abroad, alienated Spain and Mother Church, sowed the seeds of rebellion, and left only a sickly minor son and two uncertain

daughters, whose partisans were ready time after time to plunge the country into civil war. Edward VI's brief reign saw a Protestant regime, followed by Mary Tudor's reversal of the state religion and marriage with Philip II of Spain, chief protagonist of Catholic power in Europe. Mary in turn was followed by Elizabeth in 1558, who cast her lot with the new religion, though it is doubtful whether she had much enthusiasm for religion of any kind. But as the daughter of Anne Boleyn she was regarded by the Catholic Church as illegitimate and therefore without claim to the throne. Her religious position was forced upon her.

On her accession, Elizabeth was faced with the internal rebellion of powerful Catholic subjects like the Howards in the North and with the threat of invasion from the Continent if she offended her late half brother-in-law, Philip II. Few young girls have had more problems to perplex them. But few girls possessed such natural cunning and shrewdness, and few have ever had so wise and adroit a counsellor as William Cecil, later Lord Burghley, whom she inherited from her sister Mary. For most of her reign—until his death in 1598—Elizabeth kept Burghley by her side. She was often angry with him, frequently deceived him, and was not above engaging in political intrigues behind his back, but she never felt comfortable when she went against Cecil's advice, and she always stood a bit in awe of him. No other man ever succeeded in awing Elizabeth. And yet Elizabeth never let Cecil become dictator over her mind. She kept other politicians in her service and she played them against each other on the constantly shifting chess board of national policy. As Lord Treasurer, Burghley occupied a paramount position.

Her other great statesman and counsellor was Francis Walsingham, about ten years younger than Burghley, whose appointment as ambassador to France, Burghley procured in 1570. Less than a year after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572, Walsingham returned to become Principal Secretary to the Queen. The slaughter of the Huguenots had helped to confirm an ardent Protestantism which influenced his political point of view until his dying

day in 1590. Though Walsingham and Burghley began as friends, they soon found themselves on opposite sides of the political fence, particularly in matters of foreign policy. Much Elizabethan history must be interpreted with a knowledge of the personalities and attitudes of Walsingham and Burghley in mind. Remote as all this may seem, it had much to do with the planning that preceded the attempt to colonize North Carolina.

Walsingham became the leader of the Protestant cause, or more particularly, the wing of the Protestant faction that eventually became known as the Puritan group. Burghley, on the other hand, became the architect of Elizabeth's *via media* in religion, a state church that would not be too hard for former Catholics to accept and yet not so ritualistic as to alienate moderate Protestants. The brilliant biographer of both of these men, Professor Conyers Read, thus states their differences: "I think Cecil was a good Protestant, but he subordinated religion to material considerations, and while Walsingham looked upon Puritans as crusaders, Cecil, as he grew older, came to regard them as a nuisance. Clapham says of him [Cecil] that he disliked Catholics because of their superstition and the Puritans because of their singularity."[1] Villainous as Cecil may have regarded such acts as the St. Bartholomew's Massacre or the cruelties perpetrated by the Spaniards on the Dutch Calvinists, he never let his emotions sway his judgment. He did not intend for England to lead any Protestant crusade on the Continent. Though he placed no great trust in Spaniards, he believed that co-existence of a sort was possible with them, and he was opposed to any policy that would bring open conflict.

Walsingham, though a man of prudence, also became convinced as early as the 'seventies' that appeasement of Spain could go too far. In 1576, he was supporting secret

[1] The quotation is from a personal letter from Professor Read. His *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* (Cambridge 1925. 3 vols.) is a classic study of the man and his times. Hereafter cited as Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*. The first volume of Professor Read's biography of Burghley is now in press. A succinct account of the political differences of the two men may be found in Read, "Walsingham and Burghley in Queen Elizabeth's Privy Council," *English Historical Review*, XXVIII (1913), 34-58. Hereafter cited as Read, "Walsingham and Burghley."

aid to the Dutch rebels and Burghley was opposing it. The Spanish Ambassador in London, Bernardino de Mendoza, reported in 1578, that Walsingham and the Earl of Leicester were pleading the Dutch cause under the color of religion which made it hard for Burghley to oppose them, particularly since Leicester, "despite his bad character," was in high favor with the Queen.[2]

The Queen's relations with Leicester remain one of the mysteries of history. Whether Leicester was ever actually her lover may be doubted, but she was emotionally stirred by this ambitious man whose influence was greater than his abilities as a soldier or statesman. Yet better men than Leicester used him as a "front" and thereby gained a favorable hearing from the Queen. One of these men was Walsingham.

Walsingham's personal sympathies lay with the extreme Protestant or Puritan wing of the church, and he and Leicester are sometimes described as leaders of the "Puritan party." That is an over-simplification of their activities.[3] Walsingham was too shrewd a statesman to become a narrow partisan, but both he and Leicester were irrevocably committed to opposition to Spain. After the Sea Beggars seized Brill and Flushing in 1572, and the revolt of the Netherlands excited the hopes of Protestants throughout Europe, Walsingham and Leicester argued earnestly in the Privy Council that England should recognize Philip II as an enemy and go to the aid of the rebels.[4] Henceforth, they were the recognized leaders of the anti-Spanish faction in the Privy Council and of what Corbett has called the "war party."[5] Elizabeth was so upset on one occasion in 1576 by the constant pressure to aid the Dutch that she ran into her bedroom, locked the door, and refused to come out until members of her household threatened to batter down the door to retrieve her. As one observer reported, "Her Majesty is troubl-

[2] Read, "Walsingham and Burghley," 38.
[3] Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*, II, 258-339, discusses the complicated nature of Walsingham's private and public relations with the Puritans.
[4] Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*, I, 316-372.
[5] Julian S. Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy* (London, 1899), I, 190 *ff.* Hereafter cited as Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy.*

ed with these causes, which maketh her very melancholy and [she] seemeth greatly to be out of quiet." [6] Everybody else was "out of quiet." Cautious, prudent William Cecil, now Lord Burghley, was beside himself. He and the conservative members of the Privy Council did not want to see Spain—or France either—supreme in the Low Countries, yet Burghley, like the Queen, feared open war. The result, for the time being, was another effort by the Queen to mediate between Philip and the Dutch. She ended by lending the Dutch money and allowing English "volunteers" to serve in the Low Countries; eventually she sent her favorite Leicester to command English troops fighting with the Dutch.

The decade from 1578 to 1588 was a period of cold war with hot intervals, an era in some respects like our own unhappy age. Throughout these years Burghley continued to hope for a peaceful solution with Spain.

Around Walsingham, however, another group collected, a group intent upon harassing Spain in every way. Their strategy was to unleash as many commerce raiders as they could muster and let them prey on Spanish shipping and Spanish treasure ships. They even contemplated establishing operational bases in the New World, and of raiding Spain's life lines from such bases. These were the earliest plans for English settlements overseas. These bold spirits included John Hawkins, Francis Drake, Humphrey Gilbert, Walter Raleigh, and Richard Hakluyt, the dedicated propagandist of English expansion overseas. It was not mere whim that made Hakluyt dedicate the 1589 edition of the *Principal Navigations* to Walsingham. In addition to the immediate purpose of crippling the Spanish capacity to make war—and of enriching themselves—by capturing Spanish treasure ships, these men were coming to believe that England's future strength and prosperity demanded outposts in the New World. Seizure of American bases would mean a frontal attack on Spanish interests and would incur the risk of a counter-attack on England and the loss of English commerce with Spain and the Spanish dominions.

[6] Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*, I, 316.

Burghley was opposed to such bold measures on several counts. First, he did not believe that England was equipped to wage a war with Spain, the colossus of Europe. Spanish armies were the mightiest Europe had ever seen. The Spanish infantryman had proved himself invincible on many a field and Spain's reservoir of manpower seemed inexhaustible. Burghley's natural caution made him loath to offend so dangerous an enemy. Furthermore, he believed that the national interest lay in preserving peace and encouraging trade. Despite religious and political suspicion and hatred of Spain, England had a profitable trade with the Iberian peninsula and with Flanders. Burghley had been constantly negotiating to expand that trade. War, Burghley believed, would certainly bring on financial disaster. The best interests of England would be served if the nation should content itself with trade, keep the peace, and grow prosperous. Some way would be found to circumvent the political and military threats from Spain. In short, Burghley was a "little Englander"—at least for the time being—and wanted no part of overseas expansion, if that expansion meant war with the greatest military power in Europe.

Between Burghley and the conservatives on one side and the adventurers who looked to Walsingham for leadership, there was a constant struggle, often not open, but always persistent. Where did the Queen stand in the midst of the great debate? Precisely where it suited her at the moment. With characteristic Tudor cunning, she played both sides against the middle. She would not outwardly oppose Burghley and favor an irreparable affront to Spain; yet she secretly encouraged her corsairs and sometimes invested in their privateering expeditions. Always she demanded and got a royal share of the booty. But she took care that she could disavow any particularly embarrassing foray by her seamen.

The political background of Drake's famous circumnavigation of the world in 1577-1580 illustrates the duplicity of the Queen with her own ministers. In the summer of 1576, Walsingham was in despair over the Queen's consideration of a plan to make friends with Philip, and he was eager to take advantage of any change of mood that would harden

her against the Spanish king. In the spring of 1577 the Queen became suspicious that Philip was nurturing a plot to aid Mary Stuart and Walsingham lost no time in encouraging that mood. He advised her that she should secretly encourage some of her sea captains to strike a blow at Spanish shipping that would prove to Philip that England was a power that he might not trifle with. At this moment Walsingham sought out Drake. "Secretary Walsingham did come to confer with him and declared unto him that Her Majesty had received divers injuries of the King of Spain, for the which she desired to have some revenge," a contemporary report giving Drake's account of the proceeding states. [7] Whereupon, Walsingham whipped out a map and asked Drake to write down in his own hand the places on the map where the King of Spain "might be most annoyed." This Drake refused to do, pointing out "that Her Majesty was mortal, and that if it should please God to take Her Majesty away, it might be that some prince might reign that might be in league with the King of Spain, and then will my own hand be a witness against myself." Nevertheless, Drake agreed to tell the Queen in person of a plan to attack the Spaniards from the South Sea and to raid the west coast of Spanish America. This Drake did, and he reported that "Her Majesty did swear by her Crown that if any within her realm did give the King of Spain to understand hereof (as she suspected too well) they should lose their heads therefor." And lastly Drake said, "Her Majesty gave me special commandment that of all men my Lord Treasurer should not know it." So Burghley, the Lord Treasurer, must be kept in the dark. Was he completely fooled by the secrecy surrounding the feverish preparations for the impending voyage? That is doubtful. It was hard to keep secrets from so knowing a man as Burghley. It was given out that this was to be a voyage of discovery in search of Terra Australis Incognita, and it was hinted for Burghley's benefit, in case he heard of the project, that nothing was farther from Drake's intent than injury to the King of Spain.

[7] Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, I, 207-208.

Clearly Burghley knew something about the projected voyage, for among the gentlemen-officers whom Drake found it expedient to take along was a mysterious person named Thomas Doughty, who had long cultivated Drake's friendship. Doughty's precise role has been a subject of speculation, but it is certain that he was Burghley's agent. Perhaps Burghley placed upon him responsibility for frustrating any belligerent move against Spain. Perhaps he was there merely to report to Burghley what happened.

At any rate, Doughty proved a troublemaker from the start, and when Drake reached the Straits of Magellan late in June 1578, he anchored in Santa Cruz Bay and brought Doughty to trial for mutiny and other crimes. With characteristic English regard for the forms of law, Drake gave Doughty a jury trial; he was found guilty and sentenced by Drake, who served as presiding judge, to death. Again with characteristic English regard for decorum, Drake took communion with the prisoner, sat with him at his last dinner, and had him beheaded as a traitor. Whatever the formal charges were, Doughty's fatal crime in Drake's eyes was being the agent to betray him to Burghley, the Lord Treasurer. Drake was realist enough to know that he himself was caught in the web of Elizabethan politics, that, in Corbett's words, "he was being used as an instrument to upset Burghley's policy of peace." [8]

The story of Drake's epoch-making voyage has been often told and does not need repeating, but its political aspects and its relation to other anti-Spanish ventures are frequently overlooked. Drake's raids on the defenceless towns of Chile and Peru were enough to precipitate war, it would seem. But when Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, complained of the "master thief" as he called Drake, Elizabeth blandly retorted that she had no proof of his guilt. Elizabeth, of course, was ready to repudiate a liability, but Drake's safety lay in the extraordinary wealth brought back from the pillage of Spanish ships and towns. To repudiate Drake now would mean restitution of the stolen goods to Spain, and Elizabeth,

[8] Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, I, 244.

once she had glimpsed the gold and jewels in the "Golden Hind's" cargo had no mind to send them to Spain and hang Drake merely to please the Spanish ambassador and his royal master. Instead, on April 4, 1581, she went down to Deptford where the "Golden Hind" lay at anchor and knighted Drake on his own deck. Surely this was an open affront to Philip and proof of the success of Walsingham's scheme.

Burghley and the peace party, however, continued to work for a rapprochement with Philip. The London merchants trading with Spain and Portugal were fearful of the loss of their business and their ships in case of open war and they also exerted all their influence to prevent a conflict. Burghley even counselled the Queen to restore the stolen treasure to Spain. Drake was by now a popular hero and the Queen had added to her treasury too much of his gold to permit restitution. The precise amount of wealth brought home in the "Golden Hind" will never be known but it is estimated at the least to have equalled "nearly twice a year's normal revenue of the English crown, and yielding [to the investors in the voyage] a profit said to have worked out at 4,700 percent." [9] Even after the Queen had taken her full share, Drake was wealthy and the lowliest cabin boy in his crew had a rich reward. Small wonder that he was a hero.

Though Burghley might stave off open war for a while longer, Drake's success whetted the appetite of corsairs and expansionists who would continue to harass Spain until peace would be impossible. Drake had shown that the Spanish Empire was vulnerable, and Walsingham's group became more importunate for overseas expansion. By now they can be described as incipient imperialists. They were beginning to think in terms of territorial expansion overseas.

The man who did more than any other to rationalize this point of view was the preacher, Richard Hakluyt, who became the greatest propagandist of his age for overseas expansion. His compilations of voyages were intended for something other than romantic reading. They were to inspire his countrymen to further explorations and to provide

[9] James A. Williamson, *The Tudor Age* (London, 1953), 344.

practical information which they might use. In dedications and introductions, Hakluyt argued cogently that the destiny of England required her to settle strategic areas in the New World. Walsingham early recognized the importance of Hakluyt's work and encouraged him in it. Hakluyt indeed became an influential cosmographer and advocate in the Walsingham group of expansionists.

As early as 1580 Hakluyt prepared a paper, probably for Walsingham, entitled "A Discourse of the Commodity of the Taking of the Straight of Magellanus" in which he argued that without "great charge and without open war" England might cripple Spain by fortifying the passage to the Pacific. He also suggested the seizure of Cape St. Vincent in Brazil as a subsidiary base and the continued search for a Northeast passage to Asia. In order not to antagonize the King of Spain he suggested that "To the Str. of Magellanus may be sent Clerke [Thomas Clarke] the pirate upon promise of pardon, and to color the matter he may go as of himself and not with the countenance of the English state, or some such man may be sent." [10] He further suggested that the fort at the Straits might be garrisoned with slaves and half-breeds rescued from the Spanish colonies. A few English convicts, male and female, might also win their freedom by going to the Straits. Thus the fortification of this area would serve a Christian and humanitarian purpose and benefit the nation. Though there is no record that Hakluyt's memorandum had any immediate effect, it is evidence of the growing realization of the expansionists that England must checkmate Spain in the New World.

Hakluyt's first compilation, the *Divers Voyages* of 1582, dedicated to Walsingham's son-in-law, Sir Philip Sidney, contained further arguments of the value of English bases overseas. The dedication rebukes his countrymen for their negligence of duty and for putting privateering ahead of colonization out of what he calls "a preposterous desire of

[10] E. G. R. Taylor (ed.), *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts* (Hakluyt Society, 2nd Ser., LXXVI, 1935), I, 142. Hereafter cited as Taylor, *Original Writings*.

seeking rather gain than God's glory." [11] These beliefs Hakluyt set forth in a long and closely-reasoned state paper, presented in person to the Queen in 1584; this paper, generally known today as the *Discourse of Western Planting*, shows the handiwork, not only of Hakluyt but of Raleigh and possibly of Walsingham. [12] It is a sort of platform of the expansionists and makes a convincing argument for state support of colonization.

Adroitly Hakluyt wrapped his argument in a medley of religious and practical reasons which even a hostile critic would find hard to controvert. The princes of the reformed religion, of whom Queen Elizabeth is the leader, he asserts, have a responsibility to see that the heathen of the New World are not allowed to become a solid Catholic bloc. It is not sufficient just to send a few Protestant missionaries to the heathen, Hakluyt points out. Salvation must be a concomitant of colonization. He then paints a gorgeous picture of the profits to English merchants and the enrichment of the English crown from the commodities of the New World which Spain at present monopolizes. The power of Spain, he insists, is much inflated, and he prophecies that King Philip's pride will be brought low when Englishmen launch a determined attack on the outposts of his empire.

All of this reasoning, all of this argument for governmental support of colonial enterprises of course is propaganda for Raleigh's own projects to settle the coast of North Carolina. In the political alignment of the 1580's Raleigh held an interesting position. Walsingham undoubtedly sympathized with many of his views on expansion and helped to promote them. Yet Walsingham never liked or trusted Raleigh and frequently opposed him. [13] Neither did Burghley like or trust Raleigh. "Seek not to be Essex; shun to be Raleigh,"

[11] Hakluyt as a propagandist is discussed at greater length in Louis B. Wright, *Religion and Empire: The Alliance between Piety and Commerce in English Expansion, 1558-1625* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1943), 33-56. Hereafter cited as Wright, *Religion and Empire.*

[12] Taylor, *Original Writings*, I, 38. See also David B. Quinn, *Raleigh and the British Empire* (London, 1947), 59-62. Hereafter cited as Quinn, *Raleigh and the British Empire.*

[13] Read, *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*, III, 406, *n.* 3.

was Burghley's advice to his own son Robert.[14] Yet Raleigh tried on numerous occasions to cultivate Burghley's good will and Burghley was not above using Raleigh's influence with the Queen when Raleigh was in favor and it suited Burghley's purposes. The truth was that Raleigh, brilliant and versatile, was also grasping and arrogant and had few friends. Before the Queen he was a charming and gracious courtier and for a time he stood high in her favor. It was during a period of royal favor that he won Walsingham's approval of his colonial ventures and managed to avoid Burghley's veto. From the Queen he obtained a favorable charter, and the settlement of North Carolina was theoretically possible.

Raleigh had another advantage: the experience of his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, fifteen years his senior, a respected soldier in Ireland and the Low Countries, at one time an advocate for explorations in search of the Northwest passage, and the would-be colonizer of Newfoundland. Gilbert had been knighted for his services in Ireland in the 'sixties and had the respect even of Burghley, who, along with other conservatives like the Earl of Sussex, subscribed to his project for the settlement of Newfoundland in 1580-1584.[15]

Yet Gilbert had been one of the ardent supporters of the policy of attacking Spain in the New World. Indeed, in November 1577, he had prepared two papers with similar titles: "A Discourse How Her Majesty May Meet with and Annoy the King of Spain."[16] Just at the time when Drake was preparing to sail on his expedition around the world, Gilbert proposed that he should lead an expedition to seize the Spanish, Portuguese, and French fishing fleets off Newfoundland and then combine forces with other privateers to take Cuba and Santo Domingo in the West Indies. This action undoubtedly would have "annoyed" the King of Spain, not to mention the King of France, but combined with Drake's

[14] William Stebbing, *Sir Walter Raleigh, A Biography* (Oxford, 1899), 57.
[15] David B. Quinn, *The Voyages and Colonizing Activities of Sir Humphrey Gilbert* (Hakluyt Society, 2nd Ser., LXXXIV, 1940), II, 329. Hereafter cited as Quinn, *The Voyages . . . of Sir Humphrey Gilbert.*
[16] Quinn, *The Voyages . . . of Sir Humphrey Gilbert,* I, 33-34, 170-180.

attack on the west coast, it might have broken the back of the Spanish Empire. Such measures, however, were too strong for Elizabeth, and she contented herself with surreptitious aid to Drake. Thereafter, Gilbert busied himself with less provocative ventures in Newfoundland. A staunch Protestant, he was convinced that God had especially reserved certain portions of the New World for a Protestant empire, and Newfoundland looked like the promised land. Nevertheless, he was ready to admit English Catholic refugees as colonists, because that would drain a troublesome element out of England and put them to constructive work in a country where they could do no harm.[17] Since Gilbert's Newfoundland colony did not appear to contravene Spanish interests sufficiently to arouse violent reactions from that quarter, even Burghley smiled upon it. Perhaps he thought of the benefits to the cod fishery, his own pet project for improving the economic state of England. At any rate, the efforts to establish a colony in Newfoundland helped to get the Queen and Burghley used to the idea and made it easier for Raleigh to obtain his charter.

The story of Raleigh's efforts to establish a colony in North Carolina is known to all. With the growing zeal for colonial enterprise, we may wonder why these efforts failed. A study of the reasons for the failures and mishaps of Raleigh's ventures—and of the first years at Jamestown—would be a profitable undertaking, but it would take more than the hour alloted for this paper. A few factors, however, are worth mentioning. The principal reasons lay in inexperience, poor organization, lack of strong administrative control, insufficient capital, and greed for quick profits.

Some of the promoters of colonial enterprises overseas, notably Gilbert and Raleigh, had served in Ireland and had observed the efforts to found English colonies there. In some respects the Irish plantations presented problems not unlike those encountered in the New World. Certainly the wild Irish were as fierce as any Indians on the coast of North Carolina. One would think that the Irish experience would have been

[17] Wright, *Religion and Empire*, 23-26.

helpful in the New World, but it appears to have taught the promoters very little. All of the early colonial ventures were inadequately equipped, poorly manned, and poorly led. Even when a capable leader emerged, he was handicapped by a divided command, jealousy among the "gentlemen" in the group, and the lack of firm authority. Because the government in the initial period refused to take any responsibility for colonies, the administration of the ventures was a private affair without any well-tried plan or procedure.

Not one of the early colonial efforts had sufficient financial backing to insure its success. The Elizabethans—and the Jacobeans too, for that matter—were slow to learn how expensive colonies can be in their first stages of development.

One prime reason why the Elizabethans failed to establish colonies was their obsession with privateering—or simple piracy—as the Spaniards called it. Raleigh's colonial undertakings were expected to pay the investors a profit out of Spanish prizes captured by the prowling ship-captains. Both Gilbert and Raleigh had difficulty keeping their skippers headed for Newfoundland or North Carolina when there was a prospect of prizes in the West Indies. The lure of Spanish galleons to be taken in American waters rather than the national preoccupation with defense against the Spanish Armada accounts for the long delay in attempting to succor the colony on Roanoke Island. A privateering syndicate organized by a merchant named John Watts in 1591 had as an incidental objective the rescue of the Roanoke colony. Raleigh was one of the investors and John White went along in the ship "Hopewell." The other vessel was the "Moonshine." They coasted along the shores of North Carolina, blew trumpets, and sang English songs, but could get no response, and finally headed for home. Nevertheless, the voyage showed a profit from prizes taken of eighty-five per cent on the investment of the shareholders. Yet this handsome return was regarded by Raleigh as so trifling that he complained to Burghley that "we might have gotten more to have sent them a-fishing." [18] When the profits from piracy

[18] Quinn, *Raleigh and the British Empire*, 125-126.

were so great, speculators were not interested in the slow returns on money invested in colonies.

The eventual war with Spain and the victory over the Armada removed the fear of offending Spain as a political reason against colonial undertakings. Gradually, as English capital built up, and as the moneyed men in the City, the merchants of London, began to realize that sources of raw materials and eventual markets could be found in North America, a new and healthier basis for colonization developed. When King James made peace with Spain, the old zest for piracy disappeared. No longer would the sovereign and some of the principal ministers in the government take stock in piratical voyages. Profits had to be sought in another type of adventure. The initiative for colonization passed from sea-captains and courtiers to the directors of stock companies. Though colonial ventures were still subject to much trial and error, a sounder colonial procedure was in sight.

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The Discovery of New Britain. London, 1651. A facsimile reprint with an Introduction by Howard H. Peckham. (Ann Arbor: William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan. 1954. Pp. 28. Folded map laid in.)

Charles I in 1629 granted the land south of Virginia between 31° and 36° north latitude to his attorney-general, Sir Robert Heath. While he held title to Carolina, as the region was called for the first time, no organized attempts were made to settle it. A number of explorations were made, however, and several very interesting reports of these voyages appeared in print.

The Discovery of New Brittaine, published in London in 1651, was one of these. Edward Bland, a merchant of Virginia, Abraham Wood, land owner and fur trader, two men described simply as "gentlemen," Elias Pennant and Sackford Brewster, two servants, and two Indian guides, set out from near modern Petersburg to explore the region to the south with the hope of establishing contacts with Indians which would lead to profitable trade and settlement. From August 27 to September 4, 1650, they traveled through the Albemarle region which they called New Britain. Upon their return to Virginia they petitioned and received from the Assembly of the colony permission to explore, settle, and trade in the territory they had visited.

To publicize their venture, Bland and his associates resorted to the press. *The Discovery of New Brittaine* was intended to present the advantages of the area in such a light that none could resist the appeal to join in a migration to the southward. Written in journal form, the little book sings the praises of New Britain in glowing terms. Tobacco and sugar cane grew larger than in Virginia, corn was harvested twice a year, the rivers were packed with fish, salt was made even with inexperienced help, rivers were all navigable, and the climate was healthier and more temperate.

The accounts of Indian life and customs are perhaps the most valuable contribution which the explorers left us. The

conceit of the group in assigning such names as Blandina, Penna Mount, Woodford, and Brewster to the geographical features of the land is interesting.

This tract, printed in an edition of 800 copies for the Clements Library Associates, makes the text available again. It has been reprinted several times, once in a limited facsimile edition of ten copies in the Photostat Americana Series, but this is by far the most handsome reproduction. Only half a dozen copies of the original 1651 edition have survived and of these, four are in this country.

Editor Peckham's brief introduction is entirely adequate including his statement that modern Tar Heels are inclined to accept Sir Walter Raleigh's inference that the territory between 35 degrees and 37 degrees north latitude is closely akin to the Garden of Eden.

William S. Powell.
University of North Carolina Library,
Chapel Hill.

Selected Addresses of a Southern Lawyer. By Aubrey Lee Brooks. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1954. Pp. vii, 165. $2.50.)

This book contains seven addresses which were prepared and delivered by the author from 1917 to 1953. The subjects in chronological order are as follows: The Law and Twentieth Century Facts, 1917; Democrats and Republicans, 1928; The Crisis: Causes and Suggested Cures, 1931; The Four Pillars of Prosperity, 1936; The Foundations of Freedom, 1936; David Caldwell and His Log College, 1949; and Nathanael Greene, Neglected Revolutionary Hero, 1953. Each subject is of vital interest to the author and to the particular audience to which he was speaking. The addresses are of general interest as commentaries upon the history of the period and upon the development of modern law. The two biographical sketches are of especial interest to North Carolinians.

By profession a lawyer and always a student of history, the author is well equipped to discuss the subjects which he

has presented in these addresses. His concept of modern law developed in the first address is a mature statement of philosophy arrived at after many years of study and reflection. Steeped in party history and in the philosophy of Jefferson, he is a leading spokesman for the Democratic Party. Deeply rooted in the South, he has had a life-long interest in the problems of agriculture. He is the author of two previous works, *Walter Clark: Fighting Judge,* and *A Southern Lawyer: Fifty Years at the Bar.* With Hugh Talmage Lefler, he has edited *The Papers of Walter Clark.*

Even though large concepts are developed in these addresses, they make easy reading. Each subject is developed logically and forcefully with no diversions for the sake of oratory. Typically the style of the lawyer, the ultimate effect is convincing. Except for the political addresses in which some humor appears, the author relies entirely upon fact and logical development of his theme for holding his audience.

Readers who differ with the author politically will not like his discussion of Democrats and Republicans, nor his analyses of the Depression and the problems of agriculture. A careful reading of the addresses, however, reveals a consistency of purpose in his devotion to the philosphy of Jefferson that characterizes him as a liberal who has more at stake than that of winning an election.

Jason B. Deyton.

Superintendent of Mitchell County
Public Schools,
Bakersville.

The Grange in North Carolina, 1929-1954. By Stuart Noblin. (Greensboro, N. C.: The North Carolina State Grange. 1954. Pp. ix, 60. $1.00.)

Stuart Noblin has written a brief and cursory booklet to commemorate the silver anniversary of the North Carolina (New) Grange. In documenting the activities of the organization, the author divided the Grange's 25-year-old life history into several major stages such as Reorganization, Depression, New Deal, The War Years, and Since the War, and

included repeated remarks of praiseworthy nature in the concluding section. The materials used are taken mainly from the official *Journal Proceedings,* 1929-1953. Most of the so-called "agricultural progress" recorded in the booklet (as summarized on page 48, for instance) may be conveniently grouped under the three-fold category as advocated by Dr. C. C. Taylor, namely, prices, markets, and credits. (*The Farmers' Movement,* 1953, p. 2; *Rural Life in the United States,* 1950, p. 510.)

It is certainly encouraging to see that the historical profession should be asked to take up such a task, particularly considering Prof. Noblin's competence in the field. However, the briefness of the volume conceals much of the author's time-consuming research and painstaking effort. For instance, only ten pages out of 53, excluding Appendix and Index could be assigned to the work of the organization during the critical years of the Depression and the New Deal.

The import of the booklet should not be minimized by its cursory treatment, of course. Future historians who will treat agricultural history of the twentieth century in the fashion L. C. Gray did for the period up to the Civil War (*History of Agriculture in the United States to 1860, 1933*) will no doubt find the information contained in this volume useful. Moreover, a work like this should prove valuable to the understanding of the farmers' movement in North Carolina, as well as in the United States, since the farmers' organizations have, in general, been the chief mouthpiece of such a movement, a consequence which even the Grange in the 1870's, despite its original purpose, had not been able to escape. (*The Farmers' Movement,* p. 115.) This is particularly important if one goes along with Dr. Rudolph Heberle to treat social movement as a special kind of social group or social collective (*Social Movements,* 1951, p. 8). It should be made clear, however, that this does not imply that the farmer's organizations originated the movement. Rather, as emphasized by Taylor, the farmers' organizations joined the movement. (*The Farmers' Movement,* p. 8.) Viewing the farmers' organizations and movements within such a context,

Prof. Noblin was again prevented, due to the briefness of the work, from closely relating the local scene to the larger social-economic setting, and accordingly, interpreting and evaluating the activities of the Grange within the larger cultural framework.

Haitung King.
Jack W. Van Derhoof.

Kansas Wesleyan University,
Salina, Kansas.

The Story of Kinston and Lenoir County. By Talmage C. Johnson and Charles R. Holloman (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Company. 1954. Pp. ix. 413. Illustrated. $6.00.)

This book is divided into three main divisions. The first part of eleven chapters, roughly one-half of the pages, is a chronological narrative of Kinston, Kingston at first, and the surrounding area from the earliest settlers to the present. In the beginning, early land grants and Richard Caswell and his family were empasized.

The account from about 1800 is less systematic, but evidence is sufficient to explain the backwardness of the area until the coming of the railroad during the 1850's. The war checked progress. The invasion by the Union forces, the first and second battles of Kinston, and reconstruction were factors in its poverty.

About 1885 Kinston began to grow and prosper. Its new prosperity was founded upon the growth and sale of tobacco. The last chapter, "Fifty Years of Remarkable Achievements," tells, among other things, about the coming to the area in 1951 of the $40,000,000 Dupont plant, which should mark the beginning of a new era.

The second part of the book, "wherein are presented biographical sketches of some professional and business leaders—past and present," covers 138 pages and includes 72 men, no women (the book is dedicated to the memory of Mrs. Laura Warters McDaniel). The authors explain that this space was not for sale, although only those who made

contributions which made the publication of the book possible, were included.

The third part of the volume is the 61 pages in the appendix. Early land grants, list of earliest settlers and of taxables in Dobbs County in 1766, etc., are included. An index is added.

The authors have written a commendable book, one which is interesting. It is not a definitive history of the area, far from it, a fact fully recognized by its authors. Unfortunately, the lack of money for a more comprehensive book caused serious deletions or omissions. Such subjects as early public education, establishment of the Graded School, control of alcoholic beverages, race relations, political parties and elections were either omitted or sketchily treated. Errors are few. The marriage dates of Lemuel Harvey (p. 126) seem to be wrong. "William Blount was the brother of Thomas Blount, one of the signers for North Carolina of the Declaration of Independence" (p. 161). Does "one of the signers" refer to William or Thomas? In either case it is incorrect. The printing and general make-up are good.

D. J. Whitener.

Appalachian State Teachers College,
Boone.

The Lost Citadel. By Alexander Mathis. (New York: Pageant Press, 1954. Pp. 273. $4.00.)

The sixteenth-century attempted colonizations at Roanoke Island have a fascination for the novelists. In the last century some eight or nine fiction writers have treated the period. Mr. Mathis, whose home is Norfolk, has written a straight narrative involving the Barlow-Amadas expedition as well as the Lane and White settlements. To provide some semblance of fictional movement, the author has given Manteo, who along with Wanchese is the only character lasting the length of the book, a dominant role in the plot—if plot the novel can be said to have. There is no compelling love story, no leading hero and heroine. For the most part, Mathis depends on historical accounts, principally Conway Whittle

Sam's *The Conquest of Virginia,* rather than on his imagination; he documents his sources in footnotes when he thinks the reader will judge the action too broadly departing from fact. Thus, as fiction, *The Lost Citadel* lacks both rounded characterization and sustained plot interest.

Much is made of the 1584 expedition, with Thomas Hariot allowed an unhistorical berth in order that he may begin tutoring Manteo and Wanchese, who we are told are grandsons of Chief Granganimeo. For the failure of the First Colony, Mathis blames Grenville, whose loiterings among the Spanish in the West Indies delayed the planting of crops at Roanoke and whose burning of the Indian village of Agoscogoc over a lost silver cup irreparably alienated the previously warm-hearted natives. Lane is portrayed as a just and wise governor never able to recover from the errors of the arrogant Sir Richard. As reasons for the departure of the Lost Colonists from Roanoke, Mathis lists hunger and Indian animosity. First, Manteo leads the English to the sands of Croatoan, then later to friendly, more fertile country along the rivers, where they prosper for a while until they are almost completely wiped out by a sudden hostile Indian attack. Soon Eleanor Dare dies and, as the story ends Manteo is undertaking the education of eight-year-old Virginia.

Richard Walser.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh.

Privateers of Charleston in the War of 1812. By Harold A. Mouzon, (Charleston, S. C.: Historical Commission of Charleston. 1954. Pp. 41.)

This small paper-bound publication gives a brief history of privateering from the port of Charleston during the War of 1812. On June 18, 1812, the United States declared war on England and eight days later an act was passed by Congress authorizing the fitting out of ships as privateers to prey on British shipping. Early in July two ships, the *Mary Ann* and the *Nonpareil,* were ready to leave Charleston to begin

their depredations. The *Nonpareil* was the first ship out but her career was relatively short—she mistook a British brig of war for a merchantman and was captured. The *Mary Ann* was more successful. Commanded by John P. Chazal, she took four prizes in one month and on her second cruise destroyed several small vessels.

A Charleston-built vessel, the *Saucy Jack,* began privateering with a great fanfare. Her various captains, Jervey, Sicard, and Chazal, were successful in capturing a number of valuable prizes. Chazal brought the ship into Charleston on December 31, 1814, seven days before the Treaty of Ghent had been signed and the war ended.

Numerous other smaller vessels sailed the waters around Jamaica and the West Indies taking prizes. The largest of the privateers was the *Decatur,* commanded by Dominique Diron. She met the British naval schooner, the *Dominica,* defeated her, and brought her into Charleston.

Mouzon points out that, for a port of her size, the privateers of Charleston contributed largely to their owners, crews, and the country in the damage done to British shipping during the years of the war. His chief sources appear to be records in the National Archives and contemporary newspapers on file in Charleston. An appendix includes a list of the vessels, giving the type, date of commission, tonnage, armament, and the name of the captain. Quotations are given from newspapers, logs of the ships, and an occasional letter written by a captain or member of the crew.

Beth Crabtree.

Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh.

Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey: Autobiography and Letters. Edited by William B. Hesseltine. (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission. 1954. Pp. xvi, 367. $5.00.)

A railroad-building, agrarian aristocrat and state rights Democrat from the heart of the Parson Brownlow country is indeed something of an anomaly. Dr. Ramsey, perhaps best remembered as the author of the *Annals of Tennessee,*

managed to weave so many careers into his full life—medical doctor, farmer, banker, ferry operator, historian, poet, and Confederate treasury agent among them—that there are many problems in understanding him and his role in East Tennessee's history.

Unfortunately Dr. Ramsey wrote his memoirs when he was over seventy years old (he was born in 1797), apparently in some haste and without benefit of adequate data or research. The result is a spotty, occasionally tiring account which Professor Hesseltine has wisely stiffened by the insertion of some of Ramsey's letters; these constitute over a third of the present volume.

An advocate in the 1820's of rail communication with the south Atlantic seaboard, Dr. Ramsey's "Mecklenburg Politics," as his transportation schemes were dubbed, embroiled him in bitter controversy with groups which favored the region's concentration upon improvements in the navigability of the Tennessee River, especially at Muscle Shoals. Dr. Ramsey visited Charleston in 1828 to publicize and promote his plan. He helped in assembling railway conventions at Asheville in 1832 and Knoxville in 1836. But the panic of 1837, followed by a train of financial and political difficulties, delayed realization of his dreams until 1858. Only then did the "East Tennessee and Georgia Rail Road" link isolated Knoxville with the Atlantic coast.

Professor Hesseltine has inserted two chapters made up of Ramsey's letters to fill yawning gaps in the autobiography. These deal with historical work on the *Annals of Tennessee* and with ante bellum politics. The former consists mainly of Ramsey's letters written from 1845 to 1853 to his history-minded friend and lifelong correspondent, Lyman C. Draper, who began his important collecting in Wisconsin in 1852. These letters reveal a livelier, more likeable author than does the autobiography, and they amusingly suggest the difficulties encountered in that era by amateur scholars like Ramsey. In informing Draper about the Nashville Historical Society's "hasty accouchement" and expiration, for example, he growled that "*Commerce* chokes the growth of any such infants,"

and that "Yankeedom is taking a vigorous growth everywhere" (p. 63).

Dr. Ramsey wrote the inserted political letters in April, 1858. Although he attached them to his manuscript autobiography, he marked them, sometime around 1870, as "*Private,*" and "not to be published, but preserved as *speculations* of my own. . . ." (p. 83) Such reticence, which the editor does well to ignore, is understandable. Fire-eating secessionism, sectional chauvinism, and an impassioned racial defense of slavery and argument for re-opening the African slave trade were all too well remembered themes. The postwar South stunned and shaken by war and defeat, could hardly be receptive to them.

Dr. Ramsey died, quite unreconstructed, in 1884 at the age of eighty-seven. Three of his children had died during the war, one as a Confederate soldier; his beloved home, situated at the head of the Tennessee River near Knoxville, was burned by Federal troops; and he and the remaining members of his family were literally storm-tossed by the tides of war. He had served the Confederacy until the end both as a surgeon and treasury agent.

Approximately the last hundred pages of this volume consists of letters, filled with antiquarian lore about the "old border," which Ramsey wrote Draper after 1870. Professor Hesseltine's helpful annotation, along with the competent index, should make this a welcome addition to the published sources of Tennessee's, and the South's, history.

Robert F. Durden.

Duke University,
Durham.

Jeffersonian America: Notes on the United States of America. Collected in the Years 1805-6-7 and 11-12 by Sir Augustus John Foster, Bart. Edited with an introduction by Richard Beale Davis. (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library. 1954. Pp. xx, 356. $6.00.)

The ubiquitous British traveler seems to be a constant force in American historiography. This travel book is slightly

different from the usual ones in that the author-diplomat (secretary of legation and later minister) had ample opportunities for observation while in America from 1804 to 1808 and again in 1811-12. Furthermore he did not give his impressions to the world until he had laboriously revised them some thirty years later.

In the 1830's there was a flood of books on America by visiting Britishers. Foster thought that he could produce a better account so he set to work on his old notebooks and journals and produced in 1839 a full length manuscript which was revised in 1841-42 after a portion of it had been printed in the *Quarterly Review* for June, 1841. These manuscripts and notebooks now to be found in the Huntington Library or the Library of Congress have been carefully edited by Professor Richard Beale Davis of the English Department of the University of Tennessee and *Jeffersonian America* is the happy result.

Despite Foster's expressed contempt for literary travelers who wrote "only for money or to gratify their spleen" (p. 110) his own appraisals are somewhat short of objective. As a British aristocrat and churchman he was impressed with neither American democracy nor its non-conformity. Naturally Anglophile Federalists appealed more to him than the Republicans who numbered the "War Hawks" within their ranks. Consequently, he always praised New England growing quite lyrical over Connecticut in particular, whereas he could only regret that Virginia governed the union through her "gentleman Jacobins." For society in Philadelphia and Boston he had only praise and he was duly impressed with the magnificence of New York Harbor. With regard to the nation's capital to which he devoted more than one hundred pages he was bitterly critical, referring as he did to the "transfer of the government to these marshes" (p. 54) but he admitted that it was an agreeable place to live since it afforded contact with so many characters, distinguished and otherwise. For Pennsylvania, outside of Philadelphia, he had nothing but scorn calling it "an omnium gatherum for people of all countries and religions"(p. 209). He did not care for

"noisy blustering Germans or Irish who live by agitation" (p. 159) and he did not fail to criticise the "camping Methodists" and similar sects.

Although he made several journeys in the northern and eastern parts of the United States Foster did not go south of Virginia except for the Dismal Swamp in North Carolina nor did he visit the west. To a large extent he relied on congressmen for information on these sections. Though he talked with dozens of legislators there is no mention of Nathaniel Macon and Willis Alston is the only North Carolina congressman mentioned by name. Foster thought that North Carolina was "less generally known and less visited than any of the states" (p. 168). South Carolina, in his estimation figured mainly as a breeder of "War Hawks." While admitting that the west might interest the natural or speculative philosopher he felt that it had little to offer the general traveler.

To the reviewer the main interest in this book is the attitude that an upper class Englishman would take to certain American customs and institutions. Connecticut's retention of state officials over long periods seemed good to him, whereas the tendency to move state capitals to the interior was decidedly a backward step. In general the editing has been meticulously and intelligently done though one could wish for a few explanations of Foster's historical references such as North Carolina's apparent reluctance to join the American Revolution (p. 118) and some few of the diplomat's historical inaccuracies have remained uncorrected as for example his statement that Britain acquired Acadie as a result of the Seven Years War (p. 335). The index also could be a little more complete. However, these factors do not appreciably detract from the real value of the book and one can agree with the editor's claim, "There is much to warrant the publication of this book over a century after it was written."

D. H. Gilpatrick.

Furman University,
Greenville, S. C.

Confederate Finance. By Richard Cecil Todd. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press. 1954. Pp. x, 258. $5.00.)

This book, which was Mr. Todd's doctoral dissertation at Duke University, is pleasingly easy to read, despite the amount of detail that has necessarily been included. The main features of each chapter stand out clearly and the reader does not feel that he is dealing with scholarship carried to too fine a point.

Mr. Todd has examined and evaluated a vast mass of material ranging from official manuscripts to contemporary newspapers. The unavailability of certain documents relating to the last days of the Confederacy has rendered it impossible to make the study absolutely complete, but this deficiency is not serious.

The opening chapter deals with the organization and chief personnel of the Confederate Treasury, in which, of course, Mr. Memminger was the dominant figure. Each of the next four chapters takes up a source of funds—"Loans," "Treasury Notes," "Tariffs and Taxes," "Seizures and Donations"—and traces the use of that source through the four years of the Confederacy. The final chapter deals with "Financial Operations Abroad." The separate treatment of these topics certainly has merit; but the interrelations among them are so numerous that the reader has a problem of coordination. The author helps the reader over this difficulty by some repetition of material. At times, however, one wishes that all the methods of finance had been discussed by significant periods of time.

The Confederacy was, of course, forced to adopt many desperate means of finance. One is impressed, however, by the degree of success that these measures achieved in the face of the extraordinarily difficult circumstances. It is remarkable that an agrarian region, with very little liquid capital and heavily dependent upon export trade, could, in spite of a strong coastal blockade, have devised any means of finance capable of sustaining the government and its armies for so long a period. Among the more interesting devices were the produce loan, the tithe levied on gross production,

and the contracts for supplies that were made payable in cotton.

There are few criticisms of style or diction to make. An occasional word or phrase has overtones that are not pleasing to Southern ears. For example, on pages 34 and 43 the Treasury is spoken of as "playing upon" patriotism in order to sell bonds. One wonders, too, why running the blockade should be called "blockade violations" (p. 186). These are, of course, minor points which in no way mar the objectivity of the work. The book is an excellent study that should be useful to both historians and economists.

C. K. Brown.

Davidson College,
Davidson.

General Kirby Smith, C. S. A. By Joseph Howard Parks. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1954. Pp. viii, 537. $6.00.)

Few Confederate generals in 1862 seemingly had a more promising future than E. Kirby Smith. A hero of the first Manassas, where his brigade made the decisive outflanking maneuver, Kirby Smith was considered one of Johnston's best officers at the time of his transfer to East Tennessee. Nor did his reputation suffer as a consequence of the fruitless invasion of Kentucky in 1862, for soon afterward he was promoted and later assigned command of the Trans-Mississippi Department, an unwieldy field of operations covering Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, and western Louisiana.

Here General Smith's talents as a field commander had little chance to develop. His was essentially an administrative job, involving him in knotty problems of civil affairs and even foreign relations. After the fall of Vicksburg his task was virtually hopeless. Cut off from Richmond, confronted with "a vast extent of country to defend" and having "a force utterly inadequate for that purpose," Kirby Smith's best hope was to avoid military defeat until a decision was reached in the east. He seems to have been capable enough as an administrator, and if his strategy produced no brilliant

victories, the blame rests partly with subordinates who were either unfit or antagonistic. Frequent clashes with Taylor and an inherent distrust of the value of militia (which constituted a considerable portion of his forces) perhaps explain why Kirby Smith was often unwilling to take risks. He was an admirer of Johnston, not Hood, and the situation called for a sound and prudent strategist.

Dr. Parks's most recent contribution to the "Southern Biography Series" is well written and obviously the product of extensive research. It casts much light upon the complex situation in the Trans-Mississippi Department and presents a balanced picture of Kirby Smith, the soldier and administrator. The volume lacks adequate maps, which is particularly unfortunate when the author deals with the little-known campaigns in the west.

In a day when much of the Civil War literature is obviously being written "for the market," it is indeed gratifying to read a good book about a worthwhile—and hitherto neglected -subject.

Jay Luvaas.

Duke University,
Durham.

General Lee's Photographer. By Marshall Fishwick. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1954. Pp. 94. Illustrations. $7.50.)

This is the story of a young Confederate veteran who, returning from the Civil War, decided to learn photography as a livelihood and who, guided by his admiration for Lee and Jackson, set up shop in Lexington, Virginia. Eventually he became significant not only for his numerous studies of Lee and other famous figures, but for his many worthwhile contributions to the technique of photography.

The title is justified by the fact that Miley devoted so much of his time, particularly from 1866 to 1870, to the record of persons, objects and events associated with Robert E. Lee. These include portraits of the general made "as frequently as circumstances permitted," copies of all available pictures

of the Custis, Lee and Washington families, and reproductions of many documents such as Lee's will and army commission. The famous study of Lee on Traveller, probably the most popular photograph of the general, was made under conditions that illustrate the difficulties of the art in those days of the slow acting wet plate. Traveller kept switching his tail at the flies!

Aside from being the photographic historian of picturesque and historic Lexington with its twin institutions, Washington and Lee University and The Virginia Military Institute, its graves of Jackson and Lee, and its ghosts of the Civil War days, Miley was a deep and enthusiastic camera student of nature. Mr. Fishwick includes in his book a remarkable collection of landscapes to illustrate the artist's ability in this field. He also brings out the highly dramatic quality of Miley's work with such scenes as a mountaineer's family and the "Tallyho from Lynchburg."

Working chiefly in isolation from professional photographers, Miley developed his own dry plate method and experimented successfully with color work around the turn of the century. Although he was relatively unknown outside Rockbridge County, Virginia, he left an "enduring record of himself as an artist and of his period of history."

The author, an associate professor at Washington and Lee University, has produced a handsome and readable volume.

J. Walter Coleman.

Gettysburg National Military Park,
Gettysburg, Pennsylvania.

Stonewall Jackson and The Old Stonewall Brigade. Edited by Richard B. Harwell. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 1954. Pp. vi, 77. $3.50.)

Few of the current Civil War revivals offer so fresh a glimpse of war days as this slight volume of sketches by the gay young Captain Esten Cooke for a Richmond newspaper.

This is a brief account of the character and personality of General T. J. Jackson and his then-famed brigade, written

by Cooke in the winter of 1862-1863 shortly before Jackson's death.

This may be the very first such estimate of Jackson; at least its main lines have never been obscured, and anyone familiar with later Jackson lore will recognize the beginnings of many a more elaborate incident and legend. Cooke began with a disclaimer:

"I write in no hero-worshipping spirit . . . I assure you . . . but I take my hat off and bow low to a great and noble soul like Jackson . . . a real hero."

The text itself is wandering, suffers from hasty organization, and appears skimpy indeed in light of later writings on Jackson. It has a considerable value, however, for those interested in heroes, the worship thereof, or the Army of Northern Virginia and Jackson in particular. In Cooke's quick description of Jackson in their first meeting, for instance, are lines which sing of the spirit of Stonewall:

"The appearance of the famous . . . Stonewall was not imposing. He wore that old sun-embrowned uniform once gray . . . positively scorched by sun. . . . The cap . . . matched the coat . . . and it tilted over the wearer's forehead, so far as to make it necessary for him to raise his chin, in looking at you. He rode in his peculiar forward-leaning fashion, his old raw-boned sorrel, gaunt and grim—but like his master, careless of balls and tranquil in the loudest hurly burly of battle."

Perhaps Jackson's family and friends did not approve this, any more than they approved Cooke's announced biography of Stonewall a few weeks later, calling him: a "self-appointed upstart . . . a literary and social impostor."

The family of Stonewall, as this reviewer has lately learned, is still aggressive in defense of the Stonewall legend.

The editor, Mr. Harwell, lately with the Flowers Collection of Duke University, is author and editor of several Confederate studies of value. He is now on the faculty of Emory University.

Burke Davis.

Route 1,
Guilford College.

Indians of the Southern Colonial Frontier: The Edmond Atkin Report and Plan of 1775. Edited with an introduction by Wilbur R. Jacobs. (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press. 1954. Pp. xxxviii, 108. $5.00.)

The conquest of vast areas of the colonial southwest was of momentous consequence in the history of our nation, for it helped in great measure to prepare the way for the independence of British colonies. Essential as was the western colonial movement to the American independence, its success was threatened by rivalry among the colonies for the Indian market and other conflicting interests. These hazards and perils originating from a decentralized Indian administration were well understood by Edmond Atkin, a prosperous merchant of pre-revolutionary South Carolina and a member of His Majesty's Council for the Province. When Atkin's views on Indian affairs were requested by the Board of Trade, during one of his visits to London, the South Carolinian responded on May 30, 1775 with a lengthy paper. This document was not without merit, for it contained shrewd analyses of French and British Indian policies; comments on the long-established practice of distributing Indian presents; and a critique on the status of trade with the Indians, unregulated for many years. Atkin knew the southern Indian tribes, their chiefs and headmen, from long personal contact. His report pictures the Red Men of the South with their painted war sticks and fluttering trophies, their homes and hunting grounds. He tells the story of those hardy, rude traders and hunters who ranged the southern wilderness beyond the frontier of the colonies, seeking profits among the remoter tribes of the lower Mississippi Valley, forming a commercial link between civilization and barbarism.

The Atkin report embodied a scheme, not wholly new with the author but developed by him into a well-reasoned and overall approach, by which all Indian affairs in the colonies could be centralized under two imperial superintendents—one in the North and another for the South. Atkin's plan was nothing less than a scheme to extend, stabilize and strengthen British imperial authority over an untamed wilderness at a time when the British sensed that their situation was precar-

ious. The report reflects to a certain extent the attitudes of British bureaucracy that brought the American colonists to revolt scarcely two decades later. The document also gives a glimpse into the evolution of an important imperial office in the history of colonial America, for Atkin was named to the post of southern superintendent of Indian affairs which he advocated in his report. The ethnological value of the document, two centuries later, must not be minimized.

Good work has already been done in chronicling the history of the southern frontier by Chapman Milling; Robert L. Meriwether; Philip M. Hamer; Clarence E. Carter; Helen Louise Shaw; Thomas P. Abernethy; Clarence W. Alvord; and John Richard Alden. Now we must add the name of Wilbur R. Jacobs, who has lifted the Atkin report out of obscurity and by editorial elucidations made it more meaningful to the present-day scholar of the colonial period, the general historian of the South, the student of the southern Indians. This recent offering by the Press of the University of South Carolina is most welcome.

Gaston Litton.

University of Oklahoma,
Norman, Oklahoma.

The Barber of Natchez. By Edwin A. Davis and William Ransom Hogan. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 272. Illustrations. $4.00.)

Three years ago the authors of *The Barber of Natchez* published *William Johnson's Natchez: The Ante-Bellum Diary of a Free Negro,* which was widely acclaimed for its content and the scholarship of the editors. This first book was a reproduction of a fourteen-volume diary kept from 1835 to 1851 by William Johnson, a free man of color, who was a barber and respected businessman of Natchez. *The Barber of Natchez* is a biographical volume based on the diary, account books, and other papers and sources pertaining to William Johnson.

William Johnson, a mulatto slave aged five, was freed by his white master, William Johnson, in Natchez on February 10, 1820. As a free man of color, he lived the remainder of

his respectable and very successful life in Natchez, where he was the leading barber, a businessman who loaned money to whites, owner of city real estate and farm lands, slaveholder, and friend of many white men in all walks of life. He married a free woman of color in his home town, and their union was blessed with ten children before he was assassinated in 1851, presumably by Baylor Winn. Johnson's voluminous diary depicted all facets of the life of Natchez, and it is particularly interesting to note that the diarist would not associate on terms of equality with slaves and that he was rather careful of his association with free Negroes and with white men.

The book is divided into three parts. The first contains eight chapters of biographical material. The second contains ten chapters of the diarist's activities and observations drawn from the diary. The titles of these chapters indicate the contents of the diary and of the book—"Chronicle of Everyday Natchez," "Barbershop Gossip," "Politics and Politicians," "The Tranquil Streets," "Pistols, Fists, and Bowie Knives," "Fires, Fire Fighters—and a Tornado," "Plasters, Pills, and Purgatives," "Thespians and Clowns," "Sports of the Turf," and "Aristocrats and Lesser Men." The third part is a four-chapter appraisal of the diarist.

The book is a fascinating and well-written study of an unusual free Negro in an unusual Mississippi city. The work of the authors in editing the diary is excellent in every respect. They have made another significant contribution with their biography of Johnson. The story of the preservation and acquisition of the William Johnson Papers is almost as amazing as the story of the life of the man. The reviewer is reminded that he was offered these papers in 1939 for the sum of $1,000.00, which he was then unable to raise. After seeing the results of their acquisition by Louisiana State University, he has no regrets, for he would never have done as well with them as Dr. Davis and Dr. Hogan have done in their two outstanding volumes.

William D. McCain.

Department of Archives and History,
Jackson, Miss.

Gustav Dresel's Houston Journal. Translated and edited by Max Freund. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1954. Pp. xxx, 168. $4.00.)

Gustav Dresel was only nineteen when he left Geisenheim, Germany, in 1837 and came to North America. Son of a prosperous merchant, young Dresel was seeking to broaden his business education and to experience the challenge of frontier life. He landed in New York, spent a winter with the Pennsylvania Dutch, moved across to Iowa, came down the Mississippi to New Orleans, and finally made his way to the new Republic of Texas. For more than two years the Gulf Coast country between Houston, New Orleans, and Natchez was his theater of operations. He worked as bookkeeper and commission agent in the food and dry goods business and in time accumulated enough capital to speculate in grain and land. Homesickness and fear of yellow fever prompted Dresel's return to Germany in 1841. Depreciating Texas currency had kept him from becoming rich, and recurring attacks of fever had nearly wrecked his health; yet his experiences in America had given the young German "an independent position in the world"—ample reward, he felt, for his trials and tribulations.

Back in his homeland Dresel wrote an account of his sojourn in America, in part to stimulate interest in German immigration to Texas. He then returned to Texas in 1847 as agent-general in Galveston for the "Society for the Protection of German Immigrants in Texas," the most important German immigration agency in Texas. This new venture had scarcely begun, however, when Dresel was struck down with yellow fever. He died in September, 1848.

Compared to the role played by some of his fellow countrymen Gustav Dresel was a minor figure in the settlement of Texas. Therefore the value of the journal he wrote about his first visit to the United States lies principally in the excellent literary style with which Dresel wrote and the acute observations he made of frontier life and customs. The account was written five to six years after the event (though apparently from copious notes taken during his stay), and

is tinged throughout with the idealism of youth. Dresel also sermonized from time to time on the virtues of the German race and hard work. Nevertheless, the author painted a good word picture of life in a raw society.

Gustav Dresel's story lay unpublished until 1922. It has only now been translated by Max Freund, professor emeritus of Germanic languages at The Rice Institute under the somewhat misleading title of *Gustav Dresel's Houston Journal.* Only a fraction over one-half of the book deals with Dresel's experiences in Texas; scarcely a quarter on conditions in Houston. This fault may lead historians interested in the customs, manners, morals, and travel of people from Pennsylvania to the Gulf Coast to overlook this slender volume. An excellent job of bookmaking by the translator and the University of Texas Press could have been improved by including at least one map of Dresel's wanderings. The reviewer is also old-fashioned enough to prefer footnotes at the bottom of the page rather than tucked away at the back of the book. But these are relatively minor criticisms. Professor Freund and the University of Texas Press are to be commended for making this work available to a wider reading public.

James A. Tinsley.

University of Houston,
Houston, Texas.

Hugh Roy Cullen: A Story of American Opportunity. By Ed Kilman and Theon Wright. (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1954. Pp. viii, 369. $4.00.)

A man so generous to agencies of social betterment as Hugh Roy Cullen surely deserves a better biography. Replete with extravagant and repetitious statements, all unsubstantiated, this volume could scarcely be considered trustworthy by serious students. The authors do not even verify the efforts of Cullen's grandfather to establish a school system in the Republic of Texas. Their journalistic abhorrence of footnotes might well have permitted a reference in the

text to the *House Journal, Regular Session, 1839*, p. 220. No doubt this same grandiose carelessness permitted the misspelling of Anadarko on the end papers and made Mrs. Carter Glass president of Sweet Briar College.

The most interesting aspect of the biography concerns the oil business, although it should be borne in mind that Cullen's "horse-sense judgment" about finding oil was usually accompanied by geological data. Yet he succeeded in area after area which had already been worked by experienced oil men. His belief in deep drilling sent him to "the graveyard of Texas" oil men, the Washburn Ranch, which had also been surveyed by the eminent De Golyer firm of Dallas and pronounced without indication of oil. Nevertheless, Cullen's "creekology" soon had 31 producing wells on the Washburn Ranch.

The philanthropic and political activities of Cullen receive perhaps more emphasis than oil. The bulk of his magnificent charitable donations, approximately $175,000,000, has gone into the Houston area, but his political activities have often been on a national scale. Described as an "independent voter" in 1907 and as a Republican since 1928, Cullen's aim has been to split the Democratic party in Texas and to elect an isolationist Republican president. The authors cite the chief criticism made by Cullen's political foes, that "discovering an oil well doesn't necessarily qualify a man to be political godfather to an entire nation" (p. 272).

Nannie M. Tilley.

East Texas State Teachers College,
Commerce, Texas.

American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art Union. By Mary Bartlett Cowdrey. (New York, N. Y.: New-York Historical Society. 1953. vol. I: Introduction, Pp. xiv, 311, illustrated. Vol. II Exhibition Record, Pp. vi, 504, index. $7.50.)

This comprehensive presentation of the American Academy of Fine Arts and the American Art Union (1816-1852) is organized in two volumes. One volume, subtitled *Introduction,* deals with the history of the two organizations; the

other, subtitled *Exhibition Record,* is a listing of all paintings exhibited by the Art Union.

Miss Cowdrey, in the introductory volume, has assembled the following: a history of the American Academy of Fine Arts, by Professor Theodore Sizer of Yale University; a history of the American Art Union, by Charles E. Baker of the New-York Historical Society; a chronological review of all Art Union publications by Mary Bartlett Cowdrey of Smith College Museum of Art; and a complete record of the auction sale which, in 1852, marked the end of this organization. This record of sales is compiled by Malcolm Stern, Jr., of Weslyan University.

Professor Sizer, in his essay on the Academy, establishes in his introduction the general character of this organization, founded, as John Trumbull said, "by gentlemen of taste and fortune." The genesis of the organization and its historical role is briefly summarized. Sizer then proceeds with a year by year account of its activities, from the lofty aspirations of its founders to its end under the rigid and dictatorial direction of the "patriot artist," John Trumbel. The proceedings of this organization, the quest for plaster casts of antique sculpture, copies of old master paintings, and the elevated intention of its directors reflect the survival of 18th century taste. A reliance on European tradition, the denial of contemporary artists, and the overbearing personality of Trumbel, its director for nineteen years, bred opposition and conflict. Finally inaction, discontent, and apathy brought the end of the organization in 1840.

Remnants of the American Academy can be found in the Apollo Association which soon became the American Art Union. It was against ideals of the Academy that these rival and successor organizations were founded. Mr. Baker, with supporting documentation, recounts the dramatic episode of this organization, dedicated to the cause of living American artists—democratic in structure and practice and coping with issues many of which are still present today. The life of the American Art Union is here depicted as turbulent. Even in its greatest success, scathing criticism, dissention, and unrest prevailed. The tremendous task which the Union had set

for itself, the patronage of artists and the education of the public in matters of art and taste, was nevertheless pursued with vigor.

The Union had for its financial support a subscription membership, the returns from which were applied to the purchase of paintings. These paintings were exhibited in the Union's galleries and then distributed to members through annual lotteries. This system, which gave patronage to artists all over the country, and which brought paintings into the homes of many who otherwise could not afford them, was both the success and failure of the Union. After having been repeatedly approved by the New York State Legislature, in 1852 the lottery system was ruled illegal by the courts. The lottery was an indispensible part of the organization and without it there was little hope of the Union's survival. All holdings were sold at auction, the members appeased, and all operations ceased in 1853.

The contribution of the several authors in the introductory volume has been skillfully integrated; even a marked similarity of style and technique prevades. In each of the three major essays, the material is presented with strict adherence to chronology. A terse commentary, interspersed with a wealth of quotations from contemporary documents, excites a sense of immediate identity with the strivings, achievements, and failures of these two organizations. Chronology, often faltering, here achieves a sustained continuum. With no sacrifice to scholarship, the historians have used a technique which suggests a fine documentary film supported by narration.

The exhibition record compiled by Miss Cowdrey lists alphabetically by artist all paintings exhibited by the Art Union. This list includes titles of the paintings, dates and addresses of artists, dates of exhibition, purchasers, lottery winners, and other supporting information when possible. This volume not only completes the record of this institution, but serves as a biographical dictionary of many artists not included in the standard reference sources. The introductory volume is a requisite for all scholars of American art

and history; and, more than this, it should find a wide public among all interested in American culture.

It is regrettable that the notes do not give a more complete identification of many of the people referred to in the text. Also, one wonders why Charles Baker is not included on the title page along with Professor Sizer. The foreword by James Flexner affords an excellent guide to the reader, but this might well have stated explicitly the overall plan of the two volumes.

At a time when North Carolina is the scene of a growing interest in art, with art groups forming throughout the State, the organization, structure, and experience of the American Academy of Fine Arts and the American Art Union have pertinence to the art interest of North Carolina which can scarcely be overstated.

Ben F. Williams.

North Carolina State Art Gallery,
Raleigh.

HISTORICAL NEWS

The Carteret County Historical Society met in January for the quarterly meeting with almost a full membership present. Twenty new members have been added to this group. Presentation was made by Mrs. John S. Jones of Cedar Point of a copy of the *Carteret County Herald* which contained a reprint of an oration delivered in Beaufort on July 4, 1876. Mr. Milton F. Perry of West Point, New York, former curator at Fort Macon, sent the society a well-compiled history of the Spanish attack on Beaufort in 1747. Mr. F. C. Salisbury displayed a group of pictures and cuts which were of interest to the society.

On January 20 the Scotland County Historical Society was organized with approximately 35 people present. The meeting was presided over by Mr. A. B. Gibson of Laurinburg, who was elected president. Other officers elected were: Miss Margaret John of Laurinburg, vice-president; Mr. L. T. Gibson, secretary; and Miss Lila Mae Gill, treasurer. An appeal was made by the group to natives of the county asking for aid in acquiring old land grants and other historical documents, to be placed on file in the county library.

Mr. Bascombe Lamar Lunsford of Leicester spoke on folklore in western North Carolina at the mid-winter meeting of the Western North Carolina Historical Association on January 29 in Hendersonville. Dr. Rosser H. Taylor was also a featured speaker. Three committees were announced during the meeting: A committee to select the recipient of the Association's cup which is presented to the person adjudged the outstanding historian of the year; a nominating committee; and a committee to work with other civic groups and individuals to secure a commemorative stamp honoring the Cherokee chief, Sequoyah, who devised the Cherokee alphabet. All committees will report at the April meeting which is to be held in Asheville. The Hendersonville chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the United Daughters of the

Confederacy, and the Literary Department of the Woman's Club co-sponsored the meeting. A coffee hour followed the meeting which was attended by over 100 people and was one of the largest groups assembled at a meeting of the association. Colonel Paul Rockwell, chairman of the membership committee, reported on the drive for members and Mr. George W. McCoy of Asheville, reported on the Thomas Wolfe literary cup proposal. It was decided to accept the cup if the Thomas Wolfe Memorial Association desires to give the award annually. The Association began publication in January of *The Western North Carolina Association's History Bulletin,* a newspaper which is to be published quarterly as the official news organ of the membership. Mr. Clarence W. Griffin of Forest City is the editor and requests material from the members for the papers.

New officers were elected at the quarterly meeting of the Pasquotank Historical Society held January 22 in Elizabeth City. General John E. Wood was re-elected president; Mr. Clarence Morse was named vice president; Mr. Fred Markham III, secretary; and Miss Olive Aydlett, treasurer. General Wood presented a report of the first year's activity including not only the accomplishments of the society but also the failures and plans for the future. Plans were announced for a mid-day luncheon for the April meeting. A report on the search for houses and structures which are 100 years old or older was given. The group has found that there are only 36 such buildings remaining within the limits of Elizabeth City. A catalog of homes constructed during or prior to 1855 is being compiled and a copy sent to the Literary and Historical Association headquarters in Raleigh.

A celebration is being planned for the centennial of Polk County by a group of interested people who met at the courthouse in Columbus, February 3. The observance will be held in May, with the ceremonies planned by an executive committee composed of representatives of each of the six townships in the county. Officers elected to direct the planning are: Mr. W. A. McFarland, president; Mr. James Johnson, sec-

retary; Mr. Woodrow Hague, treasurer; and three vice presidents—Mrs. George Taylor, Mrs. Seth Vining, Sr., and Mr. Carroll P. Rogers. Mrs. Sadie Patton and Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, members of the Executive Board of the State Department of Archives and History, will assist in planning the time, place, and program. Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department, has been invited to attend.

Work on the restoration of the Old Bunker Hill bridge, near Claremont, one of the three remaining covered bridges in North Carolina, was started in February. Judge Wilson Warlick of Newton, chairman of the committee which was appointed by the Catawba County Historical Association, has announced that the bridge is to be restored as nearly as possible to its original appearance. To insure continuing care of the project the association will pledge in a 25-year lease with the R. K. Bolick estate, owner of the property on which the bridge is located, to maintain it over that period.

A pamphlet has been received by the department, *Sketches of Burke County,* which was prepared by Miss Cordelia Camp, former superintendent of Burke County schools. The material covers the years 1950 through 1952 and was taken from several studies made by the eighth-grade pupils of their respective school districts. The primary intention of the booklet is to acquaint the school children with the history, geography, and other salient factors of Burke County.

Mr. C. B. Eller, vice president of the Wilkes County Historical Association, presided at the February meeting held in the town hall of North Wilkesboro. Papers were read by Mrs. Margaret Bloomfield, whose topic dealt with a private school operated by Mrs. Mamie Barber beginning in 1879; and Mrs. L. G. Critcher, whose topic was the Moravian Falls Academy which operated from 1876 to 1906. Mr. Robert O. Poplin, Jr., chairman of the association's committee for securing historical markers in Wilkes County, reported on the work of his committee and the correspondence with the state marker advisory committee.

Interest in the location of an "English house" built for the "Great Commander" of the Indians who inhabited Roanoke Island in the middle seventeenth century has been renewed because of a search by Mr. P. B. Zevely, former resident of Winston-Salem. Mr. Zevely's interest was aroused by Mr. Ben Shannon of Manteo who as a youth uncovered buried "bricks" on Roanoke Island. Electronic search produced sufficient evidence to begin digging at the site and pieces of "bricks" were found and specimens were forwarded to the Smithsonian Institution for classification. *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* relate that in 1653 Francis Yeardley of Virginia sent ". . . a boat with six hands, one being a carpenter, to build the king an English house . . ." and it is thought that bricks may have been used on the structure. Mr. Aycock Brown of Manteo has written a story which he sent to the Department of Archives and History dealing with the mystery of the bricks.

Mr. W. Frank Burton, head of the Division of Archives, State Department of Archives and History, spoke to the Pitt County Historical Society on January 27. His subject was "Preservation and Restoration of Historical Manuscripts."

Mr. Burton reports that within the past two months Miss Pamela Cocks of the New Zealand Archives and Mrs. Estela de Grandi of the Controller General's Office in Panama have spent several days in Raleigh studying the archival and record management programs of the State Department of Archives and History. The Division of Archives recently accessioned the board minutes and the policy-making correspondence of the Department of Conservation and Development, 1927-1950.

In a meeting held in the library in Smithfield on March 19, Mr. D. L. Corbitt, head of the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, assisted an interested group of Johnston County citizens in the temporary organization of a local historical society. The group decided to meet again on April 1, at 8 P. M. in the courthouse to perfect a permanent organization. Temporary officers elected

were: Mr. H. V. Rose of Smithfield, president; Miss Mildred Oliver of Pine Level, vice president; and Mrs. W. B. Beasley of Smithfield, secretary. A great deal of interest was manifested in the Bentonville Battlefield as the first meeting was held on the ninetieth anniversary of the beginning of the battle.

On January 14 Mr. W. S. Tarlton, researcher for the Department of Archives and History, spoke before the Bloomsbury Chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution, following a luncheon meeting held at the Woman's Club, Raleigh. His subject was "The Restoration of Somerset Place at Pettigrew Park."

At a meeting held in Chapel Hill on January 28 the Advisory Committee on Historical Markers approved sixteen new markers for North Carolina highways: Swannanoa Tunnel, Ridgecrest, Buncombe County; Wachovia Museum, Winston-Salem, Forsyth County; Rose Greenhow, Wilmington, New Hanover County; Scotch Hall, Bertie County; Wingate Junior College, Wingate, Union County; William B. Umstead, Durham County; 4-H Club, Hertford County; Clyde R. Hoey, Shelby, Cleveland County; Sherman's March, Hoke County; Willis Smith, Raleigh, Wake County; Levi Coffin, Guilford College, Guilford County; James Iredell, Jr., Edenton, Chowan County; Moses A. Curtis, Hillsboro, Orange County; Lake Company, Creswell, Washington County; Bethabara, Forsyth County; and High Point College, High Point, Guilford County.

On March 11 in ceremonies held in the auditorium of the Raeford High School, two historical markers for Hoke County were unveiled. One of the markers points out the site of the Civil War Battle of Monroe's Crossroads, fought on March 10, 1865, between Federal Calvary units and the Confederate forces led by General Wade Hampton. The other marker indicates the site of Edenborough Medical College, the first medical school chartered by the state of North Carolina in 1867. The Department of Archives and History was represented by

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, who delivered the main speech and presented the two markers. Mr. Paul Dickson, publisher of the Raeford *News-Journal,* was master of ceremonies.

The State Department of Archives and History's Advisory Committee on Records Preservation held its first meeting at the State Archives on February 4. The group was welcomed by Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director; Dr. W. T. Laprade, member of the Department's Executive Board, made an introductory statement; Mr. W. Frank Burton, State Archivist, conducted a tour of the Archives and Record Center and explained the archives and records management program to the committee; and a general discussion followed. The members of the committee are: Dr. James W. Patton, director of the Southern Historical Collection at the University, chairman of the committee; Dr. Laprade; Dr. Fletcher M. Green, chairman, department of history at the University of North Carolina; Drs. Hugh T. Lefler and J. C. Sitterson, of the same department of history; Drs. William B. Hamilton, Richard L. Watson, and Robert H. Woody of the department of history, Duke University; and Dr. Frontis W. Johnston, head, department of history, Davidson College.

In Raleigh, February 11, the executive committee of the Tryon Palace Commission met with the architect, Mr. William G. Perry, and approved plans for the main building of the Palace. It was voted to call bids to be opened in Raleigh, March 16. On the appointed day the bids were opened and William Muirhead of Durham got the general contract with a low bid of $577,000. He agreed to complete the job in 600 consecutive days. Other contracts for plumbing, heating, and electrical installations totalling $85,312 were also awarded at the meeting.

The Department of Archives and History entertained the Sir Walter Cabinet on March 15. Slides were shown of historic houses in the state, North Carolina ladies, costumes from the 1780's to the 1930's were modeled, and a coffee hour was held.

North Carolinians who took part in the sessions of the American Historical Association in New York, December 28-30, and their contributions, were as follows: Dr. John Gillin of the University of North Carolina, "An Anthropologist's View of Teaching of Latin American History"; Mr. Oliver H. Orr, Jr., of the same institution, a paper on Charles B. Aycock; Dr. James L. Godfrey, also of the University, discussion of "British Labor Between the Wars"; and Dr. Samuel R. Spencer of Davidson College, a paper on Booker T. Washington. Dr. Christopher Crittenden represented the Department of Archives and History.

At the University at Chapel Hill, Dr. Wallace E. Caldwell has returned to his teaching duties after a leave during the fall semester. While on leave he lectured at the University of St. Andrews on the general subject of the Age of Pericles. Dr. James L. Godfrey is acting as chairman of the European section for the Southern Historical Association in preparing the program for 1955. He is the recipient of a research grant from the University and will continue his studies on the Labor Government in England. Dr. George V. Taylor is the recipient of a research grant from the University and will continue work on the political activities of business men during the French Revolution. Dr. Harold A. Bierck will attend a meeting of the United States Committee of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History as an official delegate. Mr. William M. Geer is the recipient of a Danforth Foundation Teacher Study Program for the year beginning June 1, 1955.

Mr. Hugh F. Rankin, who spent three and a half years at the University of North Carolina studying under a Morehead Fellowship, has accepted the position as research associate at Colonial Williamsburg. Mr. Rankin was twice winner of the R. D. W. Connor Award for the best article on North Carolina history in this journal.

The Department of Social Studies at Appalachian State Teachers College, Boone, announces a workshop to be held July 5-15 with Dr. D. J. Whitener acting as director. Dr.

Christopher Crittenden, director of the Department of Archives and History, will be a member of the staff and Mrs. Lois H. Floyd will serve as co-ordinator. The course will carry graduate credit.

News items from Duke University are: General Clark Eichelberger of Asheville addressed the Trinity College Historical Society on December 8, and on February 16 Dr. Andrew Whiteside read a paper on the various views of the philosophical origins of National Socialism. "American Political History," by Dr. Richard L. Watson, appeared in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for January. Dr. E. Malcolm Carroll delivered a Blazer Lecture at the University of Kentucky recently on German historians' views of the recent past of their country.

Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace of Meredith College attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in New York. Dr. Alice B. Kieth, also of Meredith, addressed the Altrusa Club of Raleigh on "The Organization of American States and Peace."

Dr. Samuel R. Spencer of Davidson College has been promoted to professor of history and continues his duties as dean of students.

A 151-page mimeographed index of the *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell* by Griffith J. McRee has been prepared by Helen Dortch Harrison and issued by the North Carolina Collection of the University of North Carolina Library. As long as the supply lasts, copies may be ordered for fifty cents in coin or stamps (to cover the packing and postage) from Mr. William S. Powell, Box 870, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Radcliffe College and the department of history of Harvard University will offer for a second time an eight-week summer Institute on Historical and Archival Management. The course is open to men and women college graduates and will be held

from June 20 to August 12. Dr. Christopher Crittenden will be a member of the staff. Further information may be obtained from Mr. Earle W. Newton, Institute on Historical and Archival Management, 10 Garden St., Cambridge 38, Mass.

Announcement has been made of the nineteenth annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists in Nashville, Tennessee, on October 10-11, 1955. The Tennessee State Library and Archives, headed by Dr. Dan M. Robison, will be host, and co-sponsors will include the Tennessee Historical Society, Vanderbilt University, and the George Peabody College for Teachers. Headquarters will be in the Andrew Jackson Hotel.

The American Historical Association announces the terms for the 1955 competition for the Albert J. Beveridge Award which is presented yearly by the Association. The deadline for the submission of applications and manuscripts is May 1, 1955. Further details may be obtained from Dr. John Tate Lanning, chairman, Duke University, Durham.

Books which have been received recently include the following: Harold E. Dickson, *A Hundred Pennsylvania Buildings Messages of the Governors of Tennessee, 1835-1845,* Volume (State College, Pennsylvania: Bald Eagle Press, 1954); Talmage C. Johnson and Charles R. Holloman, *The Story of Kinston and Lenoir County* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Company, 1954); Bell Irvin Wiley, *Rebel Private: Front and Rear* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1954); Richard Beale Davis, *Jeffersonian America* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library Publications, 1954); Robert H. White, *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee, 1835-1845,* Volume III, (Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Commission, 1954); Donald G. Morgan, *Justice William Johnson: The First Dissenter* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1954); *The New Zealand Official Year Book, 1954,* (Wellington, New Zealand: By Authority: R. E. Owen, Government Printer, 1954); R. G. W. Vail, *Knickerbocker Birthday, A Sesqui-Centennial History of the New York Historical Society,*

1804-1954 (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1954); Ernest McNeill Eller, *Whispering Pines* (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1954); Manly Wade Wellman, *Dead and Gone, Classic Crimes of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955); Elisha P. Douglass, *Rebels and Democrats: The Struggle for Equal Political Rights and Majority Rule during the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955); Howard McKnight Wilson, *The Tinkling Spring, Headwater of Freedom. A Study of the Church and Her People, 1732-1952* (Richmond, Virginia: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1954); *American Heritage, The Magazine of History* (551 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York: James Parton, Publisher, February, 1955); *From Mine to Market, The History of Coal Transportation on the Norfolk and Western Railway* (New York: New York University Press, 1954); Stuart Hall Smith and Clairborne T. Smith, Jr., *The History of Trinity Parish, Scotland Neck; Edgecombe Parish, Halifax County* (Scotland Neck, North Carolina: Privately Published through the Battle Foundation, 1955); and Louis D. Rubin, Jr., *Thomas Wolfe: The Weather of His Youth* (Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University Press, 1955).

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BEDFORD BROWN: STATE RIGHTS UNIONIST[1]

By HOUSTON G. JONES

Part I: The Senator

The name Bedford Brown means little to a present-day North Carolinian. Reference to his name in a historical journal would necessitate a footnote to remind the reader that Brown once represented the state in the United States Senate. An interested person could, if he wished, go to the standard biographical histories and find a brief sketch listing the various offices held by this almost forgotten man. But by none of those sources would the reader be led to realize that a century ago Bedford Brown was one of the best known leaders of the Democratic Party in the South.

In June, 1860, Martin Van Buren wrote a friend, "I at least would think the country fortunate to get such a man [as Bedford Brown] for the office of President or Vice-President."[2] This was not the only time that the former President had paid high tribute to "an old and constant friend of Genl. Jackson and my own, one on whom as much as any other man, we relied for support of our respective administrations in the Senate of the U. States." But coming as it did immediately after the abortive Charleston Convention, the compliment must have been sweet to the ears of the North Carolinian who had fought the battles of Jacksonianism against the giants of that day and who, in 1860, was fighting the

[1] This article was being prepared under the supervision of Professor Charles S. Sydnor at the time of the tragic death of that beloved gentleman. Any merit that the article may have is to be attributed to his kind, patient, and inspiring interest. I am also indebted to Professor Fletcher M. Green for his many suggestions for the final draft.

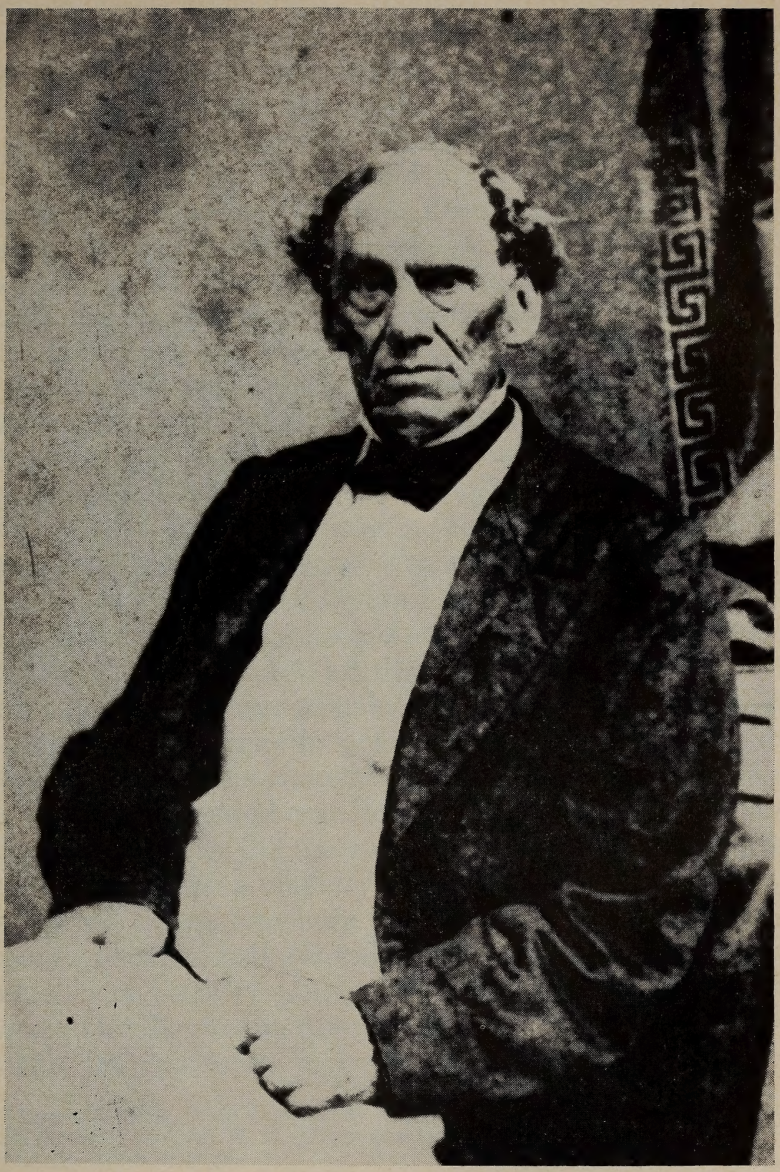
[2] Martin Van Buren to Theodore Miller, June 11, 1860. Bedford Brown Papers, Duke University.

greatest battle of his life in attempting to stem the tide of disunion.

Bedford Brown,[3] the state rights Unionist of ante-bellum days, had lived sixty-five eventful years when his intimate friend paid him the compliment quoted above. He had distinguished himself as one of the leaders of the Democratic party and as a personal friend of Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, Franklin Pierce, and James Buchanan. During his career he was elected to twelve terms in the General Assembly (one year as speaker of the State Senate), was twice elected to the United States Senate, was a strong though unsuccessful candidate for Congress, was vice-president for the North Carolina delegation at three national Democratic conventions, was elected to two state constitutional conventions, and was twice commissioned to represent his state in conferences with President Johnson in the days before the ascendancy of the Radicals.

Throughout his many years of political life, Brown made no unique contribution to the field of political thought or to the formulation of governmental policy, but one characteristic stood out above all else and marked him as a political leader who neither asked nor gave quarter. That characteristic was an unflinching loyalty to what he conceived to be the principles of republicanism as laid down by the early Jeffersonians. "State rights," to Brown, was no hollow phrase

[3] The only available intimate description of Brown by a contemporary is that of David Schenck. Judge Schenck, who was a fellow delegate to the convention, described Brown as a "spare-made man about six feet tall and wore no beard; his dress was neat, his step firm and his carriage erect. . . . His dignity was so studied that it was a little pompous, and his deep, husky voice did not seem quite natural. His under jaw protruded slightly and his teeth clenching gave him a very resolute appearance, and when aroused his countenance was fierce and defiant." Brown lacked the graces which persuade or win the confidence of others, Judge Schenck continued, "but he was forcible in logic, earnest in speech and empathic [*sic*] in manner. Those who reflected, and appreciated sound reason listened to him with patience and attention and he exerted a very strong influence. . . ." Furthermore, "I have often seen him surrounded by distinguished men, and he was the politest among them all, and his manners the most courtly." He was a sincere man, self-confident, fearless and frank, and "loyal to his convictions and using no art to enforce his views and disdaining dissimulation or sophistry." Judge Schenck concluded, "There is not spot nor blemish on his political character; there was no doubt as to his loyalty and patriotism. He lived and acted as a true man and left a pleasant remembrance in the hearts of those who knew him." David Schenck, *Personal Sketches of Distinguished Delegates of the State Convention 1861-2* (Greensboro, 1885), 19-21.



Bedford Brown

1795-1870

but rather the basic ingredient in the union of states as envisioned in the Jeffersonian tradition. As a state rights advocate, the nation had no legislator more outspoken than Bedford Brown. But neither did it have a more ardent Unionist. In the United States Senate during the critical months of the nullification controversy, Brown stood up for his principle of states within the Union and at the same time rejected nullification as nothing less than disunion. It was this strange blend of two apparent opposites that gave the Senator from North Carolina the chance to play the part of a referee between the leaders of sectional controversy during the hectic days of Jackson and Van Buren.

Brown, although an ardent Unionist, attacked the nationalistic policies propounded by Webster and Clay as unconstitutional and divisive. A loyal Southerner, he nevertheless, vehemently attacked the increasingly virulent attitude of Calhoun and Tyler as threatening to break up the most "glorious republic" ever formed. The middle way is not always popular in politics, and Bedford Brown's opposition to the tariff and the bank was no more designed to make him popular in the North and West than his opposition to nullification and secession was to gain him friends in the South. But if a man's success may in a small way be measured by what the people at home thought of him, Bedford Brown must have died a contented man, for not once in his fifty-five years of political activity did the voters of his native Caswell County fail to give him a majority at the polls.

Bedford Brown was born June 6, 1795,[4] the third child in a family of eight, at the Brown homestead between the upper branches of Country Line[5] and Moon creeks in what is now Locust Hill Township, Caswell County, North Carolina. His father, Jethro Brown, had migrated to Caswell during the

[4] Brown Family Bible (published 1812), 678. Bedford Brown Papers, Rose Hill, Caswell County, N. C. There are two family Bibles, one published in 1812, the other in 1823.

I am indebted to Mr. J. W. Brown, great-grandson of Senator Bedford Brown and present owner of Rose Hill, for giving me access to the Senator's papers and library. I am also indebted to the late Miss Mary Wilson Brown, granddaughter of the Senator, who, as my fourth grade teacher, first interested me in her ancestor.

[5] Sometimes incorrectly cited on maps and highway markers as "County Line."

Revolution with his father, John Edmunds Brown. Just before the war, the Browns had moved from Virginia to the Pee Dee country of South Carolina for the purpose of growing indigo. But when John Brown and his family gave aid to General Marion during the swamp campaigns, the Tories laid waste to their property and the family moved back north, settling in Caswell, near the Virginia border, because of the adaptability of the soil to tobacco.[6]

Brown's mother, the former Lucy Williamson, was a member of a pioneer Caswell family. Both the Browns and the Williamsons were of English stock, Bedford being named for the original Brown homestead in Bedfordshire.

In 1813, young Brown was sent to the University of North Carolina where he studied for one year.[7] Two years later, only twenty years of age, he entered politics, being elected, along with Romulus M. Saunders, to the House of Commons.[8] As befitted a twenty-year-old, Bedford took no great part in the deliberations of the House and was appointed to the relatively unimportant committee on military land warrants. On December 9, 1815, however, he created a considerable furor when he introduced a resolution, "*Resolved,* that the firmness, energy and wisdom which have characterized the political conduct of the president of the United States, during the late arduous contest of our country, and his prompt acceptance and ratification of an honorable treaty, entitle him to the gratitude and thanks of this legislature."[9] The resolution provoked long debate and only after five days was it finally adopted by a 76 to 51 vote in the House,[10] indicating, to some degree, President Madison's popularity in North Carolina.

On July 13, 1816, Brown married Mary Lumpkin Glenn,[11] daughter of James Anderson Glenn, an influential merchant

[6] *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* . . . (New York, 1892-1951, 37 vols.), IX, 458. See also Bedford J. Brown [a nephew of the Senator] to Miss Mary Brown, February 7, 1912. Bedford Brown Papers, Rose Hill.

[7] Kemp P. Battle, *Sketches of the History of the University of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1889), 100.

[8] *Journal of the House of Commons . . . 1815,* 1.

[9] *Journal of the House of Commons . . . 1815,* 38.

[10] *Journal of the House of Commons . . . 1815,* 46.

[11] Brown Family Bible (published 1823), 678. Bedford Brown Papers, Rose Hill.

of Petersburg, Virginia, who had migrated from Scotland where his father, Archibald Glenn, was lord provost of Glasgow.[12] The young couple was sent off on a wedding trip to England and Scotland by Jethro Brown who by 1816 was a moderately prosperous planter and tavern keeper. He was also a man of some learning as was attested by the fact that he maintained in his tavern the headquarters of a society "constituted for intellectual improvement."[13] Upon the couple's return to Caswell, Jethro made them a gift of his attractive home, Rose Hill, built in 1802, and a considerable tract of land. Rose Hill still stands as one of the finest examples of early Caswell architecture and retains not only the spirit of the ante-bellum planter but also his library, some of his personal papers, and his grave. Here, at Brown's Store, or Locust Hill as the community became known in the 1840's, a small amount of North Carolina history has been safeguarded for a century and half.

Brown was again elected to the House of Commons in 1816, and was re-elected for the following two terms.[14] In 1818, Caswell sent Bartlett Yancey to the State Senate and Bedford Brown and Romulus M. Saunders to the Commons, a triumvirate characterized by a contemporary as "not excelled in the legislators of any county in the state."[15] Within a twelve-year period, this trio was elected to the speakerships of the House and Senate for a total of fourteen terms.

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[12] *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, V, 442.

[13] Bartlett Yancey, "Caswell County," *Thomas Henderson Letter Book 1810-1811* (a bound volume of manuscripts in N. C. Department of Archives and History). See also A. R. Newsome, "Twelve North Carolina Counties, 1810-1811," *North Carolina Historical Review*, V, 4 (October, 1928), 413-446.

[14] Because of the meagerness of information contained in the journals of ante-bellum assemblies, the part played by individual representatives is seldom easy to ascertain, but sometimes committee assignments give an intimation of their standing. Brown in 1816 served on the committee on propositions and grievances and in the following session was on the committee on finance and a committee which held elections for councillors of state. See *Journal of the House of Commons . . . 1816*, 3, and *Journal of the House of Commons . . . 1817*, 11, 48. His committee assignment is not listed in the *Journal* for 1818, and his colleague, Saunders, who was to be elected speaker of the House the following year, appears to have outshone Brown in the session of 1818. It is significant to note that Bartlett Yancey was elected speaker of the Senate in 1817 and held that office until his death in 1828.

[15] John H. Wheeler, *Reminiscences and Memoirs of North Carolina and Eminent North Carolinians* (Columbus, Ohio, 1884), 109.

By 1823, Bedford Brown had become a prosperous young planter and held lands in both his native community and Halifax County, Virginia,[16] the latter possibly accruing from inheritance by his wife. That year, Brown was again elected to the House of Commons where he served as chairman of the committee on rules and order and was a member of the committee on education.[17] In this General Assembly, Brown injected himself into a national political controversy by strongly opposing the adoption of the Fisher Resolutions. The resolutions, introduced by Charles Fisher, Calhoun's North Carolina leader, proposed that the United States Senators from the state be instructed and Representatives be requested to prevent a caucus nomination for President of the United States and to work for an amendment to establish a uniform system of districts in the country for choosing presidential electors.[18] Brown's speeches in opposition to the resolutions strongly defended the caucus system, and, although he claimed later that he was an "original Jackson man," included a defense of William H. Crawford who was expected to receive the caucus nomination for president.

From 1824 to 1828, Brown was content to oversee his growing plantations and, except for a stroke of fate in 1828, possibly would not again have entered public life. In that year, Bartlett Yancey, who had distinguished himself as a congressman and as speaker of the State Senate, was reelected to the latter office from Caswell. Yancey was looked upon by many persons as the sure choice of the Assembly to succeed the retiring Nathaniel Macon in the United States Senate. But his death intervened and, on November 24, Bedford Brown was elected to fill the vacancy from Caswell. Three days later, Thomas Ruffin, a rising lawyer who was destined to become chief justice of the State Supreme Court,

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[16] Bedford Brown to Philip Howerton, September 17, 1823. Philip Howerton Correspondence, Duke University.

[17] *Journals of the Senate and House of Commons . . . 1823*, 121, 126.

[18] The debate was published in pamphlet form, *Debate on Mr. Fisher's Resolutions Against Caucuses in the House of Commons of North Carolina in Dec. 1823* (Raleigh, 1824). See also A. R. Newsome, "Debate on the Fisher Resolution," *North Carolina Historical Review*, IV, 4 (October, 1927), 428-470; V, 1 (January, 1928), 65-96; V, 2 (April, 1928), 204-223; V, 3 (July, 1928), 310-328.

suggested to Brown that he become a candidate for United States Senator. "Should you agree for your name to be brought forward," he wrote, "I cannot doubt for a moment, the issue of the contest. . . ." [19] Brown's name, however, was not pushed and Governor James Iredell was elected.

After a lack-luster first session in the State Senate, Brown was re-elected in 1829, and, on the first day of the new term, was elected speaker of that body, defeating Louis D. Wilson.[20] This victory was an encouragement to whatever ambition Brown may have had, for the appointment of United States Senator John Branch to the office of Secretary of the Navy by President Jackson provided a new vacancy. Thomas Ruffin's enthusiasm for the young man from Caswell, however, appears not to have been universally shared, for when nominations for the vacancy were received on November 20, Brown's name was not included. The names of Montford Stokes, Samuel P. Carson, Archibald D. Murphey, William B. Meares, Charles Fisher, Judge John R. Donnell, and several others were placed in nomination, but no one received a majority of votes. Although, theoretically, there was only one "party" in North Carolina at the time, the partisans of Clay, Adams, Jackson, and Calhoun carried on a determined fight for their favorite candidates; and after seven days of balloting, the contest narrowed down to William B. Meares of New Hanover County (later of Sampson), who was a strong supporter of Henry Clay, and supporters of the other national leaders. The strategy of the anti-Clay forces was simply to defeat Meares, but they could agree on no single candidate. One by one the stronger candidates dropped out – Murphey, Carson, Stokes. On the fourteenth ballot, the vote was Meares 74, Donnell 59, and Fisher 48.[21] On December 8, after almost three weeks of fruitless voting, Speaker Bedford Brown's name was entered, apparently for the purpose of holding off a Meares victory until the anti-Clay factions could come to some agreement. But, much to the sur-

[19] Thomas Ruffin to Bedford Brown, November 27, 1828. J. G. de R. Hamilton, editor, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin* (Raleigh, 1920, 2 vols.), I, 460. Hereafter cited as Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin.*

[20] *Journals of the Senate and House of Commons . . . 1829-30,* 1.

[21] *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury, N. C.), December 15, 1829.

prise of his colleagues and probably to himself, Brown was elected on the first ballot in which his name was entered, getting 95 votes to 86 for Meares and 7 for other candidates.[22]

That Brown's name had been entered only as a stalking horse instead of as a winner may be indicated in a statement attributed to Alfred Stanley, who was said to have visited Brown following the election and "stated to him how purely accidental was his election, and . . . [that] he was bound in honor to resign. . . ." [23] Another North Carolinian, Joseph B. Skinner, expressed his dissatisfaction to Judge Ruffin, asking if Brown had "acquired intellectual merit since the days in which I knew him, so that the State is not dishonored, or has it resulted from party juggling?" [24] The *Western Carolinian,* however, noted that Brown was "a gentleman of respectable talents, and will do justice to the high and responsible station he has been called to fill." [25]

Brown took his seat in the United States Senate on December 28, 1829,[26] and was assigned to the relatively unimportant Joint Committee on Engrossed Bills.[27] He made no important speech during the session, but his votes gave indication of the direction that he would follow during the next eleven years as a United States Senator. Those eleven years were characterized by opposition to Henry Clay's "American System" and support of all but one of the major administration measures. The exception was the force bill. At the same time, however, Brown just as strongly fought nullification. He opposed most federal spending schemes, the distribution of the treasury surplus to the states, the recognition or annexation of Texas, the rechartering of the United States Bank, and

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[22] *Journals of the Senate and House of Commons . . . 1829-30,* 9-46.

[23] R. M. Saunders, *An Address of R. M. Saunders to the People of North Carolina, February 25, 1843,* a pamphlet bound in *North Carolina Politics,* No. 1, North Carolina Room, University of North Carolina. An acceptable secondary account of the election may be found in "Bedford Brown," Samuel A. Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina* (Greensboro, 1905-1917, 8 vols.), I, 183.

[24] Joseph B. Skinner to Thomas Ruffin, December 29, 1829. Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin,* I, 537.

[25] *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury, N. C.), December 15, 1829.

[26] *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774-1949* (Washington, 1950), 160; *Niles Weekly Register* (Baltimore, Md.), XXXVII (January 2, 1830), 291.

[27] *Senate Document* 8, Serial 192, 21st Congress, 1st Session.

he disagreed with the majority of southern members over the best way of handling abolition petitions. By the time of his resignation in 1840, Bedford Brown had marked himself as one of the most faithful friends of Jackson and Van Buren, and, along with Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri and William Rufus King of Alabama, both natives of North Carolina, had become a leading Democrat in the Senate.

Brown's faith in General Jackson was confided to Judge Ruffin a week after he took office. "The popularity of the Administration is so well established," he wrote, "and the confidence generally entertained here, as to the honesty of Genl. Jackson's principles is so great that I am inclined to think the partizans [*sic*] of Mr. Clay will be somewhat discouraged from making anything like a systematic opposition."[28] This prediction did not come true, but the faith that the North Carolinian held in the two Presidents under whom he served never wavered, even in the dark days of the late 1830's when only a vanguard of original Jackson men stood in defense of the Van Buren program.

During his first months in office, Senator Brown told Nathaniel Macon, who, with Thomas Jefferson, was his idol, of his intention to oppose the Clay-Adams forces. Brown wrote the venerable retired Senator,

> The speedy payment of the national debt . . . should be an object of increasing solicitude, with all who wish to see the government brought back to its republican course, for so long as it remains unpaid, it will form a pretext for continuing the present high rates of duties; thus annually exacting from Agricultural industry, a large sum of money, which a wise and provident government, should leave in the pockets of its Citizens. If this course is persevered in, and it should become the settled policy of Congress, which will annually bring into the Treasury a larger sum, than the ordinary expenditures of Government require [,] it cannot but be looked on with dismay and apprehension, by those who are friendly to preserving the limitations, which the framers of the constitution designed to impose on the federal government, but which have been almost entirely disregarded by a combination of selfish politicians, who have succeeded in establishing, what they falsely denominate the "Americal System"; by which

[28] Bedford Brown to Thomas Ruffin, January 6, 1830. Hamilton, *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, II, 2.

extortions are to be practiced on a portion of the people of the confederacy to be expended in distant States, in which those who contribute the largest amount of money, have no immediate interest—, a system more false to the prosperity of the Southern portion of America, better calculated to annihilate the Sovereignty of the States, and destroy the peace and harmony of the Union, would not, in my opinion, have been devised. . . .[29]

In the second session of the Twenty-first Congress, Brown received assignment to two committees—agriculture and claims.[30] Except for what influence he may have exerted in those committees, his part in the session was largely restricted to his votes on the issues. In his first major speech in the Senate, Brown, in February, 1831, defended the Jackson administration against charges by Senator John Tyler of Virginia that the President had exceeded his constitutional powers in appointing a commission to draw up a commercial treaty with the Turkish government. In Brown's opinion, the course of the President had not only been honest, but "marked by an enlightened policy, deserving the approbation of the American people." Unlike the former administration, the behavior of the Jackson government had been such as to assure that the "reserved rights of the States of this confederacy [will] be respected . . . and the action of the General Government restrained within its appropriate sphere." [31]

Senator Brown was again assigned to the committees on agriculture and claims in the first session of the Twenty-second Congress in December, 1831. Brown, now thirty-six years of age, frequently entered into discussions on the floor. His first great battle began in January when the forces of Clay and Webster opened their fight against the confirmation of Martin Van Buren as minister to the United Kingdom. Vice-President John C. Calhoun presided and took delight in every defamation of the Secretary of State.

Brown characterized the New Yorker as having "accomplished more in less time than any of his predecessors. . . .

[29] Bedford Brown to Nathaniel Macon, April 29, 1830. Nathaniel Macon Papers, Duke University.
[30] *Senate Document 15*, Serial 203, 21st Congress, 2nd Session.
[31] *Register of Debates in Congress*, 21st Congress, 2nd Session, 274. Hereafter cited as *Register of Debates*.

Possessing talents of a high order and rapidly growing in the esteem of his countrymen. . . ." [32] He charged that the opposition to Van Buren stemmed from his success in negotiating a West Indian trade agreement with Great Britain, an accomplishment for which the Adams administration had worked in vain. The debates continued for many days until, late in the month, the Senate cast a 23 to 23 vote on the question of confirmation. It was up to the Vice-President to break the tie. Calhoun cast his vote against the New Yorker, but in doing so, he helped make Van Buren the choice of President Jackson for the vice-presidency. At the same time, the South Carolinian virtually ended his own chances of ever sitting in the White House.

The introduction of the Tariff bill of 1832 was a signal for another North-South battle in Congress. Brown expressed his dissatisfaction with the bill because it re-enacted some of the "most obnoxious features of the tariff of 1828." He had hoped, he said, that the new bill would remedy the worst features of the Tariff of Abominations. But that hope had not been borne out. He was hostile to the principle of protection, and while in the Senate he would contribute his humble efforts to "eradicate from our laws a principle . . . incompatible with the enlightened spirit of the age, and of free Government." [33] Nevertheless, the Senator admitted, considering the nature of the Union, he would sacrifice much for the sake of conciliation, and, in spite of his constitutional scruples, he was willing to meet on a half-way ground, "believing that our federal system of Government can only continue to exist by the exercise of that spirit of compromise and conciliation which gave it birth." [34] He said that compromise was a two-way proposition, and the proposed reductions were insufficient to warrant the support of the bill by a suffering South. The bill under debate presented, he said, the "extraordinary spectacle . . . in our country of continuing a system of unjust and oppressive taxation, not called for by the exigencies of the nation, but to benefit a few monopolists." He hoped that the

[32] *Register of Debates*, 21st Congress, 2nd Session, 1335.
[33] *Register of Debates*, 21st Congress, 2nd Session, 1218.
[34] *Register of Debates*, 21st Congress, 2nd Session, 675.

"justice, intelligence, and patriotism of the people [would] correct this evil, and save the Union from the disastrous consequences which [are] likely to result from perservering in such a system." [35]

On the issue of rechartering the United States Bank, Brown had little to say. He noted that "in proportion as the bank [is] burdened, [will] the bank burden the people," and voted for various amendments designed to restrict operations of the bank. His opposition was clearly indicated by his votes on the amendments, against final passage, and in voting to sustain the President's veto.[36]

In November, 1832, South Carolina announced her intention of treating the Tariffs of 1828 and 1832 as null and void after February 1. President Jackson replied to this threat by asking Congress for authorization to use force to execute the laws of the United States in South Carolina. The Senate thus took up what is commonly referred to as the "force bill."

Here was a test that would separate the state rights advocate from the Unionist. Bedford Brown now was faced with an important decision. Would the man who would "yield to none in a high and profound reverence for the Union of the States" forsake his President whom he had invariably defended, or his neighbors in South Carolina? On January 28, 1833, the North Carolinian gave his answer.

South Carolina, Brown told the Senate, had made a grievous error. Her course, he thought, had been "rash and uncalled for by the exigency of the times. She should have relied . . . upon a constitutional remedy; upon the returning sense of justice in the people of the Northern and Eastern states; and upon the wisdom and patriotism assembled in the legislative halls of the country." [37] He expressed complete disapprobation of her course.

Having defined his view toward South Carolina's actions, Brown then turned to the difficult course of reconciling that position with his opposition to the force bill. He would not support the President's request. He believed that, in its con-

[35] *Register of Debates*, 21st Congress, 2nd Session, 1219.
[36] *Register of Debates*, 22nd Congress, 1st Session, 1123.
[37] *Register of Debates*, 22nd Congress, 2nd Session, 333.

sequences, it would be "attended with violence, and perhaps lead to civil war." No emergency, he believed, justified the subordination of the civil authority to the military, and that would be the consequence of the passage of such an act. There was an "inherent energy in the constitution which will enable the laws to triumph without an appeal to force." The difficulties between South Carolina and the Union could be resolved if both sides would take a position of reasonable compromise.

When the Webster-Clay forces suggested that some opponents of the force bill were reluctant because they feared to put the proposed powers into the hands of the "present President," Brown countered with a glowing tribute to Jackson. He said,

> . . . the past course of the President [has] been such as to entitle him to unlimited confidence, and there [is] no individual to whom [I] would more willingly confide this power . . . But there [is] no man, however elevated his station and enobled by virtue, however pure his integrity and honest his purposes, to whom [I] would give a power which [is] unwarranted by the constitution. . . . [I] could not believe for a moment, that, if this power were given to the President, he would abuse it. But it might, in worse times than these, and in worse hands than his, be abused to the destruction of our institutions. . . . [History teaches] the fact of today becomes a precedent of tomorrow.[38]

The solution to the problem was simple, Brown said. Take away the causes of the problem, and the problem itself would disappear. And what were the causes? The North Carolinian gave his own answer:

> I take my stand . . . on the reserved rights of the States. I repudiate the doctrine of nullification. I repudiate also the high-toned doctrine of the federal party. I believe it is to that high-toned doctrine that we are to attribute nullification. I believe that doctrine produced it; is the parent of it. It is by an improper pressure of the Federal Government on the rights of the States, and by exercising doubtful powers, that the State of South Carolina has been thrown into this position.[39]

[38] *Register of Debates*, 22nd Congress, 2nd Session, 334.

Furthermore, Brown charged that internal improvements at federal expense and the protective tariff violated the Constitution and state rights. Those innovations were solely for the enrichment of one section at the expense of another, he said. South Carolina had a legitimate complaint, one in which the entire South shared, and only by removing the complaint would the problem be removed. The remedy then, was one of conciliation, one aspect of which would be the removal of the oppression under which the Southern people were laboring as a result of the tariff. He appealed to the national patriotism of all sections:

> Thank God, in the exercise of my legislative rights and duties here, I can look beyond the Potomac. Thank God, I have a feeling which is not confined to the geographical limits of any portion of the United States. I can look to the judge of my countrymen north as well as south of the Potomac; and I wish it to be distinctly understood, that what I now say respecting South Carolina, I deem applicable to every member of this confederacy. To no one of these States would I arrogantly say, I will not do justice, until you come on your knees before me. . . . I do hope, if I have any patriotism, it is not that narrow, contracted patriotism which is confined to geographical limits. I trust it is that patriotism which looks abroad over the Union, and embraces every portion of my fellow-citizens. And so help me God, if my constituents were this day to demand that I should perpetrate an act of injustice against any member of this confederacy . . . which I believed destructive to their constitutional rights, so help me God I would resign my seat, and retire to my home, rather than jeopardize the peace of this republic, this glorious experiment of a free Government, by taking what justly belongs to Maine, and unjustly to bestow it on North Carolina. . . .[40]

All peaceful means, Brown repeated, should be used to settle the problem. Then, if "on a failure of all these means, it shall be found necessary to use force to execute the laws, let it be used." He was not prepared to say that the emergency could not arise, but before a law of such importance should be executed, before the peace of the Union should be disturbed, "there ought to be a reference to the justice, to the

[39] *Register of Debates*, 22nd Congress, 2nd Session, 338.
[40] *Register of Debates*, 22nd Congress, 2nd Session, 342.

wisdom of Congress, to weigh, to examine the provisions of that law, and solemnly to pause and reflect upon proceeding to put it in force by military power." [41]

Senator Brown closed his long appeal with a plea that the flag which theretofore had been the "rallying point of heroism," should not "now float over the mangled corpses of our bleeding countrymen. God forbid that our country should under go this sad and disastrous revolution; for . . . whenever that should take place, not only the liberties of this country, but the best and brightest hope of the civilized world, [will] be destroyed forever." [42]

But Brown's opposition to the force bill was unavailing, and the act went into effect on March 1. Fortunately, however, South Carolina, finding little support for her action, accepted the compromise Tariff of 1833. Thus, nullification gave way to the conciliation for which North Carolina's Bedford Brown had argued.

That Bedford Brown's influence had risen to command high respect in the Senate by the time of the opening of the Twenty-third Congress in December, 1833, is indicated in his election by that body to the chairmanship of the Committee on Agriculture by a vote of 43 to 3.[43]

President Jackson's withdrawal of federal deposits from the United States Bank provided the major issue in the new session. This act was the signal for a full-scale political war between the administration and the bank forces, the latter led by Clay and Webster. In that battle, Bedford Brown openly broke with his colleague from North Carolina, Senator Willie P. Mangum, and uncompromisingly sided with the President.

Following the President's withdrawal of deposits, Congress was flooded with petitions claiming financial distress from throughout the country. Senator Brown charged that these petitions were inspired by the "Federal Party" which was attempting to arouse the public into believing that a real

[41] *Register of Debates*, 22nd Congress, 2nd Session, 343.
[42] *Register of Debates*, 22nd Congress, 2nd Session, 345.
[43] At that time, the committees were elected by the whole membership of the Senate. Brown also received eleven votes for the chairmanship of the Committee on Claims. *Register of Debates*, 23rd Congress, 1st Session, 42.

crisis had developed as a result of the President's action. This campaign to spread the belief that there was real financial distress was designed, he said, to bring pressure upon Congress to recharter the "monster" bank. Actually, conditions were good, said the North Carolinian, citing real property prices as 20 per cent higher than the previous year. Tobacco was selling well and industry was better recompensed than at any time within his knowledge, he argued.[44]

The bank, the Senator charged, had set out deliberately to produce distress and embarrassment in the country. And, while the bank put the screws down upon the people by curtailing its discounts and its accommodations, "politicians, men in high places, newspapers, the whole squadron of paid agents and organs," were spreading alarm by claiming that the country was being plunged into ruin by the removal. Brown said that he was opposed, on general principles, to the banking system in any form, because he believed it to be at variance with the spirit and character of American institutions, and he was much more opposed to a national bank which had shown itself powerful enough "to wield an almost irresistible influence over the affairs of the country, for good or evil purposes, as it might choose."[45]

Brown spoke often and long in support of the administration's actions. In general, he took the line of argument that the administration had complete authority to withdraw the deposits, and, indeed, should be commended for doing it; that the bank had set out to force its recharter by bringing about financial distress; that the friends of the bank were endeavoring to stir up a panicky mood among the people in hopes of winning them over to the bank side; that the distress was largely imaginary, the country being basically prosperous; that any institution which possessed such power as the United States Bank had enjoyed was unconstitutional; that the bank had no claim to the deposits in the first place; that the "bank party" was a direct outgrowth of the old Federalists who had opposed popular government and supported a "moneyed aristocracy"; and that the whole issue of dis-

[44] *Register of Debates*, 23rd Congress, 1st Session, 229.
[45] *Register of Debates*, 23rd Congress, 1st Session, 550.

tress was a false one promulgated by friends of the bank. The entire issue, he charged, was "whether the pretensions set up by an arrogant moneyed aristocracy, and the political party supporting it, should prevail in the conflict; or whether the cause of the country, and the Chief Executive Magistrate, who is defending the citadel of our liberties against the most dangerous assaults, should be sustained." [46]

Administration forces in the Senate were in a minority on all major issues during the session of 1833-1834, and Brown found himself on the losing side on practically every vote. Only nineteen colleagues joined him in voting against a resolution condemning Jackson's removal of the deposits as unconstitutional. When he left for North Carolina in the summer of 1834 to mend his political fences, Senator Brown must have breathed easier in a friendly atmosphere.

Bedford Brown, United States Senator by accident, was a candidate for re-election in 1834. His support of Jackson had earned him the enmity of a growing number of North Carolinians who looked to Henry Clay for leadership. At the same time, his frequent clashes with Calhoun had turned many nominal Democrats against him. But in his favor was the boomerang of the Whigs' attacks on the Caswellian as a man of "common manners, a man of the lower classes," a baseless charge.[47]

Following a smashing Democratic victory in the North Carolina legislative elections in August, Vice-President Van Buren wrote Brown,

> . . . you would not but have been gratified to have witnessed the deep interest which has been taken here in the N. Carolina elections on your account. It is with great sincerity that I say to you that the more I have reflected on your course last winter the more I have found to admire it. . . . Yourself, Forsyth, Benton and Wright have, I assure you, laid up a store of popularity which can not fail to turn to account hereafter.[48]

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[46] *Register of Debates*, 23rd Congress, 1st Session, 1487.

[47] William E. Dodd, *The Life on Nathaniel Macon* (Raleigh, 1903), 395.

[48] Martin Van Buren to Bedford Brown, September 7, 1834. Bedford Brown Papers, Duke University. Professor W. K. Boyd incorrectly copied the date of this letter as "September 7, 1836" in his "Selections from the Correspondence of Bedford Brown—1, 1832-1856," *Trinity College Historical Papers*, VI (1906), 75.

On November 20, the General Assembly formally elected Brown for a six-year term by a margin of some thirty votes over Thomas Settle of Rockingham County.[49] Soon thereafter, the Assembly displayed its pro-Jacksonian fervor by instructing Senators Brown and Mangum to vote for expunging the resolutions adopted in the Senate condemning the President's withdrawal of deposits from the bank. Mangum, now a confirmed Whig, refused to recognize the right of a legislature to instruct senators, and, in 1836, resigned in an unsuccessful attempt to vindicate his position.[50]

Senator Brown was again elected chairman of the Agriculture Committee in December, 1835, but his margin of victory over Senator Tipton of Indiana was only 25 to 14. The North Carolinian was also elected to the committees on claims, Indian affairs, and contingent expenses of the Senate.[51]

Soon after the new session began, an issue arose which was destined to destroy the effectiveness of the Democratic Party for many years. The slave-owner of the Upper Country Line was faced with another perplexing decision when the issue of abolitionist petitions developed. But, just as he had done on the force bill, the North Carolinian took a middle ground and fought the extremes on both sides. It was against his fellow southerners, however, that he aimed his heaviest attacks.

The basic argument in the Senate centered not around support of the abolitionists, but around the procedure for handling the many petitions received from those persons advocating interference with the institution of slavery. John C. Calhoun argued that the Senate should refuse to receive the petitions. This procedure, however, could involve debate. Brown reasoned that the petitions should be received by the Senate after which a motion would be made to lay them on the table. Since parliamentary procedure prohibited debate

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[49] *Journals of the Senate and House of Commons . . . 1834-35*, 10.

[50] Henry Thomas Shanks, ed., *The Papers of Willie Person Mangum* (Raleigh, 1950, 4 vols.), I, xxxi-xxxiii. See also Earl R. Franklin, "The Instruction of United States Senators by North Carolina," *Trinity College Historical Papers*, VII (1907), 1-15.

[51] *Register of Debates*, 24th Congress, 1st Session, 11.

on a motion to table, the whole issue could thus be thrust aside without any discussion on the part of the Senate. This course, said Brown, while indicating to the "fanatics that Congress will yield no countenance to their designs, at the same time marks them with decided reprobation by a refusal to print" their petitions. The preclusion of all debate "would thus prevent the agitation of a subject in Congress which all should deprecate as fraught with mischief to every portion of this happy and flourishing confederacy." [52]

Brown's stand was not acceptable to the southern extremists. Senators Calhoun and Preston of South Carolina and Tyler and Leigh of Virginia especially argued that a refusal to accept the petitions was the only honorable way to handle them. They complained bitterly that the abolitionists were permitted to operate legally in several northern states and warned that the strength of their organizations was increasingly dangerous.

His southern colleagues were making exaggerated representations of the danger of the abolitionists, Senator Brown charged. The "fanatics," he claimed, were countenanced by no respectable portion of the North, and, without debate in Congress, the abolitionists would have no opportunity to agitate the issue. This was no time for sectional differences; it was a time for renewed faith in the generosity of all Americans. To the extent that they were continuing the debates on the abolitionists, Brown said, the southerners were giving wide circulation to the abolitionist literature. Debates of Congress were reported by the newspapers which carried the words of the abolitionists to the people who otherwise would not hear them. Thus, when Congress debated the petitions, it was giving free publicity to the anti-slavery forces.

When Senator Preston indignantly charged that the legislatures of the northern states shall legislate against the abolitionists, Brown again interposed his caution against driving northern friends into the arms of the very group that the South

[52] *Register of Debates*, 24th Congress, 1st Session, 90. Senator Brown's part in this controversy is discussed in Thomas Hart Benton, *Thirty Years' View; or a History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years from 1820 to 1850* (New York, 1856, 2 vols.), 612-613. Hereafter cited as Benton, *Thirty Years' View*.

was criticizing. The North Carolinian suggested that it was the part of "wisdom as well as of generosity for us to cultivate harmonious feelings with those who [are] acting in concert with us to the North, to put the abolitionists down" by depriving them of respectability. Only by maintaining the support of the Democratic leaders of the North, he believed, could the abolitionists be silenced. He suggested that the abolitionist activity was partially due to "the designs of a more sagacious political party, for the purpose of operating on the South at an important crisis," inferring that the Whigs had showered abolitionist publications upon the South just before the past elections.[53]

Senator Brown was frankly antagonistic toward the recognition of Texas when that issue was presented to the Twenty-fourth Congress. "What [have] these Texans done to require that we should embroil ourselves in a war with a country with whom we are on terms of peace?" he asked, and warned that recognition would likely lead to hostilities with Mexico. And, when on May 23, 1836, Senator Calhoun urged both recognition and annexation, Brown objected to any course that would change "the neutral and pacific character of our Government, which [has] long been cherished as one of the wisest and best settled principles of policy. . . ." The national character of the United States, he said, was "worth infinitely more than all the territorial possessions of Mexico, her wealth, or the wealth of all other nations added together." [54]

By virtue of a one-vote Democratic majority in the General Assembly of North Carolina following the 1836 elections, Robert Strange was elected to replace Senator Willie P. Mangum who had resigned after refusing to accept legislative instructions. The two Democrats worked as loyal supporters of the administration during the next four years, and Strange generally followed Brown's lead in the Senate debates. Furthermore, the Democrats now had a clear majority in the session beginning in December, 1836, as was evidenced by

[53] *Register of Debates*, 24th Congress, 1st Session, 1118.
[54] *Register of Debates*, 24th Congress, 1st Session, 1533. See also Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I, 667-668.

the expunging of the anti-Jackson resolution of March, 1834, by a vote of 24 to 19.[55]

Early in 1837, Senator Brown had another occasion to differ with the majority of his fellow southerners when he supported the admission of Michigan as a state. As he was increasingly prone to do, Brown maneuvered his speech supporting the bill into an attack on the Whigs, to whom he most frequently referred as the "Federal Party." That party, he said,

> . . . believed, or affected to believe, that popular liberty would degenerate into licentiousness, and prove incompatible with the existence of regular government. . . . Sir, . . . to those who are in the habit of speaking disparingly of the intelligence of the great body of the people, it is sufficient to point them to the condition of the country to disprove the change. It is to that public intelligence that we are indebted for what it is.[56]

A violent exchange between Brown and Calhoun came in debate on a proposed reduction of the tariff in February, 1837. Calhoun opposed the bill on the grounds that, although the Tariff of 1833 was "odious and unequal," he did not want to disturb the peace that the compromise had brought. This spectacle of the South Carolina Nullificationist working side by side with the "Federals" like Clay and Webster to prevent a reduction in duties was, to Senator Brown, among "the most extraordinary spectacles" that he had witnessed. He argued that to oppose a reduction was, in effect, to support the tariff. He censured Calhoun for making an "uncalled for and unwarrantable denunciation" of Jacksonian followers in the North who had come forward proposing reduction, and accused the South Carolinian of "subterfuge" and "contemptible vanity and overweening egotism" and of thinking himself a standard of political infallibility. He would not, snapped Brown, thereafter "notice the hallucinations and frantic denunciations of all the friends of the administration who

[55] *Register of Debates*, 24th Congress, 2nd Session, 504. Brown relinquished his seat as chairman of the Agriculture Committee and was made chairman of the Committee on Revolutionary Claims. He was also chosen to serve on the committees on Commerce, and Post Office and Post Roads.

[56] *Register of Debates*, 24th Congress, 2nd Session, 280.

might not happen to agree with him [Calhoun] in his opinion." [57]

The Panic of 1837 failed to shake the Senator's faith in the Jackson and Van Buren administrations. He supported the sub-treasury bill and sided with Calhoun in favor of an amendment designed gradually to require the payment of all government revenues in specie.[58] He had ample opportunities to reiterate his convictions that all banks were evil and that the founding fathers had never intended for the paper currency system to be put into effect. He again charged that the "bank party" had succeeded in bringing on national financial distress so that the country would be "scourged into submission, to compel its obedience to the mandates of the moneyed power." [59]

On February 23, 1838, Senator Brown delivered a speech which ran for more than twenty-five columns in the *Congressional Globe*. The issue was the independent sub-treasury plan which the North Carolinian supported as a means of getting the government completely divorced from the "moneyed aristocracy." Again he charged that the bank supporters were to blame for the depression:

> The present embarrassment of the Government [is] due to a great moneyed power, acting in concert with a certain political party, whose only hope to success [rests] in destroying the credit of the Government, and drying up the resources and commerce of the country. . . . It [is] one of a series of actions, put into operation for several years past, to arrest the financial operations of the Government, for the purpose of forcing the people into the measures of a banking corporation. It [was] shamelessly avowed by its organ, that it was in vain to reason with the people, and that they never would be brought to their senses until they were brought to them by severe distress. . . . the great object of that power has been, and is, to produce that distress, for the purpose of bringing the people, as they say, to their senses; or, in other words, to bring them bound hand and foot to its footstool.[60]

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[57] *Register of Debates*, 24th Congress, 2nd Session, 916.
[58] *Register of Debates*, 25th Congress, 1st Session, 406,
[59] *Congressional Globe*, 25th Congress, 2nd Session (Appendix), 35.
[60] *Congressional Globe*, 25th Congress, 2nd Session (Appendix), 388.

The Senator's stand was applauded by the noted author, James Fenimore Cooper, who wrote Brown that the "present political struggle in this country, appears to be a contest between men and dollars, and it is a bad omen for the first that they are so easily duped by the arch enemy; to their own injury." [61]

On January 14, 1839, Senator Brown laid before the Senate a number of resolutions which the North Carolina General Assembly had passed the previous month. These resolutions, usually referred to as the Kenneth Rayner Resolutions, condemned the expunging of the anti-Jackson resolutions from the *Senate Journal,* opposed the sub-treasury plan, blamed the administration for the depression, condemned pre-emption, and resolved that the North Carolina Senators in Washington should carry out the wishes of the people in these regards. The resolutions contained no instructions.

The significance of the controversy which arose between Senators Brown and Strange on the one hand and the Whig General Assembly of North Carolina on the other, lay in the disagreement between the two parties over the right of a legislature to instruct its federal senators. The Democrats supported the right of instruction; the Whigs refused to recognize it. Senator Mangum had resigned in 1836 over the issue.

Upon presentation of the resolutions, Brown and Strange addressed the Senate, supporting the right of instruction as a basic principle of Jeffersonian Republicanism. But these resolutions, they said, did not instruct. In fact, the legislature had had before it an amendment specifically to instruct, but the Whigs voted against it unanimously, thus rejecting the Democratic doctrine that the General Assembly had the power to force either support of specific measures by its senators or the resignation of those officers.[62]

The two North Carolinians, faced with a charge of party servility, determined on a bold course. They announced that they would resign prior to the elections of 1840. Through

[61] James Fenimore Cooper to Bedford Brown, March 24, 1838. Bedford Brown Papers, Duke University.
[62] *Congressional Globe,* 25th Congress, 3rd Session, 117.

their choice of Assemblymen, the people would be able to signify their decision between the records of the two parties and between the conflicting attitudes toward legislative instruction of senators. The senators, however, in view of the Whig legislature's rejection of the right of instruction, would not give their opponents the pleasure of filling their seats until after the people had expressed their decision.

Henry Clay, who had long objected to the right of instruction, arose to express belief that Brown and Strange, having lost the confidence of their legislature, should nevertheless resign immediately. That was a signal for Bedford Brown to get in one of his parting shots at

> . . . a senator whose miscalled American system, until thrown off by determined resistance, [has], for a series of years, impoverished and desolated the South, oppressed her citizens, and almost ruined her commerce . . . and which [has] created and . . . established those dangerous sectional prejudices and feelings which [are] destined to endure too long for the harmony and safety of our country.[63]

Senator Brown's last recorded speech in Congress was made on May 7, 1840, when he defended his record of upholding the policies of the Jackson and Van Buren administrations. His eleven years in the Senate, he said, had been an uninterrupted battle against the "'federal" doctrines of the opposition who had attempted to set section against section. He said he had fought every important federal spending scheme and had been constantly on the lookout for extravagance. He had also stood against those extremists of his own South who had shown ill-will toward the "respectable" portion of the northern states in the abolitionist petition controversy. Now, he was ready to leave his fate up to the people of North Carolina who would commend or condemn his stand.

He was interrupted by Senator Southard who suggested that Brown's position would be rebuked by the people. Brown replied,

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[63] *Congressional Globe*, 25th Congress, 3rd Session, 120.

Sir, should I meet with the misfortune of receiving such a rebuke, the gentleman, from practical experience, will know how to sympathize with me, for the gentleman, and the Administration of which he was a member [Adams'], [have] received such a rebuke from the popular fiat . . . in the most unequivocal manner. That the gentleman and his friends should wish to be reinstated in office, and that they should even, in defiance of probabilities, indulge in the most sanguine anticipations, [is] reasonable enough; but that the popular rebuke, such as he anticipate[s will] be bestowed on the Democratic party, [is], to say the least of it, not very probable. The gentleman, in good time, [will] find himself greatly mistaken in his predictions.[64]

It was the Senator for North Carolina, however, who was mistaken in his predictions.

[*To be concluded*]

[64] *Congressional Globe*, 26th Congress, 1st Session (Appendix), 440.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION FOR NEGROES IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1877-1894

By Frenise A. Logan

Officials who are elected by popular vote usually reflect the sentiment and thinking of the citizens whose votes placed them in office. The members of the legislative body of North Carolina during the period under survey were no exception to this rule. Therefore, with respect to public school education for the Negro children of the state, it was to be expected that these officeholders would affirm the large general views of their communities which held that education was a "big stick" in the hands of the Negroes, that it tended to spoil them and thus ruined good field hands.

Yet in 1876, immediately after the election results were official, the Democratic press of the state, along with the newly elected Democratic legislature and state party leaders, attempted to assure the apprehensive Negroes that the new regime would not be "hostile to their rights and interests." On November 8, 1876, the day following the sweeping Democratic victory, the editor of the *Greensboro Patriot,* for example, wrote:

> The negro need not be alarmed. He will not lose a single right or privilege he has enjoyed. Instead of being reduced to slavery again he will be fully emancipated. . . . The day that Democracy takes charge of this government will be the brightest the negro ever saw. He need have no fears. His old friends will be his friends again, and his future will be better and brighter.[1]

Representative McGehee, a Democrat from Person County, speaking for his party, promised the Negroes that the legislature would "seek to inspire all its citizens with an absolute confidence in its justice, nay more, in its good will."[2] The newly elected Democratic governor, Zebulon B. Vance, in his message before the General Assembly in January 1877,

[1] *Greensboro Patriot,* November 8, 1876.
[2] *Greensboro Patriot,* January 10, 1877.

urged the members to live up to their pledges and "make no discrimination in the matter of public education"; but to deal justly and equitably with all school children of the state "with a thorough North Carolina spirit." [3]

The record reveals that for the first three years following the 1876 Democratic victory, North Carolina made serious effort to equalize the schools of the two races. But by 1880 the promises and pledges of 1876-77 were cast aside. On March 29 of that year the legislature authorized the establishment of graded schools in the town of Goldsboro by an act which declared that "the taxes raised from the property and polls of white persons shall be appropriated exclusively to a graded school for white persons, and the taxes raised from the property and polls of colored persons shall be appropriated exclusively to a graded school for colored persons." [4] Charles L. Coon says that this was the first time a North Carolina law permitted the division of school taxes on a race basis.[5] However, this history-making law got no further than its passage through the General Assembly; for when the question was put to a popular vote in early May of 1880, the poor whites and "ignorant" Negroes of Goldsboro united to defeat it.[6]

Refusing to accept this setback, the "good white people" of Goldsboro were successful on March 5, 1881, in obtaining from the legislature permission to hold another election in that city on May 2, 1881, upon the same question—taxation for a graded school. The act was similar to the previous one, containing also a provision that money raised by taxes paid by whites should be devoted exclusively to the education of white children, and that money raised by taxes paid by Negroes should be devoted exclusively to the education of Negro children.[7] This time, through the strenuous efforts of

[3] *Greensboro Patriot*, January 17, 1877.
[4] *Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina, 1880*, 27, sec. 8 Act of March 29, 1880.
[5] Charles L. Coon, "The Beginnings of the North Carolina City Schools, 1867-1887," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, vol. XII (July 1913), 244. Hereafter referred to as Coon, "The Beginnings of . . . City Schools."
[6] Coon, "The Beginnings of . . . City Schools," 244.
[7] *Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina, 1881*, 189, sec. 3. Act of March 5, 1881.

Julius A. Bonitz, the editor of the *Goldsboro Messenger,* the bill passed.[8] The town of Durham, apparently heartened by the success of the whites in Goldsboro, secured permissive legislation and also established graded schools with money collected from the whites supporting white schools and money collected from the Negroes supporting Negro schools.[9]

On March 8, 1883, the legislature of North Carolina recognized the division of local school taxes and authorized, by a general statute, any school district in the state to vote local taxes on that basis. The procedure was as follows: A written petition signed by ten white voters would entitle the county commissioners to order an election to be held. Likewise, a petition signed by ten colored voters would bring about a similar effect. In either case, the taxes collected were to support separate schools, from the whites in support of white schools; from the Negroes in support of Negro schools.[10] Describing the law as a "monstrous enactment—a disgrace to the State," a Negro paper of the state, the *Salisbury Star of Zion,* predicted that it would destroy the colored schools.[11]

The passage of this general statute was due, unquestionably, to the persistent urgings of newspapers like the *Clinton Caucasian,* the *Goldsboro Messenger,* and *The News and Observer* (Raleigh). The former was one of the first publications in the state to advocate the doctrine that each race should be held responsible for the education of its children. It argued that such a system would benefit both races.

> It will unify the whites in favor of a more liberal system of public schools for their race, which they would cheerfully and willingly sustain; and, as the blacks are imitative creatures, they would be induced to do their best in the same direction. Thrown upon their own resources and seeing that they will have to depend on themselves, all of them would pay their poll tax; whereas now, many thousands of them evade payments.[12]

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[8] Coon, "The Beginnings of . . . City Schools," 244.
[9] *Laws and Resolutions,* 231, sec. 3. Act of March 9, 1881.
[10] *The Code of North Carolina, 1883,* vol. II, sections 2593 and 2595.
[11] See the *New York Age,* March 3, 1883. Whether this forecast would have been borne out will never be known, for three years later the North Carolina Supreme Court declared the statute unconstitutional.
[12] Quoted in the *Wilmington Daily Review,* March 14, 1883.

The News and Observer, concurring in this view, commended the measure as "doing no one an injustice, but as promising to aid greatly in rendering our schools more efficient." [13] This paper, obviously, had in mind the white schools, for earlier in 1883 it had complained that of the $172,000 expended in 1882 for Negro schools, "under $70,000" was paid by that group; therefore, "the whites contribute $100,000 a year toward the colored schools besides paying for the white schools." [14] The implication, apparently, was that the money the whites "gave" to the Negro schools ought to be retained for the advancement of its own schools. As we have seen, the legislature of 1883 so authorized.

Although many local white taxpayers in the towns and cities of the state took advantage of the general statute or specific acts by the legislature authorizing the division of school taxes along race lines through a popular vote, Tarboro offers, perhaps, the most striking illustration of their utter failure to bring this about. On April 2, 1883, the legislature authorized an election upon the question of taxation for graded schools in that predominantly Negro city—one school for the Negro children and one for the white children. The law, as usual, stipulated that taxes collected from the whites would be applied to the support of white schools, and taxes collected from the Negroes would be applied to the support of Negro schools.[15] The editor of *The Southerner* (Tarboro), obviously pessimistic as to the outcome of the voting, warned the whites of the city as early as April 12, 1883, almost a month before the election, that the "combination of a few large taxpayers with the mass of the negro vote" might possibly defeat the project.[16] When we note the amount of money which would be applied to the graded schools for each race, as over against the number of Negroes and whites in the city's school population, we can understand the white editor's pessimism. There were 884 Negro school

[13] *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), February 2, 1883.
[14] Quoted in the *Greenville Eastern Reflector,* January 31, 1883.
[15] *Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina, 1883,* 249, sec. 3. Act of April 2, 1883.
[16] *The Southerner* (Tarboro), April 12, 1883.

children in Tarboro, but only 374 whites; yet if the election results favored the graded school, the amount of money spent on the white schools would be $5,650, but only $1,942 would be allocated to the Negro schools.[17]

When the final vote was counted, and the results—301 against and 154 for the graded school bill—were announced, the *Southerner* promptly accused the Negroes of bringing about the defeat, saying that "the whites as a general thing voted for it, and the colored people against it."[18] In a decidedly bitter and spleeny editorial, the editor said in part:

> The vote against it [the graded school] was cast, with the exception of a few property owners, by negroes who had for their reason that not enough of the money was given to them. On them rests the blame of a failure, and they have shown a degree of ingratitude that should instill disgust and contempt in the breast of those who have been paying much to their support and education. Race prejudice defeated the bill, and the color line was drawn by the black ingrate. Two-thirds of the money that is collected annually in this county for schools is expended for the benefit of the colored schools, and three-fourths of it is paid by white property owners.[19]

As a result of the decisive defeat of the Tarboro school bill by the Negro voters of that city, the white citizens of another heavily Negro populated city, New Bern, looked forward to their graded school election with grave misgivings.[20] On May 6, the day preceding the election, these doubts gave way to entreaties. The Negroes were asked to "remember that when they want to build churches . . . they call upon their white friends to help them." So now, the whites queried, "is it asking too much of our colored friends to help us adopt our school bill?"[21] At least one segment of the city's Negro population, the Negro public school teachers of New Bern and Craven County, heeded these pleas for they promised unqualified support of the bill. In a hastily

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[17] *The Southerner* (Tarboro), April 12, 1883.
[18] *The Southerner* (Tarboro), May 10, 1883.
[19] *The Southerner* (Tarboro), May 10, 1883.
[20] *Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina, 1883*, 117. Act of February 13, 1883.
[21] *New Bern Daily Journal*, May 6, 1883.

called meeting in New Bern on May 5, they drew up the following resolutions which are interesting for the phraseology as well as the point of view expressed:

> . . . That we are in favor of the bill as passed by the wise law makers of North Carolina, because it places education in reach of the poor children.
>
> 2. Politicians and enemies of colored education tell the colored voters not to vote for the Graded School Bill because it is class legislation; this is not true, the bill simply provides that each race educate their children.
>
> 3. This bill is the wisest school bill the legislature has passed in years; it teaches us one simple and useful lesson - a lesson that is worth more to us as a race than thousands of gold dollars; that lesson may be stated thus: To become a powerful race we must depend on ourselves; this is the royal road to honor, wealth and virtue.
>
> 4. We shall be greatly surprised if the colored voters of New Bern fail to vote for this bill (for education.) We feel sure that every Negro who possesses pride of race will vote for this measure.[22]

Apparently the Negro teachers of Craven County were "greatly surprised" following the May 7 election; for although the school bill was carried 376 to 296, of the ballots against it, all but "thirty or forty" were cast by Negroes.[23]

In order to meet the growing discontent of the whites living in the densely Negro populated eastern cities and towns—discontent caused by their inability, in some instances, to enact local legislation which was designed to divide the school taxes along racial lines because the Negro vote was sufficiently large enough to defeat them—the legislature on March 11, 1885, passed an act which gave to the justices of the peace and the county commissioners who, under a previous enactment in 1877 were appointed by the legislature, the right to elect the members to the county board of education. The board itself was "to consist of three residents of their county, who shall be men of good moral character, and who shall be qualified by education and experience and in-

[22] *New Bern Daily Journal*, May 6, 1883.
[23] *New Bern Daily Journal*, May 8, 1883.

terest to specially further the public educational of their county." [24]

The above procedure, in effect, eliminated many Negroes from the county board of education, for it was hardly conceivable that the Democrats who controlled the legislature would appoint an appreciable number of Negro Republican justices of the peace, or that the justices of the peace, in turn, would appoint Negro Republicans as county commissioners. Since these men elected the county school board, it is therefore safe to assume that they selected Democrats "of good moral character," sound education, and the proper experience and wisdom "to further the public educational interest" of the white children of their respective counties.

Thus, with the Democrats able to dominate the situation, the county school board was authorized to apportion two-thirds of the total school money to the school districts in proportion to the number of children, the remaining one-third to "be apportioned in such manner as to equalize school facilities to all districts of the county, as far as may be practicable and just to all concerned, without discrimination in favor of or to the prejudice of either race."[25] That the one-third invariably found its way to the white school districts in the "Negro counties," thus giving them a majority of the school monies in spite of the fact that the majority of the school population was colored, is attested to by the vigorous protest written by the Negro members of the North Carolina Senate in 1885 opposing the measure.

The passage of this law marked the high point of educational limitations imposed upon the Negroes of North Carolina between 1877 and 1894. In view of these laws, only democratic translation of them by the North Carolina Supreme Court could encourage the Negroes to look forward to the retention of some of the educational privileges and rights they enjoyed between 1868 and 1876.

Between "the glorious" Democratic victory in 1876 and the defeat of that party in 1894 by a "mongrel" Republican

[24] *Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina, 1885*, 174, sec. 1. Act of March 11, 1885.

[25] *Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina 1885*, 174, sec. 1. Act of March 11, 1885.

party, the Democratic dominated General Assembly enacted, as we have seen above, a series of well-defined public school statutes spelling out the legal status of the Negroes of the state. The question at this point, then, may well be: "To what extent did the members of the North Carolina Supreme Court regard themselves as the policemen of these laws?" The query is of special significance because Article IV, section 21 of the state constitution declared that the Supreme Court justices were to be elected "by the qualified voters of the State," for a term of eight years.[26] Accordingly, if the masses of the white citizens of North Carolina, as reflected in the public school laws passed by the legislators, were so far in favor of white supremacy as to demand the protection of their interests, would the judges hold opinions very different? A partial answer can be found in an examination of the various school decisions the court made which involved the rights and privileges of the Negroes of North Carolina.

However, if the decision it handed down in its first "education case" was any criterion as to its attitude with respect to the education of Negro children, that group could expect little by way of equal justice.[27] The background to the *Smallwood* case is as follows. In 1883, the legislature authorized an election to be held in New Bern for the purpose of determining whether that city would establish a graded school.[28] Section 3 of that act provided that the tax raised from the polls and property of white persons were to be devoted to "sustaining" a school for the white children, and that money raised from the polls and property of Negroes were to be used for supporting their school.[29] Following the election on May 7, 1883, J. W. Smallwood and other taxpayers of New Bern instituted proceeding against the mayor and the city council before the Superior Court of Craven County to pre-

[26] *Constitution of North Carolina as Amended by the Constitutional Convention of 1875.* For a study of the convention, see William D. Harris, "The Movement for Constitutional Change in North Carolina" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1932).

[27] *Smallwood and others* vs. *City of New Bern*, 90 N. C. 36 (1884).

[28] *Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina, 1883*, 117. Act of February 13, 1883.

[29] *Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina, 1883*, 117, sec. 3. Act of February 13, 1883.

vent them from collecting taxes for the proposed graded school on the ground that the tax had not been approved by a majority of the qualified voters of New Bern.[30] The lower court held for the city, and the plaintiffs appealed to the state supreme court. There, the court held, on a legal technicality, that even though there was some question as to whether a majority of the qualified registered voters of New Bern had voted for the establishment of a graded school system, the fact that the mayor and the city council, who had been authorized and required by the legislature to submit the question to the voters of the city,[31] "having ascertained that a majority of the qualified voters voted 'for schools,' their finding and decision in that respect . . . is final and conclusive."[32] However, the following remarks of Justice Merrimon are most significant in that they suggest that the court was not yet ready to decide the constitutionality of the laws dividing the school monies along race lines:

> It is hinted in the plaintiff's affidavit that the act is not valid, but so grave a question ought to be raised by proper pleadings, and generally with the avowed purpose. And such a question ought always to be argued by council. It is a matter of most serious moment to declare an act of the legislature unconstitutional and void.[33]

Yet, three years later, in 1886, this same court, in a series of decisions, flatly and unequivocably declared that such laws were unconstitutional and void.[34] In the first of the series, *Puitt* vs. *Commissioners of Gaston County*, the North Carolina Supreme Court decided that "a law which allows a tax on polls of one color and on property owned by persons of the same color, to be applied exclusively to the education of children of that color, is unconstitutional" in that it violated the last clause of Article IX, section 2 of the constitution of North Carolina which states that "there shall be no discrimination in

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[30] *Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina, 1883*, 117, Sec. 3 Act of February 13, 1883.
[31] *Laws and Resolutions, 1883*, sec. 1.
[32] *Smallwood and others* vs. *City of New Bern*, 90 N. C. 36 (1884), 41.
[33] *Smallwood and others* vs. *City of New Bern*, 90 N. C. 36 (1884), 41.
[34] *Puitt* vs. *Commissioners*, 94 N. C. 709 (1886); *Riggsbee* vs. *Town of Durham*, 94 N. C. 800 (1886).

favor of or to the prejudice of either race." In the opinion, conspicuous for its spirit of liberalism, Chief Justice Smith said:

> Nor can we shut our eyes to the fact that the vast bulk of property yielding the fruits of taxation, belongs to the white people of the State, and very little is held by the emancipated race; and yet, the needs of the latter for free tuition, in proportion to its numbers, are as great, or greater than the needs of the former.[35]

As was to be expected, the Democratic newspapers of the state did not concur in the decision, but perhaps the most bitter opposition came from the *New Bern Daily Journal.* Oddly enough, the state constitution and not the State Supreme Court was denounced.

> A constitution that will not allow the white people to tax themselves for the benefit of their schools, after they have contributed liberally to negro schools, is not the constitution that the white people of North Carolina want. The schools have been made separate and distinct; the constitution and the laws direct that the public school fund shall be divided *per capita* between the races. This is all right. But after the schools have been separated each receives its proportionate share of the public school funds, these schools ought to have the right to supplement their funds with additional taxes if they see fit, and a constitution that denies them this right should be speedily abolished.[36]

In 1887 the North Carolina Supreme Court not only reaffirmed the principle as set forth in *Puitt* vs. *Commissioners,* and *Riggsbee* vs. *Durham,* but in *Duke* vs. *Brown,* it overruled the *Smallwood* doctrine. The case developed out of the passage of an act by the legislative session of 1885 which authorized, upon an approving popular vote of a majority of those who might vote, the issue of bonds in the aggregate of $15,000 to enable the school commissioners of Durham to secure a loan to be expended "in the purchase and erection of suitable grounds and buildings for the Durham graded or public school for white children." [37] The lower court held to

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[35] *Puitt* vs. *Commissioners,* 94 N. C. 709, 715-716.
[36] *New Bern Daily Journal,* May 16, 1886.
[37] *Duke* vs. *Brown,* 96 N. C. 127 (1887); *Laws and Resolutions of North Carolina, 1885,* c. 87, sections 2 and 3. Act of March 7, 1885.

the letter of the act, and declared against Duke who had argued that the bill failed to receive a majority of the votes of the qualified voters of the city. The case was appealed to the state Supreme Court. Chief Justice Smith, in reversing the decision of the lower court, held that a majority of the qualified voters, and not merely of those voting, was necessary to enable a city or town to contract a debt. The reasoning of the Chief Justice follows:

> Indifference is not the test; *an active and expressed approval is necessary* [italics Smith's], and this is ascertained by a majority of those entitled to vote. However forcible may be the reasoning, and however numerous the rulings in other states, which construe a failure to vote as an acquiescence in what is done by those who do vote, we cannot put such an interpretation upon our organic law.[38]

As a result of these unexpected decisions by the North Carolina Supreme Court in 1886 and 1887, Wilson, Goldsboro, Kinston, and other towns and cities in the state abandoned their white graded school system rather than support schools for their Negro children. However, it did not take these local whites long to see the absurdity of denying a public school education to their children in order to deny such an education to the Negro children, and consequently they re-established their schools, making provisions for the Negro children at the same time.[39]

The whites, although complying with the letter of the law, nonetheless continued to complain about "the unjust division of the school money." Dissatisfaction was most vigorously expressed in Franklin, Lenoir, Columbus, and Currituck counties.[40] A disgruntled Sampson County farmer summed up the sentiments of many North Carolina whites when he said:

> We have two distinct races here in North Carolina - the white and the colored. I think it would be a good plan to have the free school funds divided in proportion to the tax paid by each race.

[38] *Duke* vs. *Brown*, 96 N. C. 127, 131.
[39] Coon, "The Beginnings of . . . City Schools," 246.
[40] *First Annual Report of the North Carolina Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1887*, 92, 93, 127, 130.

I am sure it would render general satisfaction throughout the South among the white race, for it is fair and just to all.[41]

It can be readily seen that the non-liberal spirit of a large number of the white citizens of North Carolina with respect to public school education for Negro children, and the apparent severe and intolerant public school laws enacted by the General Assembly of the state were frequently assuaged by the rulings handed down by the state Supreme Court. However, it cannot be said that the somewhat liberal interpretations of the state Supreme Court won the commendation of the white people throughout North Carolina, or approbation for some of its members. But, by and large, the judges who sat on the Supreme Court bench were earnest, conscientious men who rarely catered to the interest of the "white supremacy" shouters and were usually ready to grant protection to the unfortunate Negroes to the very limit of the law. Without state Supreme Court justices like Smith, Merrimon, and Clark, the status of public school education for the Negroes of North Carolina between 1876 and 1894 would have been even more precarious than it was.

[41] *Second Annual Report of the North Carolina Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1888*, 130.

THE UNPLEASANTNESS AT STECOE

By David H. Corkran

On the night of April 22, 1751, the headmen of the Lower Cherokees sat in deep debate[1] in the town house at Keowee.[2] They were nervous, worried, depressed. Bad feeling against the English was strong among them. In January one of their hunting parties from Toogaloo had had its winter haul of deer skins, some 330 of them, stolen by whites.[3] The Toogaloos had gone to Justice Francis at Ninety-Six demanding help;[4] the Justice issued a search warrant permitting the Indians to search the homes of his neighbors. The Toogaloos felt that the Justice could have been more active in their behalf—that, in fact, he had protected the suspects, John Vann and James Adair. Empty-handed the Cherokees had returned home to nurse their grudge. Such treatment was about what an Indian could expect. Had not James Glen, governor of South Carolina, in solemn treaty a year before, promised to punish whichever of the Creeks or Cherokees renewed their old feud; and when the Lower Creeks had reopened the war had not the Governor failed to keep his promise? Indeed, he had not only failed to punish the Creeks, but he had permitted the Carolina traders to sell them ammunition—in effect making war upon the Cherokees.

There was little a Cherokee could do about it except to complain, unless he was willing to go to war against the English and thus increase the number of his nation's enemies. Of course, disguised as someone else, as an Indian of another tribe, he might get a little satisfaction. That is what the Cherokees had been doing. For several years Miamis, Ottawas, and Senecas had been coming into the nation on their way to make war upon the Catawbas and the Creeks.[5]

[1] Indian Books of South Carolina (Historical Commission of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.), II, 133. Hereafter cited as Indian Books of South Carolina.

[2] This village site is upon the Keowee River in Oconee County, South Carolina.

[3] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 17-20.

[4] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 17-20.

[5] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 17-20.

The visitors from across the Ohio had had a pretty strong indoctrination into the French point of view. When they heard their Cherokee hosts complain of Carolina they commiserated with them, expressed indignation, and urged action, inviting the Cherokees to come along with them to have a little fun at Carolina's expense. This some of the Lower Towns' folks had done. Mixed parties of Cherokees and Senecas posing as 100 per cent Seneca had passed near Ninety-Six to trample crops, and kill and maim cattle and hogs, threatening individual whites and behaving in such an alarming fashion that great uneasiness spread along the South Carolina frontier.[6] Talk went that an Indian war was in the making. Then the inevitable had happened; two white men had been killed "accidentally," of course.

One night Cherokees crying "Nottaways, Nottaways" to indicate they were Northwards had assaulted Clement's store at Oconees in northeast Georgia when it was occupied by two whites and some Chickasaws. The whites and one of the Chickasaws had been killed and one of the Chickasaws made prisoner. The raiders, pleased with themselves, returned to the Lower Towns alleging that they had been in pursuit of some Creeks who, they thought, had taken refuge in the trader's store.[7] In the Lower towns there was a good deal of quiet pleasure over the episode; everybody feeling that it made up to some extent for their grievances against Carolina,[8] but the headmen knew that eventually Carolina would demand satisfaction for the slain and they worried. The Chickasaws they could deal with. When the Squirrel King sent a husky delegation to Keowee with talk of war unless Keowee made immediate apologies, Keowee released the Chickasaw prisoner and sent deputies with him to apologize.[9] But the whites were different—difficult—hard to please. The Cherokees had awaited South Carolina's reaction with a good deal of fear. Then they heard the worst. A Keowee fellow

[6] South Carolina Council Journal (Historical Commission of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C.), April 16, 1751, 28-29. These records are the original manuscript journals and hereafter will be cited as South Carolina Council Journal.

[7] South Carolina Council Journal, March 22, 1751, 1.

[8] South Carolina Council Journal, June 11, 1751, 174-175.

[9] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 17-20.

came up the path from Charlestown with a story that a thousand whites were coming against the nation.[10] The headmen gathered in the Keowee townhouse to assay the news. It happened that the report was false—perhaps it was something that an angry settler had said ought to be done or would be done if the Indians didn't behave—something even discussed in the Assembly but not yet acted upon, at any rate.

Nevertheless, to the Keowees, it fitted into a pattern of fear already generated. A few weeks before, the Little Carpenter, a rising Overhill, had brought a party of Northwards down to Keowee to help against the Creeks. Saying that he had been north of the Ohio that winter, he reported that he had learned that the governors of Carolina and New York planned a joint attack upon the Cherokees with a great force of Northwards and an army of whites.[11] The new story from Carolina seemed to confirm this. To sit still in the face of such dreadful tidings was more than the headmen could tolerate; far better to act. They decided to send runners to the rest of the nation with the proposal that the Cherokees strike first by killing the Carolina traders among them.[12]

Killing the traders, that spring, had an especial attractiveness to their Cherokee customers. Two years of poor hunts had been caused by the Creek war. At the same time their demand for guns, ammunition, paint, and goods had increased and plunged the Lower Towns men into heavy debt.[13] Death was none too good for a trader who pressed for payment of debts, especially when one suspected him of being a cheat who used false weights and measures. On that April night Keowee was convinced that all Carolina was bad. So runners sped away carrying the baleful talk to the Middle Settlements[14] under the Cowee Mountains, to the Out Towns of Tuckaseigie River; [15] and far over the Twenty-Four Mountains to Chotte by the Tennessee,[16] the mother town of all.

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[10] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 131-132.
[11] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 117-118.
[12] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 133.
[13] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 52-53.
[14] The sites of these villages are in Macon County, North Carolina, near or upon the Little Tennesee River.
[15] These village sites are in Swain County, North Carolina, from Bryson City eastward.
[16] This site is in Monroe County, Tennessee.

Not all the nation shared the Keowee's bad thoughts. Keowee, after all, was the Cherokee frontier and buffer against the whites—the edge where irritations were most frequent. Keowee was alone in its war with the Creeks, and Keowee had a tendency to independence of the other towns upon which certain seats of power in the nation looked askance. Specifically these were Hiwassee,[17] Great Tellico,[18] and Chotte. Hiwassee and Great Tellico formed a coalition of ambition through which Carolina in spite of Chotte, was currently attempting to rule the Cherokees. The Great Raven of Hiwassee had been appointed by Carolina to be guardian of the minority of Ammonscossittee, the Young Emperor of Great Tellico. The Young Emperor aspired to head the nation. He was surrounded by a coterie of headmen which included the two Tacites of Tellico, Johnny and Osteneco, and Caesar of Chatuge, the only Cherokee who understood and spoke English well, by reason of his having been a slave in Carolina during the previous century. His councillors, subsidized by Carolina and dispensing Carolina favors, carried out the English will in the nation. Under the influence of Cornelius Dougherty, the Hiwassee trader, and Robert Goudy, the Tellico trader, they epitomized the benefits to the Cherokees of their English association and alliance. Principal among them in actual power and influence was the Raven of Hiwassee. While the Young Emperor's position in the Cherokee polity was illegitimate, his guardian was war captain of the Valley[19] and superior in prestige to most of the Middle Settlements headmen. His regional office combined with his English appointment made him a powerful figure indeed. The Valley, at peace with the Creeks, having no quarrel with the English and possessing confidence in Dougherty, their trader, would have nothing to do with the Keowee proposals if a Keowee runner went near them.

Nor it seems would the Middle Settlements where feeling for the English was fairly good and respect for the Raven

[17] Near present day Murphy, Cherokee County, North Carolina.
[18] Near present day Tellico Plains, Monroe County, Tennessee.
[19] The sites of the valley towns are on or near the Hiwassee Valley in Cherokee County, North Carolina.

of Hiwassee high. At Wattoga,[20] the Keowee runner heading for the Overhills was halted by headmen who took his gun and blanket from him, divesting him of his warlike aspect, and ordered him to go back to the Lower Towns and tell them to stop their nonsense.[21] Chotte, therefore, did not get the Keowee message to which it might have lent sympathetic ears.

Chotte, principal of the Overhill towns and claiming to be Mother Town of all the Cherokees, home of the Mother Council and of Old Hop, the Fire King—traditional First Man of the Nation—was out of tune with the pseudo—Emperorship and the Hiwassee—Tellico coalition. Chotte saw the coalition as an alien thing, the tool of the English who were aspirant to a dominance in the nation which rightfully belonged to Chotte; one of the disruptive, centrifugal forces which prevented the Cherokees from working as a unit under their traditional priestly, nativist, and nationalistic leadership. Chotte, however, could not destroy the Carolina-Hiwassee-Tellico lineup. The coalition had the power of guns and goods—stuff the Cherokees needed in order to survive. With presents and trade favors it possessed the rulers in many towns. Its tentacles crossed clan and blood ties in insidious ways. Chotte's only hope was by deviousness to thwart or undermine the coalition, to gather discontent to itself, and to work its own policies in quiet ways. Chotte's greatest coup had been to make a peace for all the nation with the French in the very face of English disapproval, and by that peace to free itself from the bitter French inspired assaults of the Northward Indians—Canadians, Ottawas, Miamis, Iroquois. This notable triumph had lost some of its lustre because it had brought on the Creek war. The Northwards, now at peace with the Cherokees, had come to fraternize with them and to use their towns as bases for attacks upon the Creeks. Young Cherokees, seeking war names, went with Northward parties against the Creeks and the Creeks, discovering[22] them, de-

[20] Near present day Franklin, Macon County, North Carolina.
[21] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 55-61.
[22] The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia (Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia), XXVII, 116. This volume is one of ten typescript volumes which complete *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia,* prepared by workers of the WPA.

clared war upon the Cherokees. At this turn of events the whole nation looked with disapproval upon Chotte's Northward peace.[23] After some years of conflict Hiwassee-Tellico with a major assist from Goudy and Dougherty managed to get the Creeks off their own backs. They allowed the Gun Merchant, the First Man of the Upper Creeks, to have trade privileges with their traders whose prices were considerably lower than those of the English traders among the Creeks.[24] The Upper Creek withdrawal from the war confined it to the Lower Creeks and the Lower Cherokees. Hiwassee-Tellico trusted Carolina to resolve that situation. Governor Glen, however, with only a trade embargo as a weapon was unwilling to force the Lower Creeks to make a peace; for Georgia traders and the French, of course, would not respect his embargo.[25] Hiwassee-Tellico influence at Keowee was therefore at a low ebb.

Chotte, frowned on for the bad consequences of its Northward peace, sought to ameliorate the lot of the Lower Towns by channelling Northward war parties to their aid, going so far as to send the Little Carpenter north to recruit Senecas.[26] Chotte was thus able to enjoy its peace and retain some of its prestige and influence, at least with the anti-Carolina Lower Towns. Had the Keowee runners gotten through to Old Hop, he might have found their story and mood useful to him in embarassing Tellico-Hiwassee, though it is doubtful if he would have wanted war.

It was at Stecoe in the Out Towns on Tuckaseigie River that the Keowee spark had found ready tinder. The Out Towns had been much visited by Northwards who came to them through Balsam and Soco gaps.[27] Out Towns warriors had gone with them on their excursions toward Carolina and the Catawbas. Stecoe (now on the Thomas farm near Whit-

[23] Public Records of South Carolina (Sainsbury Transcripts, Historical Commission of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina), XXIII, 12-13.
[24] South Carolina Council Journal, July 11, 1750, 174.
[25] Allen D. Candler, *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta: L. I. Knight, 1904-1916, 26 volumes), VI, October 4, 1750, 341-342. See also South Carolina Council House Journal (photostats, Historical Commission of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina), July 25, 1750, 173.
[26] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 77-79, 116-118.
[27] South Carolina Council Journal, April 1, 1751, 2.

tier, Swain County, North Carolina), seems to have had a hard core of anti-English sentiment. Report there on April 26 of what the Keowee runner had said in the town house of Kittuwa,[28] the Mother town of the Out Towns, found ready listeners. One Thigh, the Slave Catcher of Connutory, a man of fiery temperament who while down-country, had shot and wounded a white man, leaped up and wanted to know why the Stecoes permitted their trader, Bernard Hughes, to live.[29] At once there was an uproar. On this a Cherokee girl, mistress to Hughes, slipped out of the town house and ran to warn the trader. While the maddened Stecoes looted his deserted store, Hughes and the other Stecoe whites fled up the path along the river to the town of Tuckasiegie where Robert Bunning traded.[30] They took shelter in Bunning's house while Bunning went to see the headman of the town. He explained the situation and reminded the headman that it was beloved men of this very town who had helped make the Treaty of Alliance of 1730 with the Great King George. Promising to protect the white men, the headman dispatched Bunning to Hiwassee sixty miles away to report the affair to the Raven.[31]

Throughout the Middle Settlements rumor spread that Bernard Hughes and three whites had been killed at Stecoe, that this was only the beginning, that all the traders were about to be killed.[32] At once the traders stampeded from the Middle and Lower Settlements to Augusta and Ninety-Six. Panic spread along the frontier. John Watts and those fleeing with him to Ninety-Six carried a story that they had barely escaped and that at near-by Coronico, Hugh Murphy, on his way up to the nation, had been shot and wounded by an Indian.[33] Inhabitants of the Ninety-Six region streamed down to the Congarees for safety. Others started to fortify their homes.[34]

[28] This townsite is in Swain County, North Carolina, not far from Bryson City.
[29] South Carolina Council Journal, June 8, 1751, 158.
[30] South Carolina Council Journal, June 8, 1751, 158.
[31] South Carolina Council Journal, June 8, 1751, 158.
[32] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 53. See also the South Carolina Council Journal, June 11, 1751, 174-175.
[33] South Carolina Council Journal, May 7, 1751, 63-65.
[34] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 51.

Among the Cherokees a number of level-headed people, Indian and white, set about straightening out the mess. On hearing Bunning's report, the Old Raven of Hiwassee sent his son and several warriors with Bunning to tell the Stecoes to stop their foolishness and return the stolen goods or else the awful Raven himself would visit them. The messengers found Stecoe deserted.[35] Discovering that they had acted alone in an enterprise that had miscarried, Stecoes — men, women, and children, had taken to the hills in alarm.

The Raven's son hauled down the British flag which waved over the empty townhouse, saying the people were unworthy of it, and went over to Jore to wait the return of the Stecoes to their town. He soon received an abject message from them: "their doggs and their hoggs and themselves were mad and it was all by a lying talk from Keowee that they did what they did" that they were sorry and would pay for the goods.[36]

At Keowee itself, as news of the events at Stecoe came in and the traders fled, there were second thoughts. Whatever the Keowees had proposed, and Skiagunsta later denied that harm was meant, it was unsuccessful. One town had looted its trader's store; somewhere a white man had been wounded; and a great many traders had piled out of the nation bawling the alarm as they went. In a few days, with something akin to the clatter of fiasco about their ears, the Lower Towns' headmen drew up in their dignity and gravely demanded that Stecoe return Trader Hughes's goods.[37]

Chotte mantained a firm grip on its impulses. Hot-heads, hearing of the excitement at Stecoe, set out to loot Anthony Dean's store at Toquo and settle a few scores with the trader himself, but Old Hop, First Man of the Overhills, sent word to his people that the white men must not be harmed. He took Dean into his own house for safekeeping and required those who had robbed the store to return the goods.[38] Old Hop knew as well as anyone else that a break with the English at this juncture would be a national disaster.

[35] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 81-82; South Carolina Council Journal, June 8, 1751, 158-160.
[36] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 81-82.
[37] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 116-118.
[38] Indian Books of South Carolina, III, Dean to Glen, April 13, 1752.

With such attitudes around them the Stecoes brought back Hughes's goods; that is, all except something over 400 lbs. weight of deerskins and £50 or £60 value of goods damaged in the looting or unaccounted for.[39]

All the headmen knew that the Stecoe affair, magnified in rumor and fear, would create a violent reaction in Charlestown. They, therefore, made an effort to mitigate the blow they feared by sending Governor Glen assurances of their friendship and accounts of the steps they had taken to make reparation for the unpleasant business.[40]

The appeals were in vain. The South Carolina Provincial Assembly demanded action. They had already gone on record as desiring an embargo on the trade to get the Cherokees to drive the Northward Indians from their midst, but Glen had refused to take the step. The Cherokees, he held, were necessary for the prosperity and security of Carolina. An embargo might throw them into the arms of the French. Furthermore, since the Cherokees had complied with the terms of the Treaty of 1749 and the Creeks had not, the governor argued: "I therefore do not think it will be consistent with natural justice and equity nor with our solemn engagements to Cherokees to give them up a prey to the Creeks to have their throats cut which must infallibly be the case if we withdraw the trade from them and leave them without either arms or ammunition to defend themselves."[41]

In the face of a mounting clamor Glen could not hold his enlightened opinion. Reports from Ninety-Six were very critical of him. The petition headed by Justice Francis's name stated that the petitioners had complained before but that the governor had paid no attention.[42] James Adair, a friend of Francis and an enemy of Glen, wrote that Glen had disregarded the traders reports and had been "very remiss."[43] The Commons House echoed the point of view of Adair and

[39] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 81-84.
[40] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 78-79, 93; South Carolina Council Journal, June 5, 1751, 147-148.
[41] South Carolina Journal of the Upper House of Assembly (Historical Commission of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina), April 27, 1751, 57. Hereafter cited as Journal of the Upper House.
[42] Journal of the Upper House, May 9, 1751, 80-81.
[43] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 58-59.

Francis and appointed a committee to draw up complaints to the crown against the governor.

Glen had reason to distrust reports from Ninety-Six. All the evidence indicated that Northward depredations in that region arose from Cherokee anger over the theft of the Toogaloos' deerskins.[44] The Cherokees thought that Justice Francis shielded friends and retainers. They suspected James Adair. Glen suspended Francis from the command of his ranger company and sent reports to the Commons house discrediting the justice. In the face of the opposition he weakened. The Assembly was confronted by a stack of petitions demanding redress and a gang of panicky traders who had fled the Cherokee country and loudly declared that the Cherokees intended war. The Commons demanded that Governor Glen place an embargo on trade with the Cherokees and keep it in force until the Indians had given full satisfaction for the Oconees murders, the attack on Murphy, and the looting of Hughes's store.[45]

On June 8, Glen prepared a letter to the Raven of Hiwassee commending him for his conduct in the crisis but telling him the bad news:

> . . . It is true the insolent behaviour of some particular persons and of two or three towns has given us grave offense and if passed over without showing a proper resentment might induce others to follow their pernicious example. . . . We are therefore determined for the good of the Cherokee nation to punish those few who have misbehaved. We were at first informed that these Lower Cherokees who killed the white men at Oconees protested that they were innocent of the offense and pretended ignorance of the matter but we have heard since that they have had the insolence to boast of it. We therefore have insisted that some of these be delivered up to us. One of our inhabitants going lately to the Cherokee nation was wounded by an Eustanally Indian who fired at him with an intent to kill him, this man we have also demanded to be delivered up to us. The three towns Kittuwa, Stecoe, Connutory have behaved themselves ill. Here our traders' store was plundered and his goods taken and publicly divided amongst the people from whom they were obliged to fly to save

[44] South Carolina Commons House Journal (Historical Commission of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina), April 16, 1751, 28-29. Hereafter cited as Commons House Journal.

[45] Commons House Journal, June 13, 1751, 585-586.

their lives . . . the headmen who ought to have been their protectors prompted others to destroy them . . . we have therefore demanded two of the headmen from each of those towns, especially as have been concerned in those wicked practices and in particular the Slave Ketcher of Connutory . . . if they do not comply with our reasonable request we will compel them to it by force. We also demand that the Little Carpenter who has for many years past declared himself the enemy of the English may be delivered up wherever he may be on delivery of this letter. I cannot conclude this letter without letting you know the difficulty of sending traders among you at present till we have obtained satisfaction that we demand. . . .[46]

Despite Old Hop's determination to keep the peace the crisis arising from the flight of the traders sharpened the conflict between Chotte and the Hiwassee-Tellico alignment. Hiwassee-Tellico seemed in its eagerness to satisfy the English, determined to break the Chotte-made peace with the French. Such a move would have also involved the Overhills in war with the Northwards, forced them to look to Hiwassee-Tellico and therefore to Carolina for aid, and enabled Carolina to end the Lower Creek-Lower Cherokee war. In June, Tellicoes took two French scalps on the Mississippi.[47] By fall Northwards were assaulting the Out Towns on Tuckaseigie.

While Hiwassee-Tellico struck at Chotte's French peace, Chotte aimed a blow at Carolina's trade monoply and embargo. With all the traders except Dougherty and Dean gone, it was clear that because of the panic and disturbances, trade would not be restored for a long time. It was also clear that no matter how unfair the embargo, the Cherokees must yield unless they could open up another source of trade. Chotte talked long of whether to go to the French or to Virginia and finally determined to try both with especial attention to Virginia.[48]

Late in June, 1751, before word of the Carolina embargo reached the nation, the Little Carpenter heading a strong delegation, including Long Jack of Tanase (at that time

[46] South Carolina Council Journal, June 8, 1751, 164-166.
[47] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 123-124.
[48] South Carolina Council Journal, November 22, 1751, 427.

Great Warrior of the Overhills), and the Smallpox conjurer of Settico, a very influential member of the Chotte Council, set out for Williamsburg. Very likely, too, at the same time someone at Chotte — Old Hop? — sent a message through the Creeks to the French at Fort Toulouse.[49]

Official news of the embargo saw the contenders for Cherokee leadership take opposite positions. Late in July Governor Glen's letter reached the Raven of Hiwassee. On July 30, the Raven, several valley headmen, the principal headmen of Great Tellico and Chatuge, in other words the Great Tellico-Hiwassee faction, met at Cornelius Dougherty's house and agreed to meet all of Carolina's demands or all they could. They would take the anti-English Slave Catcher of Connutory and the other offending Out Towns headmen to Charlestown as soon as these men came in from their summer hunts. The Little Carpenter, having gone to Virginia, they could not deliver. Eager to have the embargo lifted, they requested a meeting with Governor Glen at Saluda on August 21, and as proof of their friendship they promised to bring the scalps of the two Frenchmen killed down river in June. They sent a runner to apprize Chotte of the projected meetings with Glen, and the two Tacites of Great Tellico, Johnny and Osteneco, went to sound out the Lower Towns.[50]

Chotte, though hostile to Carolina, apparently intended at first to take part in the proposed conference at Saluda for they appointed deputies. Nevertheless, when their trader, Anthony Dean, whom Old Hop had befriended in April, attempted to steal away in response to Glen's orders for all white men to leave the nation, the Chottes forcibly detained him as a hostage, and when after August 5 or 6 an opportunity offered to disrupt the Tellico-Hiwassee program, they did not hesitate. A Shawnee runner from the Upper Creeks brought into Chotte a story that a Creek-Chickasaw-Catawba coalition had been formed with Carolina to send a thousand men against the Cherokees. The Chotte headmen held some grim meetings at which Ukanta of Chotte and Willinawaw of Toqua, men of no influence in Charlestown, but new-

[49] South Carolina Council Journal, November 19, 1751, 414.
[50] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 123-124.

ly powerful among the Overhills, talked against the English.[51] This new story seemed to confirm the story of Glen's hostility the Little Carpenter had heard in the North during the previous winter. The angry headmen called in the captive Dean and required him to write their thoughts out for the benefit of Governor Glen. They told the governor the stories they had heard and said that he must reassure them by sending the traders back into the nation. If they were kept long in doubt, they said, they would not be responsible for what happened to Dean and Dougherty. Harsh and blunt, this talk was quite different from the sycophantic tune of peace and compliance sung by the Raven of Hiwassee.[52] Chotte also sent runners through the nation with the Shawnee story of imminent attack. Great Tellico alarmed, sent to recall the two Tacites on their peace mission to the Lower Towns.[53] The Lower Towns on hearing the news went into a panic. Keowee, Estatoe, Chewee, Toxaway, Tomassee and Oconee talked of breaking up and going over the hills.[54] At Hiwassee, the Raven bent on resolving the troubles in a way satisfactory to Carolina, gave the story no credence. On hearing the Chotte talk as written by Dean, the Raven made a talk of his own for the governor stating that Chotte spoke for itself and Tanase only, that the other Overhill towns did not agree with them, and sent it along with the other.[55] Nevertheless, the Chotte-spread story of English hostility delayed the projected meeting for several months and might have prevented it altogether had not Otacite Osteneco, arriving at Keowee in time to hear the dreadful rumor, surmised the Chotte intent and decided to go himself to Charlestown and find out the truth.[56] There he learned that Governor Glen on the basis of the July 30 Hiwassee-Tellico compliance with his demands and the consent of his Assembly had already determined to lift the embargo. Beamer, the principal Lower Towns trader, and Goudy of Great Tellico were to return to

[51] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 114.
[52] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 114.
[53] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 135.
[54] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 139, 146.
[55] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 135.
[56] South Carolina Council Journal, September 1, 1751, 283.

the nation with the good news and to round up the headmen for a great meeting in Charlestown to discuss grievances and trade and make a new treaty.[57]

While these events took place in Charlestown and in the nation, the Little Carpenter was in Williamsburg, the Virginia capitol, presenting the Cherokee case. Briefly, it was that by the Treaty of 1730 made in England, the Cherokees were assured in return for their alliance with the English a trade. If Carolina could not provide the trade, Virginia would. Carolina now denied the Cherokees a trade but at the same time supplied ammunition to the Creek enemies of the Cherokees who were friends of the French. This violated the Treaty of 1730. It was now Virginia's duty to open up a trade for the Carolinas.[58] President Burrell of the Virginia Council told the Little Carpenter that the government of Virginia could not of itself enter the trade; that the best he could do would be to advise private traders to enter the Cherokee trade.[59] With this hardly satisfactory answer the Little Carpenter and his delegation set out in late August to return home.

The most valuable fruits of the Virginia mission came from South Carolina. When Glen read newspaper reports of the Virginia mission, he was alarmed and indignant. Not only had Chotte attempted to circumvent Carolina coercion, they had invited a competition into the trade. Glen composed a sharp letter to the Virginia council. With a copious serving of Cherokee history, the Carolina governor pointed out that in even suggesting that Virginians could enter the Cherokee trade, Burrell had exceeded his authority; for the treaty of 1730 had designated the Governor of Carolina agent of the Crown in Cherokee matters. The Little Carpenter, he wrote, was a person of no standing and a fugitive from Carolina justice. Carolina would have to lay the whole matter before the Crown and meanwhile unless the Virginians even ceased to think of a Cherokee trade, Carolina would seize any Virginians entering Cherokee country.[60] Impressed, Bur-

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[57] South Carolina Council Journal, September 2, 1751, 292.
[58] *Virginia Gazette*, Williamsburg, Virginia (microfilm), August 16, 1751; South Carolina Council Journal, September 11, 1751, 297-298.
[59] South Carolina Council Journal, September 11, 1751, 297-298.
[60] South Carolina Council Journal, September 11, 1751, 302-303.

rell published a notice that the Cherokee visitors were frauds and a warning to Virginia traders to keep out of the Cherokee country.[61] Nevertheless, the threat of Virginia competition had a good deal to do with the Carolina disposition to settle its Cherokee troubles peacefully and to make readjustments in the trade.

On September 22, the return of Osteneco from Charlestown with Beamer and Goudy brought joy to Keowee. An Indian had already come up from the settlements with news that the rumored attack would not occur. This had halted the exodus of the Lower people to remote regions except for Eustanally. Some of the Eustanallys had committed fresh depredations in Carolina and upon the report of approaching chastisement the whole town fled and settled permanently a hundred miles away.[62] Beamer and Osteneco also gave the lie to the horrid story. Though sick when he came to Keowee, Osteneco attended the council called to hear Glen's peace message. He gave a great talk on behalf of Carolina, "the best talk," said Beamer, "I ever heard given by an Indian."[63] This and the prospect of the trade being reopened aroused a surge of pro-English feeling. The Lower Towns headmen made ready to go to Charlestown.

The new conference was, however, slow to materialize. As soon as he had recovered Osteneco had gone toward great Tellico through the Middle Settlements talking for the English in every town.[64] As a result the Middle Towns also prepared to go to Charlestown. But the Overhills—in particular Chotte, Tanase, and Settico—refused. They had their own views of what the nation needed. They had heard that French traders would come to them in the spring.[65] They had not yet heard from the Little Carpenter concerning a Virginia trade. If these things developed, they would not need Carolina. To Old Hop and his councillors the time may have seemed ripe for uniting the nation directly under

[61] South Carolina Council Journal, November 22, 1751, 427.
[62] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 146.
[63] Indian Books of South Carolina, II, 146.
[64] Indian Books of South Carolina, III, 2.
[65] South Carolina Council Journal, November 19, 1751, 432; November 20, 1751, 414.

their authority and thus ending the decentralization which Carolina exploited. They urged the discontented Lower people to come Over-the-Hills and join them.[66] When they heard the call to come down and make peace with Carolina, they found reason for delay. The Raven of Hiwassee, the Young Emperor, and the Tellicoes finally started without them.

The Charlestown-bound headmen had been but a few days gone when the Little Carpenter, almost as if informed that the coast was clear arrived in Chotte. But he did not stay long, any longer than was needed to report the dubious success of his Virginia overture and to gather a band to go with him toward the Ohio. He said he would find a trade, possibly with Croghan's outfit, trading between the Ohio and the lakes, or else go to England to get it.[67] He knew the reality of his people's need for trade goods and dedicated himself to fulfilling it, a determination which seems to have been his fundamental policy for the next ten years. Considering Glen's attitude toward him at this time, he showed wisdom in traveling for a while in far places.

When the conference in Charlestown opened on November 13, 1751, 160 Cherokees were present. Save for Chotte, nativist and unwilling to truckle to Carolina, all regions of the nation were represented. Led by Skiagunsta of Keowee and the Good Warrior of Estatoe, the Lower Towns came in greater force than since 1745. From the Hiwassee-Tellico group came the Great Raven and his son, Moitoi of Hiwassee, and Old Caesar of Chatuge. The Young Emperor had had to turn back because of illness. The Middle and Out Towns vitally concerned in the Stecoe matter had a strong delegation led by Kittagusta, Prince of Joree.

Despite the prominence and friendliness of the visitors, Glen was disappointed. They had not brought one of the offenders he had demanded. Such a surrender in the face of the covert bitterness in the nation was more than even they could manage. Andrew White, wanted in the Oconees affair, was said to be out at war against the Creeks. The six anti-English headmen of Kittuwa, Connutory, and Stecoe followed far away

[66] South Carolina Council Journal, November 29, 1751, 421.
[67] South Carolina Council Journal, March 24, 1751, 104-105.

game trials.[68] Carolina justice would have to be patient—so patient indeed, that the offenses might be forgotten.

Under the circumstance Glen put on his boldest face and read the Cherokees a violent lecture. He charged them with treaty breaking, sundry crimes and many misdemeanors and dwelt ominously on how necessary the English trade was to the nation. Without the English he declared, they would be forced to use "bad bows and wretched arrows headed with bills of birds and knives of split cane and hatchets of stone." [69]

The abashed Cherokees replied meekly. The Raven of Hiwassee avowed he was ready to weep at the crimes committed in the nation; but that not all Cherokees were bad; his town was good; he had done everything he could in the bad time to help the English. The headmen of Stecoe and Tuckaseigie disclaimed responsibility for the trouble in the Out Towns. They had been away at the time; it would not have happened had they been at home. Skiagunsta of Keowee, under Glen's prodding recounted the fears his people had had in the spring and described how cautious his warriors had been at the Oconees and how accidental the killing of the whites had been. He admitted helplessness in preventing the Northwards coming into his towns. He had lectured them, he said, about going into the white man's country and against the Catawbas. They had promised to behave; but they did not keep their promises. It was not his fault, he said, that they came into the nation. Chotte had made the peace with the Northwards. The governor could write to the Emperor or the Chotte headmen and tell them to stop the intruders. He could even send to the headman of the Northwards now at chotte and tell him to go home. If the English would build a fort in the nation, that would certainly stop the marauders.[70]

The conference lasted for several days. The governor consulted the assembled traders, held private talks with various headmen, and learned much about the affairs of the nation. Beamer testified that a fort was needed to halt Northward incursions. Bunning told of French efforts to detach the

[68] South Carolina Council Journal, November 15, 1751, 402-403.
[69] South Carolina Council Journal, November 13, 1751, 389.
[70] South Carolina Council Journal, November 15, 1751, 403.

Cherokees from the English; of the lawlessness of the traders; of his fear that Virginia traders would come in force to the nation the next summer; and emphasised that a Carolina fort was not only desirable but also necessary.[71]

With this testimony in mind Glen sent a special message to his Assembly asking that a fort be built right away. He gave his attention to making a new treaty with the Cherokees and to a new regulation of the trade.

The treaty which the Cherokees signed on November 29, 1751, reduced to four the Carolina demands for the disorders.[72] The principal offender in the Oconees matter, Andrew White, was to be given up; Bernard Hughes's loss of 468 deerskins was to be made good; the Little Carpenter was to present himself in person at Charlestown; and the Cherokees were to prevent the Northwards from going down to the white settlements and were not to supply them with ammunition. When the Indians had reimbursed Hughes, Carolina would make good the Toogaloos loss of 330 deerskins. The traders would return to the nation immediately. Carolina would attempt to get a peace for the Cherokees with the Creeks. A new regulation of the trade was to be made, guaranteeing fairer prices, better measures, and reduced pressure in the matter of debts.[73]

The Treaty of 1751 was the last great triumph of Hiwassee-Tellico. Carolina's failure to halt the Creek war, the death of the Great Raven, the withdrawal of Goudy from the trade at Tellico, and the formal entry of Virginia into Cherokee diplomacy brought about in a short time the ascendency of Chotte—which is a story in itself.

[71] South Carolina Council Journal, November 19, 1751, 432.
[72] South Carolina Council Journal, November 26, 1751, 451-453.
[73] South Carolina Council Journal, December 3, 1751, 512.

NATHANIEL MACON AND THE SOUTHERN PROTEST AGAINST NATIONAL CONSOLIDATION

By Noble E. Cunningham, Jr.

The government which John Quincy Adams found when he moved into the White House in 1825 was a much bigger government than his father had left; and Nathaniel Macon, who had represented North Carolina in Congress since 1791, was far from happy with it. He regretted that everything had grown, just like the number of doorkeepers of the houses of Congress. "Formerly two men were sufficient for doorkeeper, etc. for the two houses," Macon complained, "but now there is a regiment."[1] As he recalled the time, during the presidency of John Adams, when the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions had been passed, he asked: "If there was reason to be alarmed at the growing power of the General Government [then], how much more has taken place since? Congress now stopped almost at nothing, which it deemed expedient to be done, and the Constitution was construed to give power for any grand scheme." [2] To Macon, it was a dangerous development. "Do a little now, and a little then, and, by and by, they would render this government as powerful and unlimited as the British Government was," Macon told his colleagues in the Senate in 1825; [3] and at the next session, he declared that "he did not like to go on in this way—the Government was constantly gaining power by little bits. A wagon road was made under a treaty with an Indian tribe, twenty odd years ago; and now it becomes a great national object, to be kept up by large appropriations. We thus go on by degrees, step by step, until we get almost unlimited power." [4]

It was not unusual that Macon should be protesting against the course of public affairs; he was a man not often with the

[1] *Congressional Debates*, 19th Congress, 2nd Session (February 16, 1827), 522.
[2] *Congressional Debates*, 18th Congress, 2nd Session (February 24, 1825), I, 679-680.
[3] *Congressional Debates*, 18th Congress, 2nd Session (February 24, 1825), I, 679-680.
[4] *Congressional Debates*, 19th Congress, 1st Session (February 14, 1826), 104.

trend of times. In his thirty-seven years of congressional life, he left the vivid impression that "no ten members gave so many negative votes," [5] and one of his colleagues is reported to have said that if Macon should happen to be drowned, he should look for his body up the stream instead of floating with the current.[6] It was not strange either that Macon should protest against the increasing power of the national government. He had long been watchful of the rights of the states,[7] and had always demanded a strict construction of the Constitution. His close attachment to the soil and to the agrarian ideal of the independent life of a rural society had dictated his constant concern for simplicity and frugality in government.[8] Yet the protests that Macon made against national consolidation in the years after the end of the War of 1812 have peculiar significance, not so much because of their influence at the time but in view of the subsequent course of southern history.

Although Macon was not alone when he objected to the trend of public affairs during the politically quiet years of the "era of good feeling," there were not many men who publicly shared his sentiments. There were some, however, and like Macon they were influential men. In Virginia there were John Randolph of Roanoke, Judge Spencer Roane, and John Taylor of Caroline; there were William H. Crawford of Georgia, and Charles Tait and Bolling Hall of Alabama.[9] These men were spokesmen from southern states, and their protest was largely a southern protest; but they did not speak for the South as a whole, nor even for a party in the South.

[5] Charles J. Ingersoll, *Historical Sketch of the Second War Between the United States of America and Great Britain* (Philadelphia, 1845-49), I, 212. Hereafter cited as Ingersoll, *Historical Sketch.*

[6] Ingersoll, *Historical Sketch,* I, 209.

[7] See for example Macon's speech against the sedition law, July 10, 1798, *Annals of Congress,* 5th Congress, 2nd Session, 2151; also his speech on South Carolina and the slave trade, February 13, 1804, *Annals of Congress,* 8th Congress, 1st Session, 98.

[8] "I believe the less legislation the better," Macon told the House of Representatives in 1806. *Annals of Congress,* 9th Congress, 1st Session (January 23, 1806), 386. To the Secretary of the Treasury, William H. Crawford, he wrote in 1817: ". . . our strength is in proportion to the smallness of our taxes, encumber us with debt, and we are ruined." Macon to Crawford, October 13, 1817, William H. Crawford Papers, Duke University Library.

[9] See Charles S. Sydnor, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism 1819-1848, A History of the South,* volume V (Baton Rouge, 1948), 135.

They were men who were considered by younger statesmen of the day in much of the South, as elsewhere, to be old-fashioned and behind the times, and they were called "Old Republicans." In 1823 Macon himself admitted: "My opinions are become too old fashioned for the present time; they are out of fashion and called, the old school."[10] It is of this group of Old Republicans that Macon is representative.

As the course of events modified in practice the principles that Jefferson had proclaimed in assuming office in 1801, few of Jefferson's old followers were more vigorous in their protest or more firm in their refusal to accept changes than was Macon. Following the War of 1812, when the cry was raised for protection for the infant manufacturing enterprises that the embargo and the war had helped to get started, Macon stood his ground. When there was a demand for reviving the national bank, which had been allowed to die just when it was needed most, Macon opposed it; and the great clamor for internal improvements met with his bitterest dissent. He strongly opposed the schemes of such young Republican leaders as Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun; and when President Madison went so far as to sign the bill to establish the Second Bank of the United States and to advocate such measures as the building of roads and canals and a protective tariff,[11] Macon was bitterly critical of his old friend. "Who could have supposed when Mr. Jefferson went out of office that his principles and the principles which brought him into it, would so soon become unfashionable," he asked, "and that Mr. Madison, the champion against banks, should have signed an act to establish one, containing rather worse principles, than the one he opposed as unconstitutional. . . ."[12] Even after Madison had vetoed Calhoun's bonus bill for internal improvements, Macon still could not forgive Madison for approving the bank. He explained to Jefferson: "After it was known that President Madison, one of our best and most

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[10] Macon to Bartlett Yancey, December 12, 1823, Kemp P. Battle, ed., "Letters of Nathaniel Macon," *James Sprunt Historical Monographs*, (1900), II, 68. Hereafter cited as Battle, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon."

[11] See Madison's message to Congress, December, 1815, *Annals of Congress*, 14th Congress, 1st Session, 15-17.

[12] Macon to Bartlett Yancey, March 8, 1818, Battle, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon," II, 49.

worthy men, would sign the act, to establish the expensive bank of the U. S.; all who were tired of the principles which put them into power; immediately laid them aside, and went farther into constructive and implied powers, than had been done at any time before."[13]

In 1824 Macon wrote dejectedly to Albert Gallatin who had served as Jefferson's Secretary of the Treasury while Macon was Speaker of the House: "There are not, I imagine, five members of Congress who entertain the opinions which those did who brought Mr. Jefferson into power, and they are yet mine."[14] In a letter to Jefferson, Macon explained specifically the reasons for his opposition. "The acts for the banks of the United States, the tariff and internal improvements," he wrote, "seem to have put an end to legislating on the old republican principles and to prove, that under any party name, unconstitutional measures may be adopted. . . . The acts above mentioned and such as may be expected to follow tend I fear, to make Congress rather bargainers and traders than sound and fair legislators; to look forward, cannot be pleasing, especially to those who have been opposed to constructive & implied powers in the federal government."[15] Jefferson, in the last days of his life, applauded Macon's fight against consolidation, writing to his old friend: "I am particularly happy to perceive that you retain health and spirits still manfully to maintain our good old principle of cherishing and fortifying the rights and authorities of the people in opposition to those who fear them, who wish to take all power from them, and to transfer all to Washington."[16]

It was the constitutional issue that Macon stressed in regard to national consolidation; he had always demanded a rigid respect for the Constitution. But as the trend toward increasing the power of the federal government continued, Macon revealed a very strong motive behind his concern

[13] Macon to Jefferson, October 20, 1821, William E. Dodd, ed., "Macon Papers," *The John P. Branch Historical Papers of Randolph-Macon College*, III (1909), 79. Hereafter cited as Dodd, "Macon Papers."

[14] Macon to Gallatin, February 13, 1824, Henry Adams, *The Life of Albert Gallatin* (Philadelphia, 1880), 596.

[15] Macon to Jefferson, May 21, 1824, Dodd, "Macon Papers," III, 83-84.

[16] Jefferson to Macon, February 21, 1826, Paul Leicester Ford, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1892-99), X, 378.

for strict construction. This was the fear that the ever-broadening powers of Congress would eventually lead that body to legislate on the subject of slavery. As early as 1818, Macon disclosed this apprehension in a letter to a close friend, a letter cautioning, "I have written very freely to you, and it is intended for you alone." Wrote Macon: "I must ask you to examine the constitution of the U. S. . . . and then tell me if Congress can establish banks, make roads and canals, whether they cannot free all the Slaves in the U. S." It might be some time before Congress attempted such legislation, but "We have abolition-colonizing bible and peace societies, . . . and if the general government shall continue to stretch their powers, these societies will undoubtedly push them to try the question of emancipation." He believed that "under a fair and honest construction of the constitution the negro property is safe and secure," but if the doctrine of implied powers were carried too far the slave states would be in grave danger. "The states having no slaves may not feel as strongly as the states having slaves about stretching the constitution," he said, "because no such interest is to be touched by it."[17] When his friend's reply did not confirm his own opinions, Macon wrote once more urging: "Examine again, the constitution of the U. S. and you will perceive your error. If Congress can make canals they can with more propriety emancipate. . . . Let not love of improvement, or a thirst for glory blind that sober discretion and sound sense, with which the Lord has blest you . . . your error in this, will injure if not destroy our beloved mother N. Carolina and all the South country."[18]

Apparently Macon had long harbored in his mind this concern for the security of slavery. In 1825 he revealed that "A debate about thirty years past in the H. of R. compelled me to believe that there were some people, who then thought, that Congress might legislate on the condition of slaves, & no circumstance has taken place since to induce a change of that belief. The question with us, is not an original question

[17] Macon to Bartlett Yancey, March 8, 1818, Battle, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon," II, 48-49.

[18] Macon to Bartlett Yancey, April 15, 1818, Battle, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon," II, 47.

of slavery or not slavery; but what is the power of the federal Government." [19]

Macon never openly admitted on the floor of Congress his fear concerning slavery, though John Randolph did not hesitate to do so; [20] but he circulated it among his friends in the South. He warned younger Southern leaders, including Calhoun,[21] who had not yet apprehended the threat which Macon saw to Southern institutions; he helped to make familiar to a younger generation the doctrines of strict construction. Again and again he warned: "If Congress can make canals and banks it is as omnipotent as the British Parliament." [22] "I never think of these claims of power, which appear to me, not to be granted," he wrote, "but I shudder for the states, whose population is not of the same character, to be plain I mean the states where slavery exists." [23]

Macon was a slaveholder from a slaveholding state;[24] he never shared Jefferson's views on emancipation. He was not ashamed to remind the House of Representatives that "the people in the Southern States . . . are agricultural people, and if you please a slaveholding people";[25] and he was will-

[19] Macon to Bartlett Yancey, December 8, 1825, Battle, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon," II, 77-78. References to earlier debate is probably to that on a memorial of the Quakers in 1797, protesting that slaves set free in North Carolina by their society had been returned to slavery. See *Annals of Congress*, 5th Congress, 2nd Session (November 30, 1797), 661.

[20] Speaking against internal improvements in 1824, Randolph said: "If Congress possess the power to do what is proposed by this bill, they can not only enact a sedition law,—for there is precedent,—but they may emancipate every slave in the United States." See speech in House of Representatives, January 31, 1824, quoted in Henry Adams, *John Randolph* (Boston, 1898), 274-275.

[21] Macon to Bartlett Yancey, December 26, 1824, Battle, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon," II, 72.

[22] Macon to Bartlett Yancey, January 31, 1824, Nathaniel Macon Papers, University of North Carolina Library.

[23] Macon to Bartlett Yancey, December 8, 1825, Battle, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon," II, 76.

[24] In 1784, Macon as a young man of twenty-six owned seven slaves. A List of Taxable Property in Warren County for the Year 1784, North Carolina Department of Archives and History. In the census of 1790, he was listed as the owner of twenty slaves. Walter Clark, ed., *The State Records of North Carolina* (Goldsboro, 1895-1907), XXVI, 1198. When Macon died in 1837, he owned seventy-seven slaves. An Inventory of the Estate of Nathaniel Macon, deed returned by his executor W. N. Edwards, November Session, 1837, MS., Record of Wills, vol. 36, 222-233, Warren County Records, Warren County Courthouse, Warrenton, North Carolina.

[25] *Annals of Congress*, 11th Congress, 1st Session (December 22, 1809), 867.

ing to defend the institution of slavery when occasion arose. During the debate on the restriction of slavery in Missouri in 1820, when most southern congressmen refused to debate the evils of slavery as beside the point, Macon unhesitantly arose to defend, with great warmth, the system of the South.[26] He also observed that "A clause in the Declaration of Independence had been read, declaring that 'all men are created equal': follow that sentiment and does it not lead to universal emancipation? If it will justify putting an end to slavery in Missouri, will it not justify it in the old states." [27]

Macon had early been a champion of the South. In 1798 during a spirited debate in Congress on the question of its power to regulate the salaries of foreign ministers, Macon had defended the South in a speech worthy of a later generation of ardent southerners when he told the House:

> It was said that the gentleman from Virginia and those who supported the amendment wished to violate the Constitution, and overthrow the government. This charge was principally made against members of the Southern States, than in which, he would venture to say, the laws of the United States had no where been better executed; for, although their members in that House had generally been in a minority, no instance of opposition to the laws had ever occurred. . . . It was clear, if any part of the country had a right to complain, it would have been the Southern States, as many of the laws had borne hardly upon them, and none of them afforded them any advantage.[28]

The agrarian interests of the South had loomed foremost in Macon's mind, as he had opposed the tariff. Southerners, he had said, wanted "no protecting duties to encourage or aid them to make their homespun." [29] As the years passed, Macon had become convinced that the South was being mistreated, and he had called for unity among its people. In 1821 he had tried to show how "unanimity in the south" in support of one candidate for president would give great weight to

[26] *Annals of Congress*, 16th Congress, 1st Session (January 20, 1820), 219-229.
[27] *Annals of Congress*, 16th Congress, 1st Session (January 20, 1820), 225.
[28] *Annals of Congress*, 5th Congress, 2nd Session (February 28, 1798), 1111-1112.
[29] *Annals of Congress*, 11th Congress, 1st Session (December 22, 1809), 867.

that person, because no other section of the nation was yet united. He had urged the people, "especially those of the South," desirous of economy in government to examine closely the presidential candidates. "I have said especially of the South," Macon wrote, "because nearly all the federal taxes collected there are paid for the interest of the public debt, or laid out to the North of the James River. . . ." [30] But the South had not always followed Macon; regretfully he had admitted that "this manufacturing scheme was fixed on us, by the strong aid of the South." [31]

By 1824, however, most Southern spokesmen were in agreement with Macon on the subject of the tariff,[32] and his "Old Republican" ideas were becoming more attractive in the South. But if men listened now to the aging Senator, they must not have mistaken the mounting bitterness in his thoughts as he saw his beloved South losing ground. "The burthens of the Government," he said in 1826, "have and will continue to fall most heavy on the cultivators of cotton and tobacco";[33] and during the debate on the tariff of 1828 he lamented: "The Southern states must, if they are not now ruined, be shortly ruined." [34]

Before long some were recalling Macon's earlier warnings. In 1833 Bolling Hall of Alabama wrote to Macon: "The signs of the times are indeed portentous; by the events which have taken place, I am often reminded of your predictions of the encroachment of the general, on the State Governments . . . for years you have viewed the approach of the present crisis." [35] But such words were little comfort to Macon, who could only recall that his early protests against national con-

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[30] Macon to Bartlett Yancey, December 12, 1821, Battle, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon," II, 59.

[31] Macon to Bartlett Yancey, April 19, 1820, Battle, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon," II, 54.

[32] The southern vote on the tariff of 1824 in the House of Representatives was three for the bill, sixty-four against; in the Senate there were two for the bill (both from Tennessee) and fourteen against it. See Edward Stanwood, *American Tariff Controversies in the Nineteenth Century* (Boston, 1904), I, 239.

[33] Macon to Bartlett Yancey, December 24, 1826, Battle, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon," II, 91.

[34] Macon to Weldon N. Edwards, May 20, 1828, Macon Papers, North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

[35] Bolling Hall to Macon, February 22, 1833, Macon Papers, Duke University Library.

solidation had been largely ignored. Macon's protests and those of other Old Republicans—their jealous defense of "Old Republican principles"—however, had not been without influence. They had helped to keep alive the doctrines of state rights and strict construction, and to make familiar in the South a political language that a later generation was to find well-suited to its needs.

THE MILITARY EXPERIENCES OF JAMES A. PEIFER, 1861-1865

By George D. Harmon

James A. Peifer of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, was not an educated man, but he was, nevertheless, a shrewd observer. He served in the Union Army throughout the entire period of the War between the States. Furthermore, he wrote to his sister, Mary, fairly regularly, imparting to her his observations and experiences.[1]

Almost nothing is known of James A. Peifer's early life except that he loved travel and adventure. At the age of twenty he left Bethlehem to seek his fortune in New York. He lived in that great metropolis for only six months, returning to Bethlehem because he "was not fortunate enough to secure a situation for the winter" and his mother did not want him to go South.[2] The sojourn in glamorous New York made young Peifer extremely dissatisfied with Bethlehem. He wrote his sister, Mary, in Philadelphia that he could no longer live happily "up here [Bethlehem] now. It is so very dull and dreary — no excitement of any kind."[3] He added that he would probably leave the place of his birth by Christmas for other parts.

Whether James Peifer made good his threat to visit other places is unknown, but at any rate he was in the Moravian village in early 1861. On February 21 of that year he left Bethlehem for Harrisburg with the Washington Grays, a local National Guard unit, to participate in the grand military parade to be given in the honor of President-elect Abra-

[1] Unfortunately only fifty per cent of the letters have been preserved or these are all that are known to me. The letters which I used are in the possession of Mrs. Clarence A. Conrad, 1819 Richmond Avenue, Bethlehem, Pa., to whom I am deeply indebted. According to her recollection there were two members of the family who divided the letters equally between them; therefore, Mrs. Conrad only inherited half of them. The others apparently have been destroyed.

[2] James A. Peifer to his sister Mary in Philadelphia, November 11, 1859. James Peifer is hereafter referred to as Peifer.

[3] Peifer to his sister Mary in Philadelphia, November 11, 1859. I have occasionally changed the spelling and punctuation in the quotations, but I have in no way changed the words or substance of the letters.

ham Lincoln on Washington's birthday. Between fifty and sixty companies paraded through the city of Harrisburg "and then stopped at the depot to escort Old Abe to his place of destination. . . ." The Washington Grays returned from Harrisburg on February 23 at six-thirty in the morning, and upon arriving in Bethlehem at nine o'clock in the evening they were met by the town band and many citizens who escorted them home.

Fort Sumter was fired upon on April 12. Two days later Lincoln issued a proclamation calling upon the governors of all loyal states for 75,000 volunteers to serve for three months. James A. Peifer volunteered almost immediately upon learning of Lincoln's call for troops. He left Bethlehem for Harrisburg on Friday, April 19, 1861, with a company of eighty-five volunteers chiefly from Bethlehem, but commanded by James Selfridge and Thomas Lynn of Hellertown.

Peifer's enthusiastic response to the call of his county was shared by thousands throughout the North. His brother, William C. Peifer, wrote on April 18, 1861, that "intense excitement pervades the people" of Bethlehem, who are "unanimous for the Union." Already there had been held in the town, he said, several public meetings at which much patriotic enthusiasm was displayed. A local committee announced on the third day after Lincoln's call for volunteers that the people of Bethlehem had subscribed $3,000 for the purpose of securing the needed supplies which the State had failed to furnish the volunteers and "of assisting the needy families which they left behind." [4]

It required four hours for the volunteer company from Bethlehem to reach Harrisburg. Soon after their arrival at the State Capital at one o'clock in the afternoon they were served a good dinner at the Jones House. Immediately after enjoying the last morsel, they were marched to the Fair Grounds where they were issued essential equipment, including belts, muskets, and blankets. They now pitched their tents, partook of a "scanty meal consisting of a few potatoes, a loaf of bread and about a pound of meat for four, as [they]

[4] William C. Peifer to his sister Mary in Philadelphia, April 18, 1861.

were divided in four's in a tent." The exhausted volunteers now went to bed to enjoy much needed repose, but they could not rest because they were "unaccustomed to this style of sleeping."

The next morning, Saturday, April 20, at five o'clock, James A. Peifer and the other eighty-four tired but patriotic volunteers from Bethlehem were aroused "by the beat of the drum for a half hour drill" before breakfast. At nine o'clock there was another drill of one hour. Afterwards the enlisted men cooked their own dinner, which was followed immediately by another drill. At three o'clock in the afternoon they were sworn into the service of their country by taking an oath to "stand by the Constitution and the Union." Now, duly inducted into the Army of the United States, they were placed in designated regiments. The Bethlehem boys were extremely proud of being assigned to the First Regiment. "As good luck would have it," wrote Peifer, "we are designated as Comp. A. 1rst Regiment. Think of that! A company from the little Moravian town of Bethlehem receiving the honour of being the First Company of the 1st Regiment. *Ahem. I feel so good.* It makes us feel proud. . . ."[5]

At the conclusion of these ceremonies, the inductees proceeded to their camp where they again prepared their own supper. Having had practically no sleep the previous night and thinking that they had just concluded a very busy day, they were getting ready for bed about eight o'clock when orders were received for the First, Second, and Third Regiments to start immediately for Baltimore. Upon the receipt of this startling news, they "packed up their belongings in a hurry" and proceeded at once to the depot. The train, with approximately three thousand men placed in forty-two cars, left Harrisburg about eleven o'clock Saturday night on April 20 and arrived "Sunday forenoon April 21st in the State of Maryland at a one horse place called Cockeysville, about 15 miles from Baltimore."[6] The camp was located about one half mile from the village.

[5] James A. Peifer to his sister Mary, May 6, 1861, from Camp Scott. Apparently his brother William accompanied him to Harrisburg.

[6] Peifer to his sister Mary, May 6, 1861, from Camp Scott.

Although tired and foodless since eight o'clock Saturday evening, the men were forced to drill during the remainder of the morning. As soon as drill was over the soldiers headed for town, composed of one store, one hotel, and one or two houses, to buy some food. The record does not reveal what they had to eat, but the little village was probably unprepared to feed adequately such a large number of hungry soldiers. Peifer does reveal, however, that the scorching heat caused them nearly to perish of thirst and that "some of the men paid as high as seventy-five cents for a pint of water which was very muddy out of a small creek where we washed ourselves at one place and drank the water out of the other."[7]

As the members of Company A of the First Regiment had had no sleep or real rest since they had left Bethlehem on April 19, they "lay down on the bare ground" and covered themselves with blankets at twilight Sunday evening, April 21. No bed had probably ever felt more comfortable, but the men had hardly lain down, certainly had not had time to get a minute's sleep, when they were "called to arms and assured that 10,000 Baltimore Secessions were upon us. We immediately posted our sentinels. . . . After being called to arms about a dozen times [during the night] we were told that we would not be attacked that night, but we did not sleep any more. . . . Many a prayer was offered that night of men that perhaps never prayed before. We heard the horsemen of the enemy and we heard the distant drums and the mob cheering Jeff. Davis very often. Had we been attacked they could have slaughtered us all as we had no ammunition."[8]

By Friday, May 3, the First Regiment was in Camp Scott, near York, Pennsylvania. The day was very cold, rainy, and snowy, which caused considerable discomfort. The weather did not improve any during the night, for the soldiers woke up on Saturday morning "wet to the skin" and everything in the camp had been flooded. As no dry straw could be secured, it was decided to leave camp in search of dryer quarters elsewhere. A kind Moravian minister by the name of Hagen

[7] Peifer to his sister Mary, May 6, 1861, from Camp Scott.
[8] Peifer to his sister Mary, May 6, 1861, from Camp Scott.

offered them quarters in his church, which they naturally accepted. They moved in with their wet clothes and equipment and "were soon snugly quartered in the house of God. . . . Brother and Sister Hagen provide us with coffee and cakes. I must say we have never met a more generous sect of people as we have here. They are willing . . . to do anything for the poor Soldiers. . . . We are still [May 6] quartered in the church and will not return to camp as long as the weather is so unfavorable, and we are all very glad of it as we have excellent quarters here."[9]

Despite these many difficulties and discouragements, Peifer proudly wrote:

> I can assure you that I am very thankful that I am able-bodied and healthy so that I can aid in so great a cause as [to] defend the stars and stripes that waves so proudly over the land of the free and the brave. And long may it wave still, as it was purchased with great price. . . . Therefore I deem it the duty of every free and true man to defend it as long as he has the power to do it, and not allow this glorious banner to be trampled upon by these vile and vicious traitors who are seeking to destroy this glorious Liberty which we have enjoyed.[10]

Before he had really engaged in gunfire, James A. Peifer's enlistment for ninety days expired in the summer of 1861. Though he did not wish to leave his regiment, he had promised his immediate family that he would not re-enlist; and reluctantly he returned to his native city. But his patriotism would not let him keep his pledge. On September 13, 1861, he again left Bethlehem for Harrisburg with some friends to re-enlist, this time not for ninety days but for the duration of the war "or for a term not exceeding three years . . . in the 46th Regiment."

Peifer thus described the generosity of Uncle Sam in issuing supplies to the inductees:

> We then proceeded [after being inducted into the service] to the commissaries and received shoes, two pair of woolen stockings, underclothes, canteen, knapsack, and the most useful article,

[9] Peifer to his sister Mary, May 6, 1861, from Camp Scott.
[10] Peifer to his sister Mary, May 6, 1861, from Camp Scott.

a blanket . . . and a blouse, but overcoats we did not receive and have none today [October 7, 1861].

On Monday, September 16, they received their marching orders, so they struck their tents and packed their knapsacks to move immediately. At four o'clock in the afternoon they bid farewell to Camp Curtin. They marched to the arsenal "where [they] received arms instead of rifles [or] . . . muskets, called *Blunder-busses,*" scornfully by the men. After Governor Curtin addressed the Regiment, they boarded a train for Washington. Upon reaching that city the next day about nine o'clock in the evening, they proceeded to a place called the Soldier's Retreat, where they "received coffee and bread and beef tongue. . . . Our Colonel Knipe waited on us like a father and did not eat until the men were all finished."[11] After all had been fully refreshed, they marched out Pennsylvania Avenue for about a mile where quarters were secured in a large four-story building. It was two o'clock in the morning before the men were able to stretch out on the floor for a good night's rest.

After eating breakfast at the Soldier's Retreat, they marched past the White House, the Treasury Building, and on through the city into the country. About four o'clock in the afternoon they pitched their tents at Kalaramo Heights where they remained for two days.

On Saturday, September 21, beginning at four o'clock in the afternoon, the Regiment marched seventeen miles, in heavy rain, stopping two hours after mid-night near Rockville. Peifer said that "John Fetter and myself laid on a table, but I could not sleep as all my bones hurt me and I was wet to the skin and felt so chilly."[12]

About ten o'clock Sunday morning the Regiment resumed its march, but after they had marched about six miles a terrible tragedy occurred: a private in Company I shot "our beloved Major Lewis of Catasauqua [Pennsylvania] from his horse. The desperado was immediately arrested. The affair

[11] Peifer to his sister Mary, October 7, 1861, from Camp Lewis. He was sworn in Saturday, September 14.

[12] Peifer to his sister Mary, October 7, 1861, from Camp Lewis.

cast a gloom over the Reg't. especially in our company as he was [our] Captain before he was promoted." [13]

Soon, however, they resumed the march, "passing hundreds of camps." In a high field, twenty-eight miles from Washington, they pitched their tents, and named their camp Lewis in honor of the deceased Major.

Peifer described the food as good and the Irish in his Regiment as being "a very hard set." The ineptness of the raw recruits exhausted Peifer's patience. He wrote:

> We are drilling about 5 times a day, but that does no good to some of our men as they are too stupid to learn. We do not expect to see fight[ing] in a hurry . . . as our Reg't is not drilled well enough yet. We hear cannonading occasionally and see rockets ascending, but we have not been called out [for battle] yet.[14]

The Regiment, however, was used to break up the smuggling of goods to the Confederates by the many Southern sympathizers in Maryland. Peifer said that picket guards were placed on "the main roads leading to the [Potomac] river in order to stop all contraband and goods enroute for the Rebels. . . . We halted every team and searched it [including] every woman and child. The first relief had an amusing incident: two would-be ladies came driving along when the guards halted them and searched [them] and found four canteens of whiskey concealed under their crinoline. They had brought it for some soldiers, which is against all military law and discipline. It was taken from them when they were allowed to pass on. . . ." [15]

They left Camp Lewis on October 21, about 8 o'clock in the evening, with Major-General Nathaniel P. Banks's whole Division. They marched briskly, "sometimes on a double quick, over very rough roads," crossed mud puddles, with heavy knapsacks on their backs, which "pulled mighty hard." When they arrived at Poolesville about 3 o'clock the next

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[13] Peifer to his sister Mary, October 7, 1861, from Camp Lewis.

[14] Peifer to his sister Mary, October 7, 1861, from Camp Davis. The company was composed of Germans, Dutch, Americans and Irish. The Irish were in the majority and they could not agree very well with the Irish.

[15] Peifer to his sister Mary, October 16, 1861, from Camp Lewis.

morning, "having marched about 10 miles," they naturally "expected to put up for a day or two, but we were sadly disappointed to hear that we would march to the Potomac, a distance of 5 miles. We were completely worn out, but the officers cheered us up . . . [by saying that] it was a case of necessity . . ."

After the Division had passed about a mile beyond Poolesville, we met "ambulances, containing the wounded of the battle near Leesburg, in which Col. E. D. Baker lost his life. . . . We heard their groans, met a great many on foot, some without hats, without shoes and stockings, their clothes torn off. When they told us that two Reg'ts were completely cut up by the Rebels, Col. Baker's California Reg't and part of Massa [chusetts] 20th, [and that] they lost several hundred men . . . [that out] of a company of 120, only 19 were left to mourn their loss . . . [this] sorrowful tale . . . cheered us up again. . . . We now marched a little more briskly, tired as we were. We reached a large wood about 5 o'clock in the morning about a quarter of a mile from the [Potomac] River. Here we met troops coming from the River and the ambulances still bringing the wounded." [16]

The ambulances carrying the wounded were halted where Banks' Division had bivouacked temporarily. James A. Peifer described their horrible experiences in these words:

> It now commenced to rain very hard and we [Banks' Division] had no shelter but the trees. We were all in a perspiration, . . . our rations were nearly played out . . . [except] a little meat and crackers. . . . We were lying there beside our fires wet to the skin when Regt. after Regt. arrived and the wounded [were] still brought in ambulances. It was the most pitiful and awful sight I ever saw. It chilled my blood when I heard the groans of the poor fellows as they lay there in pain. I then got an idea of the horrors of war; and as we expected a battle that day yet, you can imagine that we felt rather strange about it. I then thought of you and home, and perhaps that night would be my fate to fall.[17]

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[16] Peifer to his sister Mary, October 29, 1861. Written from Selfridge. He described the march since October 21 when they departed from Camp Lewis.

[17] Peifer to his sister Mary, October 29, 1861. Written from Selfridge, but completed at Camp Williams, named in honor of Brigadier General Williams.

At about six on October 23 they again fell in line and marched to the Potomac, but for some reason they were ordered to return to their original camp fires, which were still burning. On the next day, October 24, not a Federal soldier could be seen on the Virginia side of the River whereas "a few hours before there were several Regiments" in view. Peifer had even previously seen skirmishing between the Federal and Confederate troops.

Peifer believed that the withdrawal of the Federal troops was due to "some scheme of General McClellan's as he, Gen. Banks and Stone were at our camp that day spying the troops on the other side. We also ascertained that the Rebel General [Joseph E.] Johnston's force at Leesburg was very strong."[18]

On October 24 the Division marched to Camp Selfridge, sometimes called Muddy Branch, where they pitched their tents. They were in the field with the 5th Connecticut. Opposite them was "the Pennsylvania 20th, New York 29th, United States Regular Batt'y. We are all clearing a large pine wood for our winter quarters. . . . It is fun to see several hundred men, with picks, spades, and axes. . . . It is a beautiful place surrounded by beautiful pines to keep out the strong wind. We will have our winter quarters here as we have to guard the Potomac this winter."[19]

Soldiers, as a rule, are optimistic and ready to believe and to rejoice upon hearing of good news in battle. On November 14, 1861, Peifer wrote:

> Last night we received some good news from Kentucky, that our troops had gained another victory, took a General and captured 1,000 of the Rebels. Our whole camp was in commotion . . . and cheering. . . . It is cheering for us to hear when our troops gain a victory, as they have [so often] been defeated, but you cannot call it defeated exactly as we have generally to fight double the number and still we whip them. Think of the battle of Balls-Bluff near Leesburg where about 1200 men had to fight about 6000 Rebels. There were so many Philadelphians engaged there and laid down their lives to put down this Rebellion. . . .

[18] Peifer to his sister Mary, October 29, 1861. Written from Selfridge.

[19] Peifer to his sister Mary, October 29, 1861. Written from Selfridge. He asked his sister Mary in Philadelphia to send him through William Yohe of Bethelehem a pair of buckskin fleecy lined gloves with large cuffs.

We were . . . marched to the river's bank, but were not taken across, and [I am] sorry we were [not] as we were ready to fight and to die to revenge our fellow soldiers' death.[20]

Time must have been weighing heavily on James Peifer's hands when he wrote his sister on November 22, 1861, describing what he had in his knapsack:

My knapsack contains . . . four pair of stocking, five or six handkerchiefs, 1 pair of drawers and another pair I wear, one undershirt and one on my back, 1 white government shirt, merino scarf, my old three month pantaloons, blanket, and gumblanket . . . 1 Testament and two or three other little books . . . Ellins Ambrotype and a portfolio to keep my pen and paper, a memorandum, and a little bag 'which Mother made' containing thread, needles, buttons, and a pair of scissors, and now that pair of [buckskin] gloves [which you sent me], and [I expect to] receive my overcoat [soon] . . . I wear three shirts [and] drawers. I also own a haversack, which contains a Yankee tin cup, a piece of Castile soap, an old pipe, an oil rag to clean my gun, and handful of pieces of crackers. The next . . . but not least is my cartridge box, which weighs about six pounds, containing 40 cartridges, 1 bullet and three buckshot, weighing about two ounces. In another part is another oil rag . . . a screw driver, and what we call 'wormer' to draw loads. This is on a belt. On the same belt is the capbox on the right and the bayonet scabbard on the left. This belt is worn around the waist. Next is the musket, weighing about 10 pounds. After we have these things all loaded up, it makes quite a load for a long march.[21]

In the same letter he gave a vivid description of his shoes:

Our feet are covered with shoes, Uncle Sam style, with soles an inch thick, but not worth anything, and much too large [in] every way. . . . They are about six inches wide, wide enough to contain two of my feet, but in length they will do. There is no shape about them, being one width from heel to toe, and the heels — you would laugh to see them! . . . [They] are quite low and as wide as the shoe; well, they are about the size of an ordinary teacup. They remind me of the 'Mud Scows' you generally see on the canals, and I think all they want to fit them out for the purpose would be a rudder, and towline, and three stout

[20] Peifer to his sister Mary, November 14, 1861. Camp Knipe, Montgomery County, Maryland.

[21] Peifer to his sister Mary, Camp Knipe, Montgomery County, Maryland, November 22, 1861.

mules, and I think they would do to *tow* Jeff Davis to the Land of Glory, or to the Infernal Regions, just as he pleases, but I think he deserves the latter.[22]

On December 10, 1861, Peifer reported this surprising scene which took place in their camp just outside of Frederick City, Maryland:

> Yesterday we had quite a time in camp. A nigger was caught in the act of bringing liquor in camp. They tied him and put him under guard awhile. At noon they brought him forth and tied him facing the tree and [gave him] 15 stripes with a horsewhip, well laid on. He *grinned* and *danced* around the tree considerably. They then sent him out with a reprimand.[23]

As Christmas day, 1861, approached, the soldiers had hopes "until the very last" that they would be invited out to a turkey dinner. After despairing of receiving such an invitation, they felt slighted. Having no other choice, they resorted to Uncle Sam's Christmas dinner. "It consisted 1rst of rice-soup boiled with salt pork, which was nearly rotten, and we flung meat and soup out of the tent, as we could not eat it. It being Christmas, I boiled some good homemade coffee for dinner and then with bread and butter we managed to make a dinner of it." [24]

In regard to the Mason and Slidell incident Peifer wrote on December 31, 1861, that "if England should pounce upon us as they threaten to do," the war would become extremely more dreadful and destructive. He hoped that the surrendering of these Confederate agents would satisfy the British; but if it did not, he believed that the Northern armies would be able to whip both the British and the Southerners.

During January and February, 1862, Peifer and his regiment marched from camp to camp along the Potomac in Maryland. On February 23, about ten o'clock in the morning, his regiment began to cross the river in an "old anscow,"

[22] Peifer to his sister Mary, Camp Knipe, November 22, 1861.
[23] Peifer to his sister, Camp Matthews, near Frederick City, Maryland, December 10, 1861.
[24] Peifer to his sister Mary, Camp Matthews, December 26, 1861. This menu is quite different from what Uncle Sam gives its soldiers on Christmas in mid-twentieth century.

which transported "half a company at a time, until 2 in the afternoon [they] were in Dixie" for the first time. They marched about six miles along the river in Virginia, then crossed back into Maryland.

On March 3, 1862, the troops again crossed the Potomac into Dixie, this time to stay for awhile. The heavy rains made marching uncomfortable. When they "reached Martinsburg about 5 o'clock, all wet and muddy to our knees and very tired, we took up quarters in a church and were soon comfortable, having dried our clothes, etc. [The] next day [Tuesday the 4th] being a cold and blustering day, . . . we went out to a field [and] pitched our tents."[25]

Soon after pitching their tents they were ordered to strike them down and to resume the march. The advance guard was soon fired upon and a minor skirmish ensued. The next day, March 5, the advance guard was again fired upon "by some Rebel Cavalry without doing any harm." While the firing was going on, Peifer's company helped themselves "to chickens, turkeys" and other desirables.

The Division left Bunker Hill, Virginia, on March 11. When they were nearing Winchester, they were "beckoned by an old Pennsylvania farmer, a good Union man, to stop . . . go[ing] so fast, as there were some of Col. *Ashby's Rebel Cavalry* . . . near us." Locating the enemy in the neighboring woods, they attacked and a running skirmish ensued. According to Peifer, the Confederates lost fifteen men, killed and wounded, whereas the Union forces suffered no casualties, except that one of the men — Edward Huber — was wounded. This was Peifer's first experience under fire.[27]

Peifer's regiment was now only four miles from Winchester. The next day about two o'clock in the afternoon they marched into the town without "another shot being fired." Peifer said:

> Jackson and his so-called Stonewall Brigade had vamoosed, and were on a hasty retreat for Strasburg about 18 miles from

[25] Peifer to his sister Mary, March 8, 1862. Camp near Bunker Hill, Berkley County, Virginia.
[26] Peifer to his sister Mary, March 8, 1862, from Camp near Bunker Hill.
[27] Peifer to his sister Mary, March 19, 1862, Winchester, Virginia.

here. We entered the [town with the] bands playing. . . . The glorious Stars and Stripes flung to the breeze again, where it has not floated since the opening of this Rebellion. Numerous dwellings are deserted and the remaining inhabitants are chiefly Secesh but dare not express it; but the ladies show by their long and wry faces and the figures they cut . . . that they hate and despise the Yankees, as they call us. . . .[28]

This successful skirmish caused Peifer to become extremely optimistic in regard to an early termination of the War. In the same letter he wrote:

My opinion is that this war will be soon at an end, as we have nothing but victories on victories, and I expect to be home in July if spared, but not before we see a grand fight, for we belong to the Army of the Potomac, and Gen. McClellan says in a speech, they must settle the doom of the Rebels, Bully for that, I am ready.[29]

The women of Winchester apparently continued to show their disapproval of the Yankee invaders but Peifer said that the Northern soldiers were "just as proud as they are, with our glorious flag waving over all of them (Secesh and all); but what astonishes them most is the fine style we are dressed, as they have been accustomed (since last summer) to see nothing but poor gray homespun clothes and a disorganized army in command of Gen. Jackson, the so-called Stone Wall Brigade; but I don't understand the meaning of the expression, as they never stood firm as a stone wall, but on the advance of the Yankees they came to an about face, and off double, the same as they did here. As we entered the town [of Winchester] at one end they [went] out at the other and made good their escape, but they are soon cornered up, and they are bound to give up some bright day." [30]

Peifer added that the house of "the Traitor *Mason* [of the Mason-Slidell affair] . . . is used as Gen. Williams' Headquarters, and the Stars and Stripes [are] floating over it." [31]

[28] Peifer to his sister Mary, March 19, 1862, Winchester, Virginia.
[29] Peifer to his sister Mary, March 19, 1862, Winchester, Virginia.
[30] Peifer to his sister Mary, March 19, 1862, Winchester, Virginia.
[31] Peifer to his sister Mary, March 19, 1862. This is located at Winchester, Virginia.

The prices at Winchester in March 1862 are interesting:

Butter	per lb.	60 cts. and Scarce
Eggs	per doz.	25 cts. and Scarce
Salt	per. qt.	60 cts. or 25 per sack
Molasses	per. qt.	50 cts or very scarce
Sugar brown	per lb.	30 to 60 (cts.)
Tea	per lb.	$4.00 very scarce
Coffee	per lb.	$1.50 none of that
Matches small boxes		10 cts. square box 25 cts.
Candles	per lb.	25 cts.
Com. Calicoes		50 cts. (etc.)[32]

Sometime in December James A. Peifer was promoted to the rank of Corporal. He had been a conscientious soldier. Now that he was a corporal he told his sister that he would do everything in his power to please the officers.[33]

From Winchester the Regiment marched on April 1 to Strasburg, where they halted for a few hours. They could not move very fast because their artillery was shelling the enemy all along the march. Every moment they expected "to get in a fight." They saw "many Rebel clues all along the road, saw many of the Rebel shells, which did not explode. There were a great many picked up. [We] also saw an awful amount of dead horses, and the trees and fences were skinned with . . . shells and bullets. . . . We saw a large cloud of smoke ascending, caused by the burning of a railroad bridge — they having burnt all the bridges as they went along."[34]

Peifer's impression of the people in the town of Woodstock is interesting:

> The Union sentiment not appearing to be very strong, as the women that were there generally turned up their noses and sneered at us. Near the end of town, however, we were cheered to see two beautiful women, smiling and waving their handkerchiefs. This cheered us up again, as it has been a long time since we had handkerchiefs of the fair *sex* waved to us as a token of friendship, such a thing is cheering to us soldiers.[35] [It is also

[32] Peifer to his sister Mary, March 19, 1862, Winchester, Virginia.
[33] Peifer to his sister Mary, March 19, 1862, Winchester, Virginia.
[34] Peifer to his sister Mary, April 5, 1862. Camp Stoney Creek near Woodstock, Virginia.
[35] Peifer to his sister Mary, April 5, 1862, Camp Stoney Creek.

of interest to note that the women of Virginia were] "busily engaged in gardening and planting."[36]

After passing through Strasburg, the Regiment marched some distance and halted at a hotel where three of Ashby's Cavalrymen were captured. Peifer wrote:

I . . . had a *squint* at the animals and was satisfied that they are like other men, with the exception of the clothing. They ain't [*sic*] rigged out like (Uncle Sam's) men. I can assure you that they are clothed in all *sorts,* gray homespun overcoats, pants of all colors and grades, some have straw hats and caps, and a great many [are] in citizen's clothes; in fact, they look pretty shabby.[37]

Peifer's company suffered other misfortunes than from battle: "This week two of our men drowned in the Shenandoah, . . . two men died, two are in the hospital, . . . several are getting their discharges, . . . which reduces our company considerably."[38]

On April 10, 1862, Peifer wrote his brother that General Jackson "got a good licking" in the Battle of Winchester, March 23 and 24. He, however, had not participated in the fighting but he rejoiced over the fact that Stonewall Jackson would find it difficult to recuperate from his severe losses as a result of this engagement. Peifer's Regiment now returned to Winchester, where "the inhabitants made wry faces" at him when they marched into the town.

Peifer related to his brother a few amusing incidents that happened while the Union forces were in Winchester.

One day, several would be ladies, *Secesh to the backbone,* came down the street, and had to pass the General's headquarters where the Stars and Stripes were floating with dignity . . . out of a window [and] over the pavement. As they came nearer to it, one of them remarked to the other, Molly! Peggy, Katy, or whatever her name was, do you intend to walk by under that *dirty rag* there (pointing to it). No never! remarked the other one, and thus they struck across the street to avoid it, but they were overheard, as one of the General's Body Guard, was march-

[36] Peifer to his sister Mary, April 5, 1862, Camp Stoney Creek.
[37] Peifer to his sister Mary, April 5, 1862, Camp Stoney Creek.
[38] Peifer to his sister Mary, April 5, 1862, Camp Stoney Creek.

ing up and down the pavement as sentinel. He looked up and said, 'Misses! I think you have a dirtier rag under the skirts of your dresses.' They of course blushed and no doubt thought, 'aint [sic] that a monster', . . . but I say *Bully for the Zouave.*

A second incident was equally amusing:

One day one of the 13 Massachusetts Boys came along, with a little flag in his hand. He came by a woman standing at the door (Secesh of course; this was after the battle) and when he came up to her he walked up coolly, and poking the flag at her . . . said, How do you like that by this time? She snatched it from his hand and threw it in the street. This was a little too much for the Yankee. He walked up coolly and said to her, "If you were not a woman, I would knock your a--s over kettle, for your d--n impudence."[39]

On April 23, 1862, Peifer wrote his sister from camp near Harrisonville. On their way to the new camp they could hear the exchange of shots between the Union batteries and Ashby's Cavalry. They "passed numerous farm houses, a great many not inhabited, and the few that were . . . appeared to be [occupied by] people of the lowest class, as the women and girls stood under the doors smoking pipes, and chewing tobacco, and spit like any man."[40]

The long march continued. When they passed through the small town of Hawkins the band struck up Dixie "and then the women with pipes rushed out again to see the Yankees . . . but one thing I am positive that they did not see, namely, long ears like Jacks as we were represented by the Rebels."[41]

About four miles beyond Harrisonville they pitched their tents for the night but there was little rest for the Regiment because the "Rebels attacked our pickets . . . which resulted in the death of one and wounding . . . three . . . of our Reg't. As soon as the Rebels saw us [reinforcements] come up they beat a hasty retreat with the loss of some dozen men [and] two Parrot guns."[42]

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[39] James A. Piefer to his brother, April 10, from camp near Woodstock.
[40] Peifer to his sister Mary, April 23, 1862, near Harrisonville, Pa.
[41] Peifer to his sister Mary, April 23, 1862, near Harrisonville, Pa.
[42] Peifer to his sister Mary, May 6, 1862, near Harrisonville, Pa.

After several days of marching they were in the Luray Valley. Here Peifer and his Regiment were sent on a reconnoitering expedition.

The first day we made about 24 miles. Next day we moved on again to about 5 miles of Luray and our Cavalry made a charge through the town and found it occupied by about 200 Rebel Cavalry, who fled on the approach of ours. We succeeded in capturing 4 prisoners, which we brought with us. We reached our camp again on Monday night [July 2] . . . very well worn out. The loss on our side was one killed and several wounded, and one man of the 10th Main was accidentally shot dead by the discharge of a gun. We are all anxious to hear the correct report of McClellan before Richmond. I hope he will succeed in taking it without a great loss. Tomorrow is the great national day — '4th of July'. . . . Perhaps at Richmond it will be celebrated with a great battle, and I hope Richmond may then fall.[43]

In this letter Peifer admits to his sister for the first time that the Confederates, somewhere along their march, had come out with the better of an encounter:

I wish you would send me your photograph again, as the other one is in Secesh, in the hands of the Rebels. We lost all but what we had on our backs. . . . We have again been provided with knapsacks, and I don't think they will get them again.[44]

Peifer was too ill to participate in the Battle of Culpeper, but he was able to record the results of that battle for his mother and sister:

Now some of the wounded came in . . . to camp and they told me of the battle, and [that] the boys of the 46th [Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers] . . . had suffered severely while charging on a battery and were repulsed with heavy loss. . . . Our boys received a terrible crossfire from the front and rear. At first it was reported that only 90 men were left of the Regt., which completely shocked me, as they went into action about 500 strong. On Monday morning I started out to find the remains of the Reg't, which I did about 5 miles beyond Culpeper, in a small wood. There were only about 100 there. I was utterly dumbfounded. They now told me all about [it]—which I cannot de-

[43] Peifer to his sister Mary, July 3, 1862, camp near Front Royal, Virginia.
[44] Peifer to his sister Mary, July 3, 1862, camp near Front Royal.

scribe. Many faces were missing which I had seen when they went out. Hundreds of ambulances were busy removing the wounded and burying the dead. In fact, our whole Brigade . . . had suffered severely, but the 46th [Pa. Regiment], 5th Connecticut, and New York's 28th suffered more — there being only squads of companies left. Yesterday, [August] 12th, ours [46th Reg't] and [New York's] 28th . . . marched into town [Culpeper]. The two Reg'ts [were] not as large as ours before the action. . . . It was a solemn spectacle in camp. Co[l] Selfridge, our only field officer who escaped unhurt, made a solemn speech. When each company dispersed, our Company was 24 men strong out of 56 who went into action.[45]

Peifer's illness grew steadily worse until he became so sick that he could not walk. For a week he was transported from place to place in an ambulance. Finally, "so many were taken ill" that the sick and wounded were sent to Alexandria, where "about 300 [of them] were ordered on the Hospital boat and transported to Washington," where they were taken to Mount Pleasant Hospital, about two miles north of the city. He wrote his brother: "The hospitals are splendid, well ventilated; and the sick and wounded are well attended to."[46]

As Peifer thought he would remain at Alexandria for a while, he wrote home from there asking for some money. When he was sent to a hospital two miles north of Washington he feared that the money might become permanently lost; therefore, "I wish you would see about that money and let me know immediately so that my mind may be at ease."[47]

While in the hospital enjoying excellent accommodations and plenty of good food such as "fresh bread, potatoes, beef, beans, rice, molasses and butter occasionally," Peifer remained extremely hopeful that the war would terminate successfully at an early date. He wrote:

I am . . . anxious to join my Reg't. I am homesick for the boys, and pity them, as . . . many a poor fellow will be laid low before this wicked Rebellion is over. The news are most cheering (if

[45] Peifer to his mother and sister of Bethlehem from near Culpeper, Virginia, dated August, 1862. He named all the killed, wounded and missing from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

[46] James A. Peifer to his brother William, September 4, 1862. Mount Pleasant Hospital, two miles north of Washington, D. C.

[47] Peifer to his brother William, September 4, 1862, Mount Pleasant Hospital.

true) and little *Mac* . . . will teach them whose soil they have invaded, and I am in hopes before many days the whole Rebel Army will be annihilated.[48]

Corporal Peifer is here referring to General Lee's invasion of Maryland and to the bloody Battle of Antietam. Peifer did not realize at the time that this proved to be one of the great battles of the world. If Lee had won this battle, Great Britain and France would have probably recognized the independence of the Confederate states, and thus would have assured Southern independence. But instead of winning a victory, Lee was forced to withdraw during the night across the Potomac into Virginia. As *Little Mac* failed to pursue General Lee, President Lincoln removed him from command by placing General A. E. Burnside in that responsible position. The Battle of Antietam, however, gave to Lincoln the needed victory to issue his Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862. The war had thus been waged to preserve the Union, but henceforth it would also be a war to free the slaves in the rebellious states. Peifer now reluctantly admitted that the Union Armies in the East were exactly where they had been at the beginning of the struggle.

On September 28, 1862, Corporal Peifer wrote that he was still weak, but that he was eager to join his Regiment. He also said that there were at the time about 1500 patients in the Mount Pleasant Hospital. William Mast, who had been a prisoner of war for five weeks, arrived at the Washington hospital with five others. According to Peifer they were "mere skeletons. I was frightened when I saw him [Mast] . . . and when he told me what hardships he had to undergo, lie down on the ground, with a stone for a pillow, and the poor grub they had to eat. . . . His hips and knees are all raw, and still he felt quite lively the first day, told me all about his imprisonment and harsh treatment. I felt like crying. . . . Yesterday I went to see him, and he was very low and could hardly speak, complained with pain in head and breast, and I doubt whether he will recover. One of them died the first day."[49]

[48] Peifer to his sister Mary from Mount Pleasant Hospital, September 19, 1862. He had rheumatism and occasional attacks of diarrhea.

[49] Peifer to his sister Mary, September 28, 1862, Mount Pleasant Hospital.

By October 7, 1862, Peifer was able to report that "Wm. Mast is doing pretty well, and is gaining flesh and is up and around. We generally take short walks together, but still he is very weak. . . ." [50] On October 13, he again wrote that "William Mast is doing fine. . . ." [51] By November 11, he had improved so much that he was sent to the United States General Hospital in West Philadelphia, where he hoped to get a furlough and probably a discharge from the army.[52] Eventually he recovered and was discharged from the army.

To the best of his ability, Peifer followed the engagements of the 46th Regiment from his Washington hospital; but military information was very slow in arriving. He obtained some news through the papers, but it required a letter from Bethlehem to inform him that his Company had gone into a recent battle with only eight men. "It is very hard indeed," said Peifer, "to reflect that our Company left Bethlehem with 100 strong and healthy men, and in one year only 8 of them remain, the rest being either killed, wounded or prisoners, or died of exposure." [53]

Peifer's earlier contempt for the Southern soldiers and armies seems to have changed considerably. He wrote: "It appears the *Rebels* are still hovering around Pennsylvania, according to reports a battle is expected there, but I do not believe half of them, as I don't think McClellan would let them slip his lines in force, but I do believe that before the winter closes in a great battle will be fought, and I hope our arms will be successful again, as we have had so many *reverses* of late which have proved nearly fatal to our cause, and has also greatly emboldened the Rebels and will [cause them to] fight more desperately than ever. . . . I hope that God may help us, and our arms be successful in the end." [54]

Peifer, still in the hospital, continued to worry about the tremendous losses of his old Regiment.

> As soon as I am able to join my Reg't. I will do so . . . [We] will remain for some time at Maryland Heights. I wish with all

[50] Peifer to sister Mary, October 7, 1862, Mount Pleasant Hospital.
[51] Peifer to sister Mary, October 13, 1862, Mount Pleasant Hospital.
[52] Peifer to sister Mary, November 12, 21, 1862, Mount Pleasant Hospital.
[53] Peifer to sister Mary, September 28, 1862, Mount Pleasant Hospital.
[54] Peifer to sister Mary, October 24, 1862, Mount Pleasant Hospital.

my heart our Reg't could be so lucky once [as] to remain settled for awhile; for the poor boys need some rest, and the Reg't ought to be recruited up, as it is at present very small in numbers, hardly 300 men, rank and file. It makes me shudder when I think of . . . a Reg't of 1000 men dwindled down to 300 in the course of a year. . . .[55]

After spending ten weeks in Mount Pleasant Hospital, Peifer and some 200 other patients were sent on November 15, 1862, to Annapolis.

They drove us like cattle into some old cars, but me and my companions worked ourselves into a passenger car. [Having left the hospital at 8 a.m.] we laid off at Washington till 3 p.m., when they started off; but first they came around . . . [to] give us our dinners, which consisted of salt-horse, as we call it, and dry bread. After stopping for hours on the road, finally at midnight . . . [we] arrived here and were divided into the different buildings. It is in the Navy-Yard, and we use the buildings formerly used as Naval Schools. . . . Our room [four occupants] contains four beds, two chairs, gas, and heated with steam. We like the place very well, but don't think it is as pleasant as the one we left. It is . . . a great deal more comfortable here than in tents, but we have not as much liberty, and . . . they don't feed us as well. Breakfast, we get a slice of bread with a small particle of butter, or applebutter, mighty poor coffee. Supper the same with poor tea. Dinner will do. Yesterday we had beefsteak rather tough, one potato, onions and a bowl of soup, pretty good.[56]

On November 21, Peifer told his sister that he had written home for a "box of good things [to eat] . . . as I am tired of dry bread and tea or coffee and think I could just enjoy . . . some of the delicacies of home sweet home." [57]

Peifer and his roommates, however, changed their diet by going down to the Chesapeake Bay to catch some fish. They caught "about four quarts of nice prime" oysters, which gave them "some good meals . . . something like home." [58]

[55] Peifer to sister Mary, Sunday, November 2, 1862, Mount Pleasant Hospital.
[56] Peifer to sister Mary, November 17, 1862. United States General Hospital, Annapolis Maryland.
[57] Peifer to sister Mary, November 21, 1862, United States General Hospital.
[58] Peifer to sister Mary, December 8, 1862, United States General Hospital.

Peifer was a paid a surprise visit in early December by Oliver Walter who had just been released from Libby prison. He looked so well and hearty that "prison life seemed to agree with him." He told Peifer, however, of the hardships which he had endured as a prisoner. "When they [the prisoners] got to Richmond the Rebels took all from them but what they had on their backs, even rummaged their pockets, took all the money they had, and pocket knives, and left them lie there for two or three months without even a change of clothes, and you can imagine the poor fellows were full of vermin and filth. But with all this he was quite lively." [59]

Peifer seemed to reach the depth of despair when he wrote:

> A few more weeks and Christmas will be here. How many more till this war will be settled[?] I hope not many. I am heartily sick of it. I wish [I] was out of it . . . I would not like to join my Reg't now, it is too cold, but I will . . . *hope* on, *hope* ever.[60]

Six days later he wrote:

> You need not fear I will join my Reg't too soon, at least not till they send me, but I wish I could get my discharge. I would take that immediately. . . . As some men have good luck in getting theirs, why cannot I be so lucky? [61]

Peifer was delighted when he heard that the Confederates had been driven from Fredericksburg, but he wrote more enthusiastically about the box of food which he received from his sister Mary:

> The box which I received yesterday [December 13] containing chicken, sausages, pudding, bread, pies, sugar cakes, jellies, apple-butter, molasses, butter, wine, horse-radish, apples and Christmas, and what not . . . [including] sauer-kraut. Won't that go nice[?][62]

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[59] Peifer to sister Mary, December 8, 1862, United States General Hospital.
[60] Peifer to sister Mary, December 8, 1862, United States General Hospital.
[61] Peifer to sister Mary, December 14, 1862, United States General Hospital.
[62] Peifer to sister Mary, December 14, 1862, United States General Hospital.

It is of interest to note the contrast between the Christmas dinner of 1862 and that of 1861.

> Christmas day arrived and it reminded me of the 4th of July, as they have a peculiar mode of celebration [by] the discharging of firearms. . . . We also learned they were preparing a grand dinner for us. I soon found the place of report by the number standing around. I peeped into the windows and there was four large and long tables, loaded down with all kinds of eatables, turkey, oyster soup, bread, pies, potatoes, and apples. It was quite a treat for us. . . .[63]

Uncle Sam was frequently behind with his pay to the soldiers. Peifer wrote on January 5, 1863:

> I would so much love to make you a present, but we cannot get our pay. We were again mustered for pay, and by last accounts the paymaster was coming, and still is coming. I think they are rather negligent. I have 4 months pay due me, and would love to have it.[64]

Peifer's sister Mary informed him that she was going to send him another box of food, but he discouraged the idea by saying:

> I don't need it, and [it] would be wasting money foolishly . . . I would desire to draw your attention to something else in lieu of the box, namely, you would oblige me more if you send me ($100) [and] one dollar's worth of postage stamps, and as soon as we are paid off I will refund the money. It is reported we will get it soon.[65]

Time made a great change in Peifer's attitude toward the war. In 1861, he thought that the Southerners were such poor fighters that there was no question not only that the North would win, but that the North could defeat the South plus England. In early 1863, however, he had come to the conclusion that the North could not even conquer the South.

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[63] Peifer to sister Mary, December 27, 1862, United States General Hospital.
[64] Peifer to sister Mary, January 5, 1863, United States General Hospital.
[65] Peifer to sister Mary, January 10, 1863, United States General Hospital.

I agree with your opinion about the war. As it appears, we cannot subdue the South and I fear we will yet have foreign intervention, and that would be dreadful for us, as they would most assuredly give us a lesson.[66]

In January, 1863, Peifer received the stamps and the money which he had requested from his Sister. By this time even Peifer's patriotism had waned momentarily.

I hope I may soon be enabled to refund the money, as I am anxious to have my pay; in fact,[I] ought to have it. I think it the duty of the government to pay off the poor soldier first, as he is the only one [who] needs it most. I noticed that you have a very clear insight about the war, and your views of it I think are very correct. All my patriotism has long left me, as it is no more fighting for the Union, but 'the Almighty Dollar'; and thus it is prolonged, and very little done, and I would say if 'right makes might' why! go ahead, what need we fear? But as long as money can be furnished . . . you can depend on it, you won't see it ended. How long will it be before the people will say, 'It is time the war is settled and we want peace? If it cannot be done by fighting, it must be done in some other [way].' I would go in for most anything honorable and fair, but again the North ought not to be the one to propose it, neither give the Rebellious States one mite more than they had to extend their slavery, but I say leave *it* where it is, and no further extension. I heartily approve 'Old Abe's 'Emancipation Proclamation' if it does anything towards bringing the war to a speedier close. I think enough blood has been shed on both sides. . . . I fear if it should ever be settled, it will leave a blot of disgrace and shame upon us. But enough about the war, as I am heartily sick of it. . . . If they would pay me what they owe and discharge [me] I would be very obliged and have no more to say.[67]

Peifer at last received some military news. He wrote:

By all accounts, the Army under Burnside has again crossed the river, and flanked the enemy, and are now fighting. Gen. Hooker is reported mortally wounded. I hope and pray we may be successful this time. . . . I have confidence that this time, we will have a victory, but no doubt also a heavy loss.[68]

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[66] Peifer to sister Mary, January 10, 1863, United States General Hospital.
[67] Peifer to sister Mary, Sunday, January 18, 1863, United States General Hospital.
[68] Peifer to sister Mary, January 23, 1863, United States General Hospital.

In answer to his sister's inquiry as to whether he had applied for his discharge, Peifer wrote:

I have not, and shall never. I would feel ashamed if I should succeed even in getting it, to go home as I wish and hope I may serve my country yet, and I would love to join my Reg't soon. You don't know how sorry I feel I am not there now, as they no doubt will again be thrown into the fight with their decimated ranks, and share the *glory* with them. I really feel ashamed at my situation.[69]

[*To be concluded*]

[69] Peifer to sister Mary, January 23, 1863, United States General Hospital.

JAMES KIRKE PAULDING'S LAST LETTER TO JOHN C. CALHOUN

Edited by JAY B. HUBBELL

Calhoun did not, even in the closing years of his life, lack admirers in the northern states. Among the Calhoun papers in the Clemson College Library there are four letters written by James Kirke Paulding in 1848 and 1849 which express approval of Calhoun's recent speeches in the United States Senate. Two of these were published in part in the "Correspondence Addressed to John C. Calhoun, 1837-1849," edited by Chauncey S. Boucher and Robert P. Brooks and published in the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for the year 1929. The four letters were not printed in full perhaps because in places the originals were no longer decipherable.

Paulding's last letter to Calhoun, which is not in the Clemson College Library, is dated March 19, 1850, only twelve days before Calhoun's death. It was printed in the Mobile *Register* early in the Civil War and reprinted in the *Daily Dispatch* for April 2, 1862.[1] I have been unable to find either the manuscript of the letter or a copy of the *Register* in which it first appeared, but there seems no reason to doubt that the printed letter is substantially what Paulding had written. The letter, which is reprinted below, was occasioned by Calhoun's great speech of March 4, 1850, which since he was too ill to deliver it himself, was read by his friend Senator Mason of Virginia. Little need be said of the memorable debate on Clay's resolutions which formed the basis of the Compromise of 1850. The speeches of Calhoun, Webster, and William H. Seward, whom Paulding detested, are all skilfully summarized in Avery O. Craven's recent volume, *The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861* (1953).

James Kirke Paulding (1778-1861) was one of the best known American writers of the early nineteenth century. A

[1] *Daily Dispatch* (Richmond, Virginia), April 2, 1862, in Duke University Library, Durham.

native of New York state, he grew up at Tarrytown and collaborated with Washington Irving on *Salmagundi* in 1807 and 1808. His sister Julia married Irving's brother William. Only two of his numerous books need to be mentioned here. His *Letters from the South* (2 vols., New York, 1817) is still valuable for its account of life in Virginia. His *Slavery in the United States* (New York, 1836), which is mentioned in the letter reprinted below, reveals a hostility to the antislavery leaders and a strong sympathy with the southern position. Slavery, as he said in the Introduction to that book, seemed to him not "an evil of such surpassing enormity as to demand the sacrifice of the harmony and consequent union of the states, followed by civil contention and servile war, to its removal."

Paulding was no mere man of letters. In 1815 President Madison appointed him Secretary of the newly created Board of Navy Commissioners, and in 1824 Monroe appointed him Navy Agent for New York City. He gave up this position to become in 1837 Secretary of the Navy in Van Buren's Cabinet. During the first and last of these appointments he was living in Washington, where he became a friend and admirer of Calhoun. There are two biographical studies of Paulding, which, strangely enough, do not mention Calhoun. Amos L. Herold's *James Kirke Paulding: Versatile American* (New York, 1926) is concerned only with Paulding's literary work. *The Literary Life of James K. Paulding* (New York, 1867), compiled by his son, William I. Paulding, appeared at a time when Calhoun's reputation in the northern states was perhaps at its nadir; and the son had little to say about Paulding's southern connections. The letter as reprinted below is preceded by the introductory notes of the editors of the Richmond *Daily Dispatch* and the Mobile *Register.*

AN INTERESTING LETTER

The subjoined letter, from the late J. K. Paulding, which has recently been brought to light, will be read with interest. It draws a faithful portraiture of that grand rascal, Seward, the worst man whom the Puritan race has yet produced — Benedict Arnold and Aaron Burr, their other two celebrities, not excepted. It is the race which has produced Arnold, Burr, and Seward, that is now

denouncing as traitors and rebels, and endeavoring to subjugate, the land of Washington, Jefferson, Lee, Henry, Marshall, and hosts of the brightest and best spirits of the American Revolution. Mr. Paulding describes them accurately, and, in his antipathy to Puritanism, expresses a sentiment which is quite as common in the Middle States as the South. But those States, like the West, have been harnessed by the cunning sons of the Pilgrims to their political and money schemes, and are now contributing the principal supplies of men and means to a war which, whatever be its results, can only end in the ruin of their own section, as well as New England:

A PRECIOUS RELIC
[From the Mobile *Register*]

Through the courteous attention of a friend we are enabled to lay before the readers of the Mobile *Sunday Register* a letter, which from the name of the writer and that of the recipient, as well as from its contents, will be perused with interest in every section of the country. To the best of our knowledge this letter has never been published and as we print it from the autograph, we can vouch both for its genuineness and correctness [.] What grander epitaph inscribed to the memory of the lamented Paulding than this patriotic blessing to the dying Calhoun?—What more fearful castigation could be administered to the leader of the Abolition cohorts than this portrait of him by one of the purest and most distinguished men of his own State?

The speech of the great South Carolinian which called forth this earnest response from the friend and co-laborer of Washington Irving, and one of the pioneers of American literature, was his last and greatest effort on the political stage, uttered when the tide of his glorious life was fast sinking to its ebb, and when the faltering body refused to support the weight of that great mind. Mr. Paulding's letter reached him on his death bed, only a few days before his dissolution.

HYDE PARK, DUTCHESS COUNTY,
March 19, 1850

My Dear Sir: I have received and read your speech with the deepest interest and attention. It traces the present crisis to its source, and points out the means of avoiding its consequences with perfect clearness, without declaration [declamation?] and without passion [.] It appeals to our reason and asks only justice. It will not perhaps be so much praised as some others; but hereafter when its predictions will be fulfilled, as I presume they will be ere long, unless the spirit of fanaticism is effectually checked in its career you will be quoted as one who foretold the

danger and pointed out the only means by which it could be avoided. It gives me pleasure to see that you take the same ground, with one exception, which I assumed in a pamphlet I had prepared on the same subject, but for which I could find no publisher. I was also desirous of publishing a second edition of a work of mine on slavery, now out of print, but was met by the same obstacle. The literary as well as the political press is enthralled in the North, and *audi alterem partem* becomes an obsolete maxim.

If you will permit me, I will suggest to you a doubt of the policy as well as efficacy of the guarantees you propose for the future safety of the South, which will be equally denounced with the Constitution as "violations of the law of God and the rights of nature" by the fanatics. They will be but burnt flax in their fiery furnace. I mention this, because it would seem that several of the representatives of the South are not prepared to go with you to that extent; and, as I have formerly stated, I think unanimity of the last consequence to the South [.] It astonishes me to see the distinction of parties still kept up in that quarter and that when such momentous interests are at stake, instead of embarking to a man in one bottom, each one seizes his own plank and paddles away in different directions.

I cannot express the contempt and disgust with which I have read the speech of our Senator, Seward, though it is just what I expected from him. He is one of the most dangerous insects that ever crawled about in the political atmosphere, for he is held in such utter contempt by all honest men that no notice is taken of him till his sting is felt.—He is only qualified to play the most despicable parts in the political drama, and the only possible way he can acquire distinction is by becoming the tool of greater scoundrels than himself. Some years ago, after disgracing the State of New York as Chief Magistrate, he found his level in the lowest depths of insignificance and oblivion, and was dropped by his own party [.] But the mud has been lately stirred at the very bottom of the pool, and he who went down a mutilated tadpole has come up a full-grown bull frog, more noisy and impudent than ever. This is very often the case among us here, where nothing is more common than to see a swindling rogue, after his crimes have been a little rusted by time, suddenly become an object of popular favor or executive patronage. The position taken and the principles asserted by this pettifogging rogue in his speech would disgrace any man — but himself.

I fear it will not be long before we of the North become the tools of the descendants of the old Puritans, who had not the most remote idea of the principles of civil liberty, and no conception of religious toleration, but the most unrelenting intolerance. The

despotism of parsons is taking the place of that of kings; and the gown and the petticoat have conspired to usurp the breeches. Our freedom is in great danger of being sacrificed to texts of Scripture, and fanatical dogmas; the Twelve Tables are becoming our law, and we shall be obliged to study the Pandects of Leviticus.

I fear, too, you will be tempted to trespass too much on your strength in defending yourself from your foes and friends. Let me beg of you to bear in mind that at your age and mine, nature is not often strong enough to make more than one rally, and that every successive effort is productive not of vigor, but exhaustion. Remember that, in all probability, the future will require your exertions as well as the present. I rejoice to hear the favorable opinion of your physicians. Don't trouble yourself to reply.

I am, my dear sir,
Yours, very truly,
J. K. PAULDING.

Hon. John C. Calhoun, &c., &c., Washington.

BOOK REVIEWS

Tar Heel Ghosts. By John Harden. With drawings by Lindsay McAlister. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1954. Pp. xiv, 178. $3.00.)

As in *The Devil's Tramping Ground and Other North Caro-Mystery Stories* (University of North Carolina Press, 1949), John Harden has done an excellent job in this collection of short stories. The main title is based purely on the fact that all the stories have a North Carolina locale. The ghosts themselves have no characteristics not shared by ghosts the world over.

It seems certain, however, that this book will aid materially in keeping these ghosts alive and active in North Carolina for some time to come. Each of the stories is self-sufficient; each one is a good story; and each one is well told. The typical story in the group has only two or three principal characters, depends for its action on a single dramatic incident, and weaves in the ghostly element in most authentic fashion. That is, the reader is led to suggest to himself some explanation in natural phenomena or simple psychology and then to discover his error.

The style is clear, crisp, and conversational. With the exception of the first story, "A Colonial Apparition," there is little or no plot. Hence, there is no occasion for the standard ghostly devices of horror, suspense, climax, and anticlimax. The principal incident in some of the stories early becomes the occasion for the origin of a ghost who then busies himself in aiding or frustrating the plans of friendly or unfriendly humans. In others this order is reversed; the ghostly performance is presented and then explained in terms of some incident occurring decades or generations preceding.

Quite naturally there are no young ghosts in the lot, the author declares in his Introduction that he has never found a blonde ghost, and it is doubtful that we shall ever have any city-bred ghosts. The Introduction is vaguely hopeful that ghosts will survive our gadget-ridden civilization in the assumption "that only in the far distant tomorrows will they

come in technicolor and 3-D." It seems more likely now that ghosts and lovers of ghost stories will cling to the old-fashioned themes of rural cemeteries, deserted houses, unfulfilled loves, and unavenged murders. John Harden has done his own and future generations a real literary service in selecting and telling these stories.

Paul Murray.

East Carolina College,
Greenville.

The History of Trinity Parish, Scotland Neck, [and] Edgecombe Parish, Halifax County. By Stuart Hall Smith and Claiborne T. Smith, Jr. (Scotland Neck: The Authors. 1955. Pp. x, 115. Map and illustrations. $2.25, paper; $3.50, cloth.)

Rather than being a continuous history of the Church in Halifax County, this little volume is made up of a series of essays by the two authors and others. The first section is devoted to a history of the Church of England in Edgecombe Parish, Halifax County. This parish originally was established in 1741 with the formation of Edgecombe County; when the county was divided in 1756 to create Halifax County the original parish name was assigned to the new county thus creating the anomaly of having Edgecombe Parish in Halifax County while Edgecombe County's parish was called St. Mary's. The author gives us an adequate sketch of the church from the formation of the parish until the beginning of the present century. Footnotes containing additional information about persons mentioned will delight the genealogist.

The account of Trinity Parish, Scotland Neck, is the centennial address of one of the authors delivered at the church in 1932. Following the address are full notes prepared more recently by the other author.

A description and history of the interesting old church which was burned and rebuilt, but which still stands, is "adapted from a sketch written by Lena H. Smith." A brief biographical study of Bishop Cheshire who served as rector of Trinity Church at one time is by his grandson, J. B. Cheshire, III.

A final section and two appendixes reprint the entries in the Trinity Parish register which survived the fire although the early entries were lost, a list of marriages performed by Mr. Cheshire, and some tombstone inscriptions.

The authors have given us not only a history of the Episcopal Church in their area, but have included much general local history and genealogy. Although the volume is attractive in appearance it contains numerous typographical errors.

William S. Powell.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

Thomas Wolfe: The Weather of His Youth. By Louis D. Rubin, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1955. Pp. xiii, 183. $3.50.)

This is one of the better books on Thomas Wolfe, the Asheville-born controversial literary figure.

Though Wolfe has been dead almost 17 years, interest remains among the reading public to such an extent that all of his books are still in print and there is a rather steady outpouring of essays and books that seek to analyze and interpret him and determine his place in American literature.

Some cultists are so fond of Wolfe and his writings that they fail to discriminate. Some persons dismiss his work with a shrug.

Wolfe, though highly talented, was mortal. The sensible way is to appraise him and his works as such and steer a middle course. This Rubin has done admirably.

He finds Wolfe's books continue to be read because they possess artistic appeal. After discussing the form of autobiographical fiction, Rubin examines some of the methods and purposes of Wolfe's life and work, "so that we may seek to understand the use made of autobiographical material by one American writer, the form it took and what he could and could not achieve with it."

Rubin examines Wolfe's novels carefully. After a discussion and interpretation of his life in town (Asheville) and city (New York) and the influence of his father and mother,

Rubin concludes that Wolfe's place in American literature may well be as a one-volume novelist. He adds:

"But what a tremendous one volume *Look Homeward, Angel* is! The characters are rounded and complete. It tells a story fully and well. It is the story of a boy growing up in a North Carolina town from 1900 to 1920, and it truthfully captures a twenty-year segment of the past for us. It is alive in space and color and time, because when the author wrote it he was temporarily home again, and the weather of his youth around him."

This reviewer is not disposed to quarrel with this appraisal. There is considerable argument to support it. Its soundness, however, can be proved only with the passage of time. There is merit in all of Wolfe's novels, but *Look Homeward, Angel* is the greatest of his works.

Rubin, a native of Charleston, S. C., and an assistant professor of American Civilization at the University of Pennsylvania, makes a noteworthy contribution in this book to a proper understanding of Wolfe's place in American literature.

George W. McCoy.

Asheville, N. C.

From Mine to Market: The History of Coal Transportation on the Norfolk and Western Railway. By Joseph T. Lambie. (New York: New York University Press. 1954. Pp. xviii, 380. $6.00.)

This book, as its author states, is a history of the coal traffic of the Norfolk and Western Railway. Other aspects of the company's history are treated only as they bear directly on the development of the coal traffic. The policies adopted, the competitive, financial, and regulatory problems encountered, and the errors made are discussed in detail. Considerable attention is devoted to the subject of freight rates, and the importance of management with imagination and vision in the successful development of the company is emphasized. The period covered dates from 1881 when the then existing plant was sold at foreclosure sale to the present day. The books ends with a chapter entitled "Coal Transportation:

Yesterday and Tomorrow" in which recent developments that are affecting the use and transportation of coal are discussed.

The author has succeeded admirably in organizing a vast amount of historical and statistical detail into an objective account which holds the reader's attention. The style is lively and does not become monotonous.

The field which was chosen has been covered well. The study is documented from a variety of sources, including newspaper and magazine accounts, annual reports of the Norfolk and Western Railway and of other railroad companies, annual reports of coal mining firms, Interstate Commerce Commission sources, Congressional investigations, court decisions, and correspondence of the officials of the railway company.

This book is a valuable addition to the list of railway histories and, owing to the peculiar location of the coal field served by the Norfolk and Western Railway, it is an important contribution to the knowledge of the general economic history of the nation.

Charles E. Landon.

Duke University,
Durham.

Justice William Johnson, the First Dissenter; The Career and Constitutional Philosophy of a Jeffersonian Judge. By Donald G. Morgan. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1954. Pp. xv, 326. $6.50.)

When President Jefferson in 1804 had his first opportunity to inject a Republican into the solidly Federalist Supreme Court of Chief Justice John Marshall he chose thirty-two year old South Carolina Judge William Johnson. From the President's standpoint it did not prove to be an altogether satisfactory appointment for during nearly thirty years of tenure Johnson maintained an independence which at times placed him as much in conflict with the views of Jefferson as with the doctrines of Marshall. Indeed, his first major encounter was with the President rather than with his enemy of the bench.

But apparently Johnson's devotion and admiration for the Virginian never faltered. And Jefferson's influence on Johnson was at times substantial.

Republican Justice Johnson was least Republican in his consistently broad construction of congressional power. With the implied power doctrine of the McCulloch case he was in full agreement and in *Gibbon* vs. *Ogden* he "out Marshalled Marshall" in ascribing broad discretion to Congress. But he parted company with Marshall at many points. He was less sensitive to property rights than to the right of popularly elected legislatures, both national and state, to protect individual freedom and to promote social justice. He was inclined to interpret rather narrowly judicial as well as executive power. His concern for the right of states to retain broad control over local matters made him increasingly loath to strike down state legislation. But state rights as the term was coming to be understood in South Carolina he firmly opposed. To him division was always a greater danger than centralization.

Probably Johnson's greatest impact on the Supreme Court was in the matter of procedure. When he took his seat there was a firmly established practice under which the Associate Justices silently concurred as the Chief Justice spoke for an ostensibly united court. Against this practice Johnson campaigned from the first by asserting his own views in separate concurring or dissenting opinions. Although he became strangely quiet in the historic decisions of 1819-1822 he then resumed his campaign, largely as the result of skillful prodding by Jefferson, and in the next ten years wrote nine concurring and eighteen dissenting opinions. The evidence strongly supports the author's conclusion that Johnson was primarily responsible for the "establishment of that procedure . . . which most harmoniously reconciled authoritativeness with intellectual freedom—the single statement for the majority combined with separate utterances by independents."

In writing an interesting and thoroughly scholarly biography of William Johnson, Professor Morgan has not only rescued from undeserved obscurity an able member of the Supreme Court but has also contributed much to the better

understanding of the court in the period of its most significant development. Students of law, government and history will find this a very rewarding book.

C. E. Cauthen.

Wofford College,
Spartanburg, S. C.

The Colonial Records of South Carolina. The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, September 14, 1742-January 27, 1744. Edited by J. H. Easterby. (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department. 1954. Pp. xi, 607. $12.50.)

The South Carolina Archives Department, formerly the Historical Commission of South Carolina, has published the fourth volume in the excellent new series entitled *The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly.* It contains the first half of the proceedings of the House which assembled September 14, 1742, and adjourned for the last time May 25, 1745.

These records reveal considerable apathy among the newly-elected representatives. Even though the province was believed in imminent danger of invasion by Spanish and French forces, only half of the forty-two seats were filled for the opening session. Lieutenant Governor William Bull promptly delivered a message designed to stimulate action, but instead of enacting legislation the House took a two months recess for the harvest. In the spring of 1743, however, after depositions of several former prisoners had revealed the enemy about to strike, measures were hurried through for the completion of fortifications in Charles Town, Port Royal, George Town, and elsewhere.

The apparent indifference of the House toward the War of Austrian Succession was matched by that of certain British sailors. The governor declared that captains of His Majesty's ships complained "that their Seamen desert from them in great Numbers, being tempted thereto by the high Wages given in the Merchant Service, and, as they alledge, inticed away by the Inhabitants of Carolina." He asked for a law to prevent "their going by Land to the Northward Colonies,

which in my Opinion would not only discourage any future Attempts of such Seamen but also of our Servants who have frequently deserted to those Parts."

A growing fear of domestic insurrections was apparent when the security laws were amended by adding the requirement that "all Persons going to Church or other Places of divine Worship, except Travellers, should be obliged to carry Guns or Horse Pistols."

These records also illuminate the vagaries of the fee system. The House allowed the governor one pound for signing a marriage license, the marshall of the admiralties the same amount for the execution of a criminal, but the sexton only four shillings for "Digging the Grave and filling it up."

Dr. Easterby demonstrated careful scholarship as well as infinite patience in preparing this imposing volume of previously unprinted materials. The index, which is more detailed than those of the earlier volumes, will prove quite useful to readers who first consult the editor's clear "Explanation of the Index."

Henry S. Stroupe.

Wake Forest College,
Wake Forest.

Glimpse of Glory, George Mason of Gunston Hall. By Marian Buckley Cox. (Richmond, Virginia: Garrett and Massie, Inc. 1954. Pp. xvii, 254. $4.00.)

Marian Buckley Cox has beautifully written in this compact volume the story of George Mason, composer of Virginia's precursor to the Bill of Rights. It is well-documented fiction which allows the reader to visualize Gunston Hall as the homestead of a bride and groom rather than the stately mansion one sees today on a "Heritage Month" tour of Virginia's historic colonial homes, towns and cities.

George Mason, spoken of by James Street as "the godfather of the Bill of Rights" and "a disciple of Jefferson," was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787. He framed the words of Virginia's Declaration of Rights which were later incorporated into those of Pennsyl-

vania and Massachusetts "almost verbatim" by Benjamin Franklin and John Adams respectively.

Serious in thought and word, an insatiable reader of the classics in his ample library, George Mason exemplified the best of the patriots who struggled to preserve human liberty and dignity in the pre-Revolutionary days of our country. He did not sanction human slavery and though he owned slaves, he sounded the prophecy of the controversy which culminated in the Civil War almost a hundred years after his death.

Mrs. Cox has brought George Mason to life: his thought and words are known to almost every school child yet the man has been buried in oblivion. Through the pages of this book, Washington as a young man; Patrick Henry as the firebrand of the Virginia Conventions; Lord Dunmore as governor of Virginia; Jefferson and Franklin as ministers to France; and others assume their places in history.

Gunston Hall stands today—lovingly cared for by the National Society of Colonial Dames of America, as a memorial to George Mason. The boxwood, undoubtedly planted upon Mason's orders, are two hundred years old and like sentinels guard over the house, gardens, and frame the historic Potomac River. One imagines George Mason as the gracious host, devoted husband and loving father as he tends his lands with care, thinking seriously of the problems which beset the colonies.

The book has an Introduction, complete footnotes, Bibliography, and an Appendix which contains Virginia's Declaration of Rights, The Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. Maps on the inside covers are a valuable aid to the reader in establishing Gunston Hall in relation to other points in the colony.

The book should appeal to the general reading public as well as students of history. The story moves rapidly in spite of the wealth of documentary material which is used. Truly as the author says, "Turn back then, if you would see Gunston Hall live again, . . . the men and women, boys and girls and little children, with their negroes, dogs, and horses; and catch if you can the sound of fiddle and hunting horn, the laughter

and the weeping, and most of all, the *glimpse of glory* in our country's future—that hope which gave courage to our forefathers."

Elizabeth W. Wilborn.
Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh.

The Tinkling Spring, Headwater of Freedom. A Study of the Church and Her People, 1732-1952. By Howard McKnight Wilson. (Richmond, Virginia: Garrett and Massie, Inc. 1954. Pp. xviii, 542, folding map. $8.00.)

This is not only the history of a church but the story of a people. The so-called Scotch-Irish are briefly traced from Ulster to the Pennsylvania area, and then down to their settlements in the Valley of Virginia. Notices of the early religious groups in this section are followed by a record of the beginnings of Tinkling Spring Church, with extended consideration of its first pastor, Rev. John Craig.

The narrative is then carried across the two succeeding centuries with balanced emphasis upon the religious, educational, cultural, and military life and activity of the people of the Congregation. Special note is taken of Hermitage Presbyterian Church, associated with Tinkling Spring, as is true of several other congregations which grew out of the latter. The author has not been unmindful of the wider mission of Tinkling Spring in giving of her sons and daughters to the ministry and missionary endeavor.

The Church has enjoyed long pastorates, having had but fifteen regularly installed ministers, or the practical equivalent thereof, since 1740, the fifteenth being the author of the volume under consideration. Three of the number, Benjamin M. Smith, Robert L. Dabney, and Givens B. Strickler, were later to become distinguished as professors at Union Theological Seminary in Virginia.

The numerous pictures are well selected and supply excellent illustrations for the printed text, though one wonders why that of the statue of the Pioneer Woman was chosen for the frontispiece, and may question the use of sepia-toned ink for their reproduction. An Appendix, such as to bring joy

to the heart of the historian, and several helpful maps lend further value to the volume.

It is a big book and a good book. Factual, readable, and obviously the result of careful and prolonged research, this work constitutes a significant addition to Virginia history as well as to that of the Presbyterian Church.

Thomas H. Spence, Jr.
Historical Foundation,
Montreat.

Rebel Private Front and Rear. By William Andrew Fletcher. Edited with a preface by Bell Irvin Wiley. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1954. Pp. xvii, 162. $3.75.)

Civil War students and enthusiasts will welcome a new edition of William Andrew Fletcher's *Rebel Private Front and Rear.* A limited first edition in 1908 and its subsequent destruction by fire had combined to make this memoir a scarce item. Although written from memory more than forty years after the war, the volume presents a fascinating picture of the life of a common soldier of the Confederacy.

The outbreak of war in 1861 found twenty-two year old William Fletcher working as a carpenter in Beaumont, Texas. He enlisted in Company F, Fifth Texas Regiment which soon became a part of Hood's famous Texas Brigade. Measles, mumps, camp lice and the Seven Day's fighting served to initiate Fletcher and his fellow Texans into army life. A hip wound received at Second Manassas almost ended Fletcher's soldiering, but weeks of suffering in a hospital and a sixty-day furlough found him back with his company in time for Fredericksburg. Voicing the opinions of the fighting men, he found no criticism for Longstreet after the battle of Gettysburg. A serious foot wound at Chickamauga ended his service in the infantry, but he transferred to "Terry's Texas Rangers" and served until captured late in the war. The exciting account of Fletcher's escape is only one of many well-told stories.

Private Fletcher's narrative bears ample witness to the resourcefulness and ingenuity of Southern soldiers. Readers

will delight in the descriptions of camp life and foraging parties as well as the detailed lesson in noiseless chicken-stealing. Valuable as an account of life in the Southern army, Fletcher's memoir is all the better because of its lively humor.

In the preface Bell Irvin Wiley, who has discovered the common soldier, supplies the reader with a history of the volume and traces the postwar career of Private Fletcher.

Richard D. Younger.

University of Houston,
Houston, Texas.

A History of the Southern Confederacy. By Clement Eaton. (New York: The MacMillan Company. 1954. Pp. ix, 351. $5.50.)

In spite of the vast number of works on the American Civil War, there have been comparatively few scholarly volumes devoted to the general history of the Confederacy. Professor Eaton has done much to remedy that situation and has rendered an invaluable service by presenting a compact and highly readable account covering a relatively neglected field. Not only has the author attempted to bring together the various economic, political, military, social, and cultural aspects of the Confederacy, but he has tried to portray something of the feelings of the Southern people and the human drama of the war itself. He has succeeded at both tasks and in the process has produced a well-balanced study that probes many neglected areas.

The volume is primarily factual and does not purport to present a lengthy and analytic discussion of causes and results. Nevertheless, the author has brought his own mature judgement to bear upon many important issues, and in some instances has posed sound solutions to problems that have frequently been resolved by cliches. This sense of balance and soundness of observation are apparent throughout the book and add immeasurably to the value of both those chapters covering often-discussed subjects and those relating to lesser known aspects of the Confederacy. In the first chapter, for

example, Professor Eaton has plunged into the highly controversial year of 1860 and emerged with a well-rounded account of secession that takes into consideration not only the political and economic factors but does ample justice to the influences of emotionalism and the reactions of the Southern mind. Similarly, in the chapter on the creation of a Southern Republic, the author has escaped the pitfalls of oversimplifiication by pointing out several possible and logical reasons for the frequent lack of statesmanship and the general mediocrity of civil administration.

This same poise is evident in the ensuing chapters that deal with diplomatic negotiations, military and naval operations, and economic disintegration. Although such subjects frequently have been treated in other works, Professor Eaton has managed to pack a considerable amount of information into a comparatively small space and at the same time add to previous accounts by the insertion of new and often refreshing material. In the sections on military campaigns the author has endeavored to give adequate treatment to western operations and has tried to balance his account of generals and their strategy with a separate chapter on the common soldier. Perhaps the most valuable section on the military aspects of the Confederacy, however, is the one relating to logistics. By a judicious use of monographs and primary sources, the author has produced an excellent account of success and failure in the fields of ordnance and supply; an account which ranges from the concrete gains brought about through the efforts of General Josiah Gorgas to the intangible aspects resulting from the low esteem accorded to the quartermaster and commissary corps.

Although the political and military aspects of the Confederacy occupy the greater portion of the volume there is an interesting chapter on society and culture during the war. This is interspersed with such items as the role of newspapers, the effect of the war on literature, and theatre, music, and education, and the activities of Confederate women. As in the sections on the military, interest is intensified by the use of citations from manuscript and printed letters, journals, and

diaries. Containing, as it does, much concerning the war's effect on the population, the chapter on society and culture blends readily into the section on war economy. In his discussion of the economic disintegration of the Confederacy and the inability of the government to mobilize its resources, the author has stressed the inevitable conflict that results when men imbued with ideas of individualism and laissez faire attempt to wage a successful war. This theme is continued in the chapter so aptly entitled "The Loss of the Will to Fight" but even here the author is careful not to overemphasize any one factor in depicting the breakdown of Southern morale.

Professor Eaton has done a creditable job in his use of sources. Unfortunately, the volume contains no bibliography, but the notes at the end show a reasonable balance between manuscripts, monographs, and secondary works of a broader nature. The introduction of much new material has not, and apparently was not intended to produce any startingly new thesis. Its inclusion, however, has added some zest to the volume and has at the same time provided an insight into the thoughts and reactions of a people living under the impact of an adverse war.

Neither in the selection of sources nor in the use of material has the author sought to prove a pet theory or rationalize a particular conclusion. He has done what he set out to do; namely, to achieve a balance between various avenues of approach to the history of the Confederacy and to depict the effects of war on the people and on the society of the Old South. Professor Eaton has admitted that circumstances and attitudes may have influenced his viewpoint and made him unduly sympathetic toward the South. Yet he has tried to be objective — and in this he has been eminently successful. Among the greatest attributes of the book, in fact, are the author's mature reflection and judicious conclusions; factors that should prove of value both to the historian and to a large segment of the reading public.

Philip M. Rice.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh.

Brokenburn, The Journal of Kate Stone, 1861-1868. Edited by John Q. Anderson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1955. Pp. xxii, 400. $4.95.)

In editing this volume, Dr. John Q. Anderson has given us a fascinating account of the experiences of a young lady of a southern plantation home, Brokenburn, of northeast Louisiana. Kate Stone was 20 years of age when the war began, and, in common with the usual opinion in the South, thought the conflict would be soon over due to the bravery and daring "of dashing young men" of the South. Her optimism did not fade till the war moved close to Brokenburn in 1863. This *Journal* gives a vivid insight into the plantation life and atmosphere of the Old South.

By 1863, "Yankees" had overrun the plantation reducing the family to want. Kate Stone, with her mother, Mrs. Amanda Stone, and the younger children moved to Lamar County, Texas, and later to Tyler, Texas, for two years. Her father died before 1861. Her older brothers joined the Confederate Army.

This book is excellent in enabling the reader to recapture the spirit of the Confederacy. For example, Kate Stone on hearing of Lincoln's assassination wrote in her *Journal*, "All honor to J. Wilkes Booth, who has rid the world of a Tyrant and made himself famous for generations. It is a terrible tragedy, but what is war but one long tragedy? What torrents of blood Lincoln has caused to flow."

On moving to Texas, Kate's mother set fire to $20,000 worth of cotton rather than see it fall to the enemy. The family returned to the ruined plantation in the fall of 1865. Two brothers were lost in the conflict.

Kate Stone married Lieutenant Henry B. Holmes in 1869. She remained an "unreconstructed rebel" until her death in 1907. This unpublished *Journal* went to her daughter, Miss Amy J. Holmes, and from her it was secured and edited by Dr. John Q. Anderson.

C. H. Hamlin.

Atlantic Christian College,
Wilson.

Rebels and Democrats. By Elisha P. Douglass. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1955. Pp. xi, 368. $5.00.)

This book is a well organized and carefully written account of the political struggles within the states during the American Revolution. The theme, as indicated by the sub-title is, "The Struggle for Equal Political Rights and Majority Rule." Today the words "radical" and "revolutionary" are apt to be used as synonyms but Professor Douglass believes that many of the leaders of the revolt of the British colonies were conservative rather than radical. To prove this he shows that the making of state constitutions in South Carolina, Maryland, and New York resulted in the establishment of "Conservative Commonwealths." The new constitutions "secured the rights which were a primary objective of the Revolution and erected barriers against arbitrary government. But these constitutions also protected the economic interests and political privileges of the aristocracy. . . ." (p. 54) In New Jersey, Delaware, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Virginia the conservatives were also victorious.

Pre-Revolutionary conditions account for the greater strength of radicalism in North Carolina, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. The political theories that justified a more liberal suffrage and majority rule were more generally accepted, although only in Pennsylvania did there develop by 1776 a "political party devoted to equalitarian democracy which was able to take over the administration of government." (p. 286) Two brief appendices place New Hampshire and Georgia in the group where radicalism had the greater influence.

Although Professor Douglass does not describe the making of a constitution in Virginia, he does discuss at some length Jefferson's drafts of a constitution for Virginia and his political philosophy as shown in his writings and comes to the conclusion that he was a liberal, but "more democratic by contemporary standards than by eighteenth century standards." (p. 316) The footnotes, conveniently placed at the bottom of the pages, and a "Bibliographical Note" at the end of the book on the sources available for the study of the

political struggles for institutional reform within the states are excellent.

Political theory may not be exciting to the general reader, nor does it appeal to as wide an audience as biographical and military studies, but the student of political science as well as history who is interested not only in what men have done, but in what they thought and how it affected their actions will find this a book to be read with profit.

Clara G. Roe.

University of Akron,
Akron, Ohio.

Making Democracy a Reality. Jefferson, Jackson, and Polk. By Claude G. Bowers. (Memphis, Tenn.: Memphis State College Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 170. $3.75.)

The addresses, delivered under the auspices of the J. P. Young Lectures in American History of Memphis State College are thus described by Mr. Bowers: 1. Thomas Jefferson: His Final and Decisive Struggle for American Democracy. 2. James K. Polk: Why Was He One of the Great American Presidents. 3. Andrew Jackson: His Substitution of Party Government for Personal Politics. 4. Andrew Jackson: The Homeric Battles of His Administration.

In the addresses on Jefferson and Jackson, Mr. Bowers, with his customary effectiveness, vividness, and power, restated in briefer form his findings on them as the practical founders of American democracy, as contained in his well-known and more extensive studies of them. They are a finished performance, and vary little, except in form and extent, from his previous works. They are excellently done, and are convincing in relation to the title of the series.

The inclusion of James K. Polk in the series, however, is somewhat puzzling. The contribution of the other two to making democracy a reality is entirely clear, but, even granting that Polk was "a great President," he still can scarcely be accurately said to have performed any special service, other than effectively performing his duties as legislator and President, towards making democracy a reality. James Madi-

son would seem to have been a far more important actor in the process. It must be said, however, that Mr. Bowers makes as strong a case as possible for declaring Polk a great President.

The studies are all interesting in content, and are attractive in form, and lighted by the fiery enthusiasm of the author.

J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton.

Chapel Hill.

American Heritage. Edited by Bruce Catton. Volume VI (February, 1955), Number 2. (New York: The Heritage Publishing Company, Inc. Pp. 120. Single copies $2.95. Annual subscribtion $12.00 in the United States. $13.00 elsewhere.)

Variety and human interest in subject matter, profuse and sometimes elegant illustrations (a surprising number of color plates), liveliness, and general readability characterize this number of American Heritage. This is the second number of the new bi-monthly version of this somewhat experimental and ambitious publishing venture sponsored by the American Association for State and Local History and the Society of American Historians. If these qualities are maintained this magazine, bound and free of advertising like a book, may well survive the obviously high cost of publication and reader resistance to the price.

The publishers assume the existence of a wide popular interest in the many faceted American social heritage. This issue has something in it for everybody's taste. A never before published eye-witness account of the hanging of John Brown, written by David Hunter Strother, "Porte Crayon," for *Harper's Magazine*, and rejected because the subject was controversial, is the lead article. For those who love ships and the sea an account of Salem's East Indian trade with ten color plates will be the highlight.

A chapter from the J. Russell Lynes book, *The Tastemakers*, describes how architect Richard Morris Hunt gave "The 400" the architecture it liked, costly imitations of European grandeur, and incidentally fathered the American Renaissance in architecture. The Iroquois Indians and their extraordinary

role in American history appear in "People of The Long House." "James Gordon Bennett, Beneficent Rascal" recalls a colorful chapter in journalism.

James Thomas Flexner writes critically of "The Cult of the Primitives." He concedes that it might be folk art and democracy in art, but questions that the artists should be rated above their better trained colleagues. Appropriately in the month of Lincoln's birthday Willard King writes "Riding on the Circuit with Lincoln," based on the letters of Judge David Davis. This is more the story of the Illinois frontier a century ago. Fairfax Downey describes the ingenuity and resourcefulness displayed by Yankees in the capture of Louisbourg in 1745.

How New York reacted to visiting celebrities in 1851 is revealed in an account of a visit by Lola Montez, dancer and reputedly friend of King Ludwig I of Bavaria. Particularly revealing are excerpts from Wilson Brown's book "Aide to Four Presidents." He writes at length of presidents Coolidge and Franklin D. Roosevelt, but gives only glimpses of Hoover and Truman whom he served for only a short time. "A Nosegay of Valentines" add a sentimental touch. The volume closes with brief notes and a review section.

C. W Tebeau.

University of Miami,
Miami, Florida.

Knickerbocker Birthday: A Sesqui-Centennial History of the New-York Historical Society, 1804-1954. By R. W. G. Vail. (New York: The New York Historical Society. 1954. Pp. xix, 547. Index and illustrated. $6.00.)

Founded in 1804 by a distinguished group of New Yorkers, the New-York Historical Society was the first such organization devoted to the collection of materials dealing with every aspect of American life.

Among the more important of its resources might be mentioned the Robert R. Livingston papers, the Nadelman collection of American folk art, the Naval History collection and the Albert Gallatin papers. Its newspaper file, particu-

larly of eighteenth-century papers, is one of the finest in the country, and in its art gallery are some of the most famous portraits of eminent Americans. The wealth of excellent plates in the present volume gives some idea of the pictorial resources of the Society. Of particular interest to readers of this review would be the Daniel Parish, Jr., collection of materials dealing with the Negro, the Civil War and Reconstruction, and the Meserve collection of Civil War photographs.

In association with Columbia University, the Society offers a seminar course on "Resources and Methods of an American Historical Society," a project which might profitably be emulated by other historical societies. In addition to providing scholars with research materials and facilities, the Society has pioneered in enriching the artistic and intellectual life of the community. By means of documentary films, student concerts, travelling historical exhibitions, the use of radio and more recently of television, it has extended its services and influence far beyond the confines of its building.

Since the Society has always been privately endowed, its financial ups and downs form an important part of the narrative of its development. Dr. Vail, its present director, has succeeded in tracing its growth in a comprehensive, yet entertaining manner. This sumptuous volume is a fitting tribute to a century and a half of distinguished service.

Howard Braverman.

Brooklyn College,
Brooklyn, New York.

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Volume XX. The Territory of Arkansas, 1825-1829. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1954. Pp. vi, 967. $4.25.)

This selection of material covers the wide variety of governmental activities in Arkansas during four years of its territorial history. As the second in the series pertaining to Arkansas, this volume begins with papers during the third administration of Acting Governor Robert Crittenden. The

four-year span also covers the two terms of Governor George Izard and Crittenden's fourth term.

Matters of major concern in Arkansas during this period include surveying the roads and boundaries, supervision of Indian agents and Indian affairs, postal matters, and federal justice, the chief engineering project was the selection of a route for the road from Memphis to Little Rock. Negotiations were also being conducted to reach a satisfactory boundary between the Indian and white settlements. Differing interpretations of treaty provisions and the problems of white settlements interspersing those of Indians made the location of a boundary very difficult. Food shortages made the Indians all the more anxious to have the rights guaranteed by treaties. The Postmaster General was constantly concerned with contractors who failed to maintain their mail schedules. Militia lists, census statistics, mail schedules, and lists of land tracts for sale are included in limited number.

Items in this volume are drawn almost entirely from the files of the National Archives. The carefully prepared index assists the reader in overcoming the difficulty of the chronological arrangement of the material.

The United States Government is doing the historian a great favor in making these records so accessible. This compilation of Arkansas records is welcomed not only as an addition to the published documents of this early period but also as the result of a careful sifting of the material from more than a dozen different departments of the federal government.

Paul M. McCain.

Arkansas College,
Batesville, Arkansas.

HISTORICAL NEWS

The *Western North Carolina Historical Association's History Bulletin* began publication in January, 1955. The April issue has a number of interesting items: The annual meeting of the association was held in Asheville on April 30; the centennial celebration of Polk County was held on May 8; the Spruce Pine Museum of North Carolina Minerals is expected to be opened to the public in the summer of 1955; and the town of Franklin celebrated its centennial June 16-18.

Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, managing editor of *The Forest City Courier* and a member of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History, was elected president of the Western North Carolina Historical Association at its annual meeting in the Pack Memorial Library in Asheville on April 30. Mr. George W. McCoy, managing editor of the *Asheville Citizen*, was presented the association's cup for the "Outstanding Historian" of 1955.

Mrs. Sadie S. Patton of Hendersonville, also a member of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History, was elected vice-president and Mr. Albert S. McLean of Asheville was re-elected secretary-treasurer.

The association, which has one director from each of the 23 counties represented in the organization, plus seven at large, re-elected all of the directors for another year with the following additions: Mrs. Lillian Thomasson of Swain County; Mrs. Cameron F. McRae of Yancey County; and Mr. Tom Underwood, director at large.

Dr. Julian C. Yoder, of Appalachian State Teachers College, Boone, read a paper on "The Geographic-Economic Development of the North Carolina Mountain Counties Since 1900," and Mrs. Sadie S. Patton read a paper on "Christian Harmony Singing in Western North Carolina." Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, retiring vice-president, was in charge of the program.

The Thomas Wolfe Memorial Association of Asheville will present through the Western North Carolina Historical As-

sociation of Asheville an award to be known as the Thomas Wolfe Memorial Trophy to the author of the best work selected by a committee and announced at the October meeting of the latter association, commemorating the birthmonth of Wolfe.

Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, newly elected president of the association, has announced the following as members of the awards committee: Mr. Thomas Pearson, chairman, Asheville; Miss Annie Westall, Asheville; and Dr. David R. Hodgin, Boone. Any member of the committee as well as Mr. Griffin may be contacted for rules governing this award.

The Wayne County Historical Society was organized at a meeting on April 7, in the courthouse in Goldsboro, with Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the Department of Archives and History as speaker. Mr. M. B. Andrews was elected president; Col. Hugh Dortch, vice-president; Mrs. C. E. Wilkins, second vice-president; Mrs. N. A. Edwards, secretary; and Mr. Bruce Duke, treasurer. Directors for the group were named and committees appointed to prepare a constitution and by-laws. In the second meeting, which was held on May 17, the society adopted a constitution and by-laws and the president announced the appointment of committees on the following: membership, finance, publicity, and program.

Mrs. Charles Powell was elected historian for the society and it was suggested that immediate preparations should be made to write a history of the county. Mr. D. L. Corbitt again met with the group and assisted them in perfecting their organization. Mr. Eugene L. Roberts was named as chaplain for the group. The secretary announced that the enrollment was 116 annual members and two life members and that charter membership would be available until October 6. The next meeting is to be held on October 20.

The Sampson County Historical Society was organized on April 14 in Clinton with the following elected and installed as officers: Mrs. Taft Bass, Clinton, president; Mrs. Charles Sloan, secretary; Mr. Leon Daughtry, assistant secretary;

Mrs. Bob Shields, treasurer; and Mrs. George Williams, assistant treasurer. Twelve vice-presidents were elected from various towns in the county; directors of the society were named; and a corresponding secretary is to be appointed in each township by the president.

The Pasquotank Historical Society met at a special luncheon meeting at the Virginia Dare Hotel in Elizabeth City on May 4 to hear an address by the Honorable Lindsay C. Warren. Mr. Warren was unable to attend the meeting as scheduled due to ill health but his address was delivered by tape recorder. He spoke on the significance of Sir Walter Raleigh's efforts to colonize what is now North Carolina and suggested that a great celebration should be held in Dare County in 1985 commemorating the four hundredth anniversary of the settling. He further suggested that a committee or committees be appointed now for the purpose of planning the event. After the luncheon and the address those present were invited to the Parish House near the hotel where an exhibit of interesting items connected with the history of the community and the county were displayed. Approximately 120 persons attended the luncheon, many of whom were from adjoining counties.

The Currituck County Historical Society met on April 18 with Mr. David Stick, author of *Graveyard of the Atlantic,* as speaker. Mr. Stick informed the society that the population of Currituck County is the same today that it was 200 years ago. He discussed the earliest settlers of the area and the geographical changes which have taken place since the formation of the county. The second half of the program was devoted to an open forum discussion. Mrs. Alma O. Roberts, publications chairman, reported that the newspaper of the society, *The Currituck Record,* will soon be released. Officers will be elected at the July meeting. There are at present 50 members of the society.

The Woman's Club of Murfreesboro, with Mrs. R. H. Underwood as chairman, sponsored the first pilgrimage to colonial Murfreesboro and the surrounding countryside on

April 16-17. Guided tours were arranged and many of the old homes were opened to the public as well as Chowan College where special services were held as a part of the tour.

The April issue of *The Gaston County Historical Bulletin,* official organ of the Gaston County Historical Society, included the following articles: "Lawrence Kiser, Clan Pioneer," "Dr. William McLean, Surgeon in the American Forces at King's Mountain," and "Cemetery Records of Goshen Grove Church."

Thirty-six persons attended the historical tour on May 15 in Camden County. The tour, which was arranged by Mr. J. F. Pugh, was one of those of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians. A number of interesting historical stops were made and many old homes were opened. A picnic lunch served in the Camden High School cafeteria and refreshments at the home of Mr. and Mrs. P. P. Gregory, the site of the village of the Yawpim Indians, were enjoyed by those who attended.

The Johnston County Historical Society was organized at a meeting held in the Johnston County Library on April 2, with Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History assisting the group. Officers were elected as follows: Mr. H. V. Rose, Smithfield, president; Miss Mildred Oliver, Pine Level, vice-president; and Mrs. W. B. Beasley, Smithfield, secretary. Thirty members joined the society and the group decided to accept charter members through May 6. Mr. Rose appointed chairmen of the following committees: museum, library, publications, church history, war history, family history, membership, and program. Every member of the society is to serve on a committee and members were asked to state a preference. A committee was also appointed to prepare a constitution and by-laws.

On May 20 the society met at the courthouse and adopted its constitution and by-laws. Miss Mildred Oliver presided in the absence of Mr. Rose, the president. Mr. H. B. Marrow

and Miss Evelyn Bishop of Smithfield were elected members of the board and Mr. James Creech of Four Oaks was elected treasurer. The members were assisted by Mr. D. L. Corbitt who made a brief talk to the society.

Restoration of Old Bunker Hill bridge in Catawba County, one of the three remaining covered bridges in the state, has been completed by the county historical society under the leadership of Judge Wilson Warlick.

On April 12 in Halifax the 180th anniversary of the Halifax Resolves was celebrated, with Governor Luther H. Hodges as the principal speaker. The occasion was featured by the dedication of the restored brick gaol in which the Tory prisoners, captured at the Battle of Moore's Creek were incarcerated.

The State Literary and Historical Association held its spring regional meeting in Rocky Mount and Halifax, May 6-7. The program Friday afternoon was held in the Ricks Hotel in Rocky Mount with papers by the following: "The History of Nash County," by Mrs. Ruth Jeffreys; "The History of Rocky Mount and the Rocky Mount Mills," by Reading Bulluck; and "Sidelights of Nash County History," by William L. Pierce. A tea and tour of the Rocky Mount Mills was followed by a dinner with speeches by the following: Mrs. W. Gray Williams, "The Tar River and its Place in North Carolina History"; Mrs. E. L. Daughtridge, Jr., "Customs in Daily Life in Colonial Edgecombe"; and Ray S. Wilkinson, "Rebirth of Historical Interest in the Coastal Plain."

The meeting in Halifax was held at the Woman's Club Building with Mrs. Sterling M. Gary presiding. Papers on the historic sites of Halifax were presented. Following a tour of the town, a luncheon meeting was held with Ray S. Wilkinson presiding. Talks on the progress of the Historical Halifax Restoration Association concluded the meeting.

The North Carolina Civil War Roundtable held its initial meeting in Greensboro on March 19, went on a tour of Ben-

tonville Battleground on April 17, and held another meeting in High Point recently.

The Historical Society of North Carolina met in Raleigh on May 7. At the afternoon session Dr. Alice Kieth read a paper on "William Blount in North Carolina Politics," and Dr. Carolyn A. Daniel read a paper on "David L. Swain; First Whig Governor of North Carolina."

Following the dinner papers were read by Mr. William M. Geer on "Businessman [O. Max Gardner] in Politics," and Dr. Samuel H. Hobbs, Jr., on "Population in North Carolina." New members elected to the society are Dr. Blackwell P. Robinson, High Point College, and Dr. Horace H. Cunningham, Elon College.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians enjoyed a tour of Winston-Salem on May 22. The tour included visits to the Amos Cottage on the Graylyn Estate, the new Wake Forest campus, Tanglewood Park, where a picnic lunch was held, and a tour of Old Salem.

The recent General Assembly of North Carolina authorized the governing body of any county or municipality to appropriate nontax revenues for the support of historical associations and for other purposes. The law provides that upon the request of the president and secretary of a local society, museum, or similar organization based upon a resolution passed upon by a majority (at regular or called meeting) at which a quorum shall have been present, the governing body of any county or municipality may appropriate nontax revenues to such historical organization; that the historical organization may expend such funds for the preservation of historic sites or buildings, publishing of materials, establishment and maintenance of museums, and payment of salaries of personnel; that an annual report must be made showing how such appropriations have been spent; and that the governing bodies are authorized to allot space in local schools, libraries, courthouses, city halls, or other public buildings for the functions and activities of local historical organizations.

The Assembly also passed a bill prepared by the Commission on Reorganization of State Government revising the basic act of the Department of Archives and History. Most of the changes involved re-phrasing and clarifying the law, but one important provision is that the Department shall administer the state's historic and archeological properties. Other acts appropriated more than $16,000 each year for such properties. In addition, the Department's general appropriation is slightly less than $150,000 for each year.

Another act abolished the Zebulon B. Vance Commission. This was done with the expectation that the Department of Archives and History would take over the Commission's functions.

Other legislation authorized separate commissions to plan for the 400th anniversary of the first English colonies in America (in 1985; to celebrate this year the 250th anniversary of the Town of Bath, oldest incorporated town in North Carolina; and to assemble materials on the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden spoke at Camden, April 18, to the Albemarle Schoolmasters Club on the importance of local history; at Charlotte, April 22, when a Confederate Navy Yard marker was unveiled, on blockade running to and from the Cape Fear; at Lillington, May 2, to a Junior Historian group; at Raleigh, May 13, to a Daughters of the Revolution chapter, on North Carolina's part in the winning of American independence; at Clinton, May 29, to the Sampson County Historical Society on a program for a local historical organization; and in Sampson County, the same day, to a Boykin family group, on North Carolina in the War of 1812.

Dr. Crittenden, accompanied by Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, museum administrator of the Hall of History, attended the annual meeting on June 1-3 of the American Association of Museums in Washington, D. C. This meeting which marked the Golden Jubilee of the association had its headquarters in the Smithsonian Institution. The theme for the program was "Inter-American Cultural Relations."

Dr. Crittenden also attended the meeting on June 6-7 of the Board of Trustees of the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

At Pinehurst on March 25 Mrs. Joye E. Jordan gave an illustrated lecture to a local group on historic houses in North Carolina.

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Researcher, State Department of Archives and History, spoke on April 2 to the Alfred Moore Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Southern Pines, on procedures for restoring the Alston House, or the House in the Horseshoe, Moore County. The meeting was held at the home of Mrs. Ernest Ives, near Southern Pines.

On April 22 Mr. Tarlton inspected Person's Ordinary building, a colonial tavern located at Littleton, Halifax County, which is to be restored as a historical attraction by the Littleton Woman's Club. Purpose of the inspection was to make suggestions for the proposed restoration. On May 13 he represented the Department of Archives and History at the unveiling of a historical highway marker commemorating the first 4-H Club in North Carolina, at Ahoskie High School, Ahoskie, Hertford County; and on May 28 represented the Department at the unveiling of a historical highway marker for Wingate Junior College, Wingate, Union County. The ceremony was a part of the commencement exercises and was held in the college auditorium.

On May 16 Mr. W. Frank Burton, State Archivist, Department of Archives and History, spoke over Radio Station WPTF at the request of the Caswell-Nash Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. His subject was "The Regulator Movement and the Battle of Alamance."

Within the past two months the Department's Division of Archives and Manuscripts has obtained microfilm copies of Chowan County deeds, 1745-1748; Currituck County wills, 1792-1810; and Wake County deeds, 1785-1788. The Department has arranged with the Selective Service System to obtain the home address and record of separation of North

Carolinans who served in World War II.

Dr. Fletcher M. Green of the University of North Carolina participated as a guest scholar at the John Marshall Bicentennial Program at the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, on May 12-13.

Dr. Harold A. Bierck, Jr., will be visiting professor of history in the summer session, University of California at Los Angeles. He has been awarded a Faculty Fellowship for the Advancement of Education by the Ford Foundation for 1955-1956. He will spend some time in Mexico City and at the University of Texas.

Mr. William M. Geer has been awarded a Danforth Teaching Study Grant for the academic year, 1955-1956.

Mr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., graduate student at the University of North Carolina, has been appointed as a member of the Social Studies Department at East Carolina College, to begin work in September, 1955.

Dr. Paul Murray of the East Carolina faculty spoke to the Bertie County Historical Association, April 22, and to the Pitt County Historical Society on April 28 on "The Contributions of the County Historical Societies to North Carolina History."

Dr. Allen S. Johnson of Duke University who received his Ph.D. in English history in June of last year, is doing research this summer in England on the American Revolution in British politics, under a grant from the Duke Committee on British Commonwealth Studies. He has been appointed assistant professor at Shorter College for the ensuing academic year.

Dr. F. B. M. Hollyday, who received his Ph.D. in European history in June, has been appointed a Ford Scholar at the Case Institute of Technology.

Miss Barbara Brandon, a doctoral candidate in history, has received a Fulbright Award to do research in the Archives of Hanover on the period of George I of Great Britain.

Dr. John R. Alden of the University of Nebraska has been elected professor of history at Duke University. He holds a

Guggenheim Fellowship for 1955-1956 to write the Revolutionary volume in the *History of the South.*

Dr. Alan K. Manchester is the author of "Brazil in Transition," in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for April. He will visit Cuba and Central and South America in July and August on a cultural mission for the Department of State.

Dr. Alexander DeConde published an article, "William Vans Murray's *Political Sketches:* A Defense of the American Experiment," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* March, 1955.

Mr. James W. Harbison, Jr. of Reidsville, a junior history major at Duke University, has received an undergraduate research stipend from the Social Science Research Council to study seditious libel in the eighteenth century in England and America. He will work under the supervision of Dr. William B. Hamilton.

Duke University has received a grant of $375,000 from the Carnegie Corporation of New York to promote research in the political economy and history of the British Commonwealth.

Dr. John B. Oliver, who holds degrees from both Duke University and the University of North Carolina, has been appointed assistant professor at the University of Georgia in Atlanta.

Dr. Jay Luvaas, director of the Flowers Collection, was the speaker at the Civil War Roundtable on April 17. He spoke on the Battle of Bentonville which was the last battle between Johnston and Sherman, March 19-21, 1865.

The Flowers Collection has recently acquired several letters of General James Longstreet; papers of the Pelot family, Laurens, South Carolina, dealing with Reconstruction; papers of Charles Todd Quintard, Civil War letters, many written by Confederate generals; papers of a Union officer in the Civil War, William Y. Ripley, Rutland, Vermont; and additions have been made to the business collections of W. A. Hunt and Company, Charleston, South Carolina; and Dennis Simmons Lumber Company, Williamston, North Carolina; the W. W. Ball Papers; and the Paul Hamilton Hayne Collection.

Dr. Frontis W. Johnston, head of the department of history, Davidson College, who has been on a leave of absence for a year, will return to his duties in September. Dr. W. Magruder Drake, who relieved Dr. Johnston, will become assistant professor of history at Southwestern Louisiana Institute, Lafayette, Louisiana.

Dr. Samuel R. Spencer, professor of history and dean of students at Davidson, has published *Booker T. Washington and the Negro's Place in American Life,* the seventh volume in the Library of American Biography, edited by Oscar Handlin.

Dr. W. B. Yearns of the Wake Forest College history department has been awarded a study and research grant by Duke University for the summer term, 1955.

Dr. Robert Leroy Hilldrup, professor of history at Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia, has received a grant-in-aid from the Southern Fellowships Fund for study in England this summer. He will study at Oxford University and search county libraries for British material on eighteenth century Virginia. Dr. Hilldrup was a professor of history at East Carolina College from 1936 to 1944.

Dr. Joseph C. Robert, now president of Coker College, has accepted the presidency of Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia.

The College of William and Mary is celebrating the John Marshall Bicentennial throughout 1955 with a series of conferences and special programs and is providing funds for appropriate research projects. The Institute of Early American History and Culture has received some aid from the college for compilation of a bibliography of John Marshall.

The Newsletter from Williamsburg announces that both a state and a federal commission have been established with appropriations to prepare for the 350th anniversary celebration of Jamestown, Virginia, first permanent English settlement in the New World. The commissions have authorized

two developments; one of which authorizes the National Park Service to carry on archaeological investigations at Jamestown and on the site of Governor Sir William Berkeley's mansion, "Green Spring." The second, which is financed by federal funds, is a two-year project to search further for Virginia colonial records in British repositories and to secure microfilm copies.

Mr. A. T. Dill, native of New Bern, graduate of the University of North Carolina, and author of a number of works on his home town and county, has been appointed to an important executive position with the federal commission.

At the annual meeting of the Council of the Institute of Early American History and Culture in Williamsburg on May 7, a constitution was adopted. The following persons were elected to serve a three-year term ending in the spring of 1958: Dr. John R. Alden, Dr. Alfred A. Knopf, Dr. Samuel Eliot Morison, Dr. Richard H. Shryock, and Dr. William B. Willcox; to fill a vacancy among the members whose term expires in 1957, Dr. Julian P. Boyd. The officers of the Council are: Walter M. Whitehill, chairman (and *ex officio* chairman of the executive committee), Dr. Clifford K. Shipton, vice chairman, and Dr. Edmund S. Morgan, secretary.

The members of the Executive Committee, in addition to Dr. Whitehill, are Messrs. Boyd, Knopf, Morison, and David J. Mays, and the presidents of the two sponsoring organizations, Dr. Alvin D. Chandler of the College of William and Mary, and Mr. Kenneth Chorley of Colonial Williamsburg.

Dr. Lester J. Cappon, editor of publications of the Institute, was elected director, to succeed Lyman H. Butterfield who resigned last November to become editor of the Adams Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

At the annual dinner of the Institute its prize of $500 for the best book in the field of early American history published in 1954 was awarded to Dr. Gerald Stourzh of the University of Chicago's Center for the Study of American Foreign Policy, for his volume on *Benjamin Franklin and American Foreign Policy.*

The American Jewish Historical Society, in order to stimulate interest and research in American Jewish History, is offering three awards of $500, $300, and $200, as first, second, and third prizes respectively, in cash or scholarships at recognized schools of higher learning for the best essays in the field of American Jewish history. Applicants, who must be college students, may obtain full details of the awards by writing the American Jewish Historical Society, 3080 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y.

Books received recently include the following: Emma Prather Gilmer, *The Memoirs of Emma Prather Gilmer, Written in Her 90th Year for Her Children, Grandchildren and Great Grandchildren* (Philadelphia, Pa: The Cherry Company, Publishers, 1955); T. Harry Williams, *P. G. T. Beauregard, Napoleon in Gray* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955); W. F. Craven and J. L. Cate, *The Army Air Forces in World War II, Men and Planes, Volume VI* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1955); Earl Schenck Miers, *The Web of Victory, Grant at Vicksburg* (New York, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955) Carl Alvin Schenck, *The Biltmore Story, Recollections of the Beginnings of Forestry in the United States* (St. Paul, Minnesota: America Forest History Foundation, Minnesota Historical Society, 1955); W. C. Carter and A. P. Glossbrenner, *The History of York County, From Its Erection to the Present Time (1729-1834)*, New Edition with Additions, Edited by A. Monroe Aurand, Jr. (Harrisburg, Pa: The Aurand Press, 1955);Arthur S. Link, *American Epoch, A History of the United States Since the 1890's* (New York, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1955); I. O. Schaub, *North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station: The First 60 Years, 1877-1937* (Raleigh: North Carolina State College, 1955); John Q. Anderson, *Brokenburn, The Journal of Kate Stone, 1861-1868* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955); Orrin Sage Wightman and Margaret Davis Cate, *Early Days of Coastal Georgia* (St. Simons Island, Georgia, Fort Frederica Association, 1955); Blackwell P. Robinson, *The North Carolina Guide* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Car-

olina Press, 1955); Monroe F. Cockrell, *The Lost Account of the Battle of Corinth and The Court Martial of Gen. Van Dorn* (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press, 1955); George W. Dalzell, *Benefit of Clergy in America* (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: John F. Blair, 1955); Nettie McCormick Henley, *The Home Place* (New York, New York; Vantage Press, 1955); Robert Neal Elliot, Jr., *The Raleigh Register, 1799-1863* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carlina Press, 1955, The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science) Volume 36; Aubrey C. Land, *The Dulanys of Maryland: A Biographical Study of Daniel Dulany, The Elder (1685-1753) and Daniel Dulany, The Younger (1722-1797)* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1955, Studies in Maryland History, No. 3); and Dorothy Horton McGee, *Famous Signers of the Declaration* (New York, New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1955).

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Mr. Houston G. Jones is a university fellow in history and doctoral candidate at Duke University, Durham. He will be visiting instructor in history at Western Carolina College for the summer, 1955.

Dr. Frenise A. Logan has been visiting professor of history at North Carolina College, Durham, for the academic year 1954-1955.

Mr. David H. Corkran received his masters degree from Harvard and is at present engaged in research at the Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., is an assistant professor of history at the University of Richmond, Richmond, Virginia.

Dr. George D. Harmon is professor of American history and head of the department of history and government at Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

Dr. Jay B. Hubbell is emeritus professor of American literature at Duke University and was visiting professor of American literature at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, for the school year, 1954-1955.

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PROPERTY AND TRADE: MAIN THEMES OF EARLY NORTH CAROLINA NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENTS

By WESLEY H. WALLACE

Editorial portions of North Carolina newspapers from 1751 to 1778 carried relatively little news or comment on the local scene; advertisements, therefore, remain the principal journalistic sources of information about the communities in which the newspapers were printed. The breadth of subject matter in the advertisements, the wealth of detail in many of these paid notices, and the various emphases advertisers placed on their topics combine to provide interesting and profitable reading for the modern historian.

The number of advertisements and the amount of space occupied supply evidence that eastern North Carolinians of the late Colonial and early Revolutionary periods were very largely concerned with matters relating to property and trade —practical, everyday attitudes and practices concerning slaves and servants, the buying, selling, and leasing of real estate, the importation and exportation of goods and commodities, and a host of related topics. [1]

ADVERTISEMENTS RELATING TO SLAVES AND SERVANTS

Hardly an issue of an early North Carolina newspaper was devoid of advertisements chronicling various relationships between masters and their slaves and servants. There were

[1] For a more detailed exposition of the number, classification, and space of advertisements, the newspapers and issues extant, as well as a more comprehensive treatment of advertising subject matter, see Wesley Herndon Wallace, "Advertising in Early North Carolina Newspapers, 1751-1778" (M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1954). No system of subject matter classification can be entirely adequate, since advertisements frequently touched on more than one subject. For additional general information on newspapers, see Charles Christopher Crittenden, *North Carolina Newspapers Before 1790* (Chapel Hill: *The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science*, Vol. XX, 1928, no. 1).

notices giving details of runaways, official accounts listing runaways as outlaws, paid notices relating to the capture of slaves, insertions offering slaves for sale or hire, and advertisements seeking the return of runaway indentured servants and apprentices. In most cases, the advertiser described the slave or servants as to appearances and other distinguishing characteristics; and frequently there were hints as to the advertiser's personal opinion of some troublesome chattel.

Most numerous of advertisements concerning slaves were those which sought the capture and return of a runaway. In 1751, in the earliest extant issue of a North Carolina newspaper, Samuel Johnston offered a reward of "Thirteen Shillings and Four Pence, Proclamation Money," for the return of a slave named Frank, "a short thick Fellow," who was "a sensible Negroe." Frank had evidently run away before. On this latest escape, he had made off with some clothes, which prompted Johnston to label him "a great Thief." Either power of the press was lacking or Frank was expert at escaping detection, for in 1752 Johnston was still advertising for the slave's return with the (perhaps?) added note of exasperation that "All Persons are forbid, at their Peril, to harbour him."[2]

Not infrequently, notices of runaways revealed that the slaves possessed some degree of training as coopers, carpenters, printers, or shoemakers.[3] The Robert Wests—senior and junior—advertised for a Negro named Thomas, who was a "very good Black-Smith" and who had the uncommon ability to "read, write, and cypher; . . . " Thomas was unusual in other ways, too; he made his departure felt by taking with him a large sum of money, a "Pair of Money-Scales and Weights, and one Pair of Sheets; three Coats . . . a Blue Jacket, and a great many other Cloaths: . . . " In addition, Thomas purloined a horse, complete with saddle and bridle, which doubtless he needed to transport such a quantity of loot.[4]

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[2] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Nov. 15, 1751, [Jan.-Feb.?], 1752.
[3] *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington, North Carolina), Nov. 24, 1769; *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), June 29, 1764; *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Aug. 1, 1777, March 27, 1778.
[4] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), March 13, 1752.

While most of the runaway slaves were Negroes, some were crossbreeds. To indicate some sort of racial mixture, the term "Mustee" was frequently used, though in one advertisement, the description "Mulatto or Mustee Slave . . . and greatly the Looks and Colour of an Indian" was inserted.[5] It is, however, difficult to tell whether a mixture or pure blood was meant when the descriptive phrases were "Slave of the *Indian* Blood," and "man slave, of the Indian breed."[6]

Rewards offered in advertisements of runaways varied greatly in amounts and terms. There were differences in amounts of rewards even for the same time and place. The New Bern newspaper displayed a notice in 1769 that forty shillings would be paid by Thomas Lock of Rowan County for the return of three runaways. In the same issue, Hugh Jenkins, John Mitchell, and "*Hugh McGumry,*" all of Rowan County, offered jointly a reward of five pounds for the return of just one slave.[7] William Tabb of Bute County advertised that he would pay either three or five pounds if his slave were captured south of the Neuse River—the lower amount if the runaway were lodged in jail, the higher if the slave were brought directly to Tabb. Should the slave be apprehended "nearer home," the captor would simply be "well rewarded" for his efforts.[8] John Strobhar of South Carolina offered a reward of twelve dollars for each of five runaways if they were captured in South Carolina; but if they were taken "in any other Province, TWENTY-FOUR DOLLARS each, and all reasonable Charges" would be paid, provided the slaves were returned to Strobhar's plantation.[9] In Wilmington, a Negro carpenter named "Cuffee" ran away from Cornelius Harnett, who not only offered a reward for Cuffee's return, but also announced an extra reward for in-

[5] *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), [June 29?], 1764.
[6] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), April 7, [Dec. 22?], 1775.
[7] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Nov. 10, 1769. In the same issue, Jonathan Jasper of Woodstock, in Hyde County, said only that the finder would be "generously rewarded, besides paying reasonable charges." Printer James Davis, a year earlier, was willing to pay only twenty shillings reward for the capture of a "Fellow named WILL; . . ." *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), June 24, 1768.
[8] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), April 7, 1775. Later in the same year, Tabb raised the reward to ten pounds. *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), [Dec. 22?], 1775.
[9] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), June 16, 1775.

formation about anyone who might be harboring the slave. The additional payment, to be made only if the guilty person were convicted, would be forty shillings in case the offense was committed by a Negro, but *"five pounds if by a white person. . . .*[10]

Not all the slaves who departed their masters did so voluntarily, according to at least two advertisements. Robert Heriot of Georgetown, South Carolina, offered a reward of one hundred pounds for the return of two slaves, father and son, who, Heriot thought, had been "stolen or inveigled" into leaving him. "There is reason to believe [said Heriot in his notice] they were carried off by some stragling [*sic*] white men, who went . . . through THIS into the North province."[11] The New Bern firm of Edward Batchelor and Company was not at all sure that five newly imported slaves had gone away of their own accord. The slaves could not speak English, had been "very little worked," and had been well treated. Because of this, the firm concluded, "it is formified [*sic*] they have been inveigled away by some infamousry [*sic*] principled Person, of a fairer Complexion, but darker Disposition than theirs."[12]

In spite of all the advertising for runaways, many of these stayed away for long periods of time. The owner could then call on the community officially and legally to make a special effort to track down the runaway, either to return the slave to the master or to kill the slave without fear of reprisal. Such a call for assistance took the form of an appeal to the justices of the peace having jurisdiction, to declare the runaway an outlaw, who invariably was "supposed to be lurking about, doing Acts of Felony."[13] These outlawry notices were highly stereotyped, following a strict legal form; many of them, however, included a *nota bene* which sometimes hinted at the at-

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[10] *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Aug. 7, 1775.

[11] *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Dec. 29, 1773. The kidnapping, if such it was, had occurred in the middle of 1771.

[12] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Feb. 24, 1775.

[13] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), May 5, 1775. Every advertisement announcing the outlawing of a runaway contained this or a similar phrase. The procedure for outlawing was set forth in Chapter XXIV of the Laws of 1741, entitled "An Act Concerning Servants and Slaves," now printed in Walter Clark, coll. and ed., *The State Records of North Carolina* (Vols. XI-XXVI, Winston, Goldsboro, 1895-1907), XXIII, 203-204.

titude the master took toward his slave. These postscripts were not uniform, ranging from severe to mild; but in the majority of notices one reward was offered if the slave were captured and returned and another, usually larger, would be paid if the "outlaw" were killed.[14]

If there is any parallel to be drawn between the number of advertisements of runaway slaves and the number of notices of captures, it would seem that a slave had a fair chance of escaping permanently. Still, runaways were apprehended; and, upon occasion, notices appeared in the New Bern and Wilmington papers to that effect. Most of these simply described the appearance of the slave, mentioned the slave's name or the name of his owner, if these were known, and gave any other necessary details which would permit identification and recovery by the lawful master.

Lewis Williams, Sheriff of Onslow County, was doing his duty rather thoroughly when he advertised in both New Bern and Wilmington that he had "TAKEN up and conveyed to the county goal [*sic*] on New-River, four likely Negro Fellows." From the fact that the English language seemed to mean little to the Negroes, and from other observations, Williams rather thought they had been "lately imported." The proper master could get them from the "goal keeper" in Onslow by "paying Costs, &c." [15]

Not all captured-slave notices were inserted by public officials. Private citizens like John Buford of New Hanover County and Francis Jones of Beaufort County captured runaways and duly advertised in the press.[16] Caler Bell of Beau-

[14] For varying attitudes, see *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), May 12, July 14, Oct. 6, [Dec. 22?], 1775, July 18, 1777, Feb. 20, 1778. It is most difficult to believe many of the owners seriously meant their slaves should be killed, solely, if not for other reasons, because such an act would mean the destruction of valuable property.

[15] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Nov. 10, 1769; *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Nov. 24, 1769. The spelling indicated above may or may not have been that of Sheriff Williams. In the *Mercury*, the wording differs in slight detail from that of the New Bern insertion. The Wilmington spelling was "Jail" and "Jail-Keeper." The makeup of the Wilmington advertisement was much more attention-compelling than that appearing in the *Gazette*, including a headline: "Taken up and committed to Jail." For other captured-slave advertisements inserted by public officials, see *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Sept. 2, 1774, May 5, 1775, Sept. 12, 1777, and *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Dec. 29, 1773.

[16] *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Sept. 22, 1773; *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Feb. 24, 1775.

fort, Carteret County, advertised the fact that a runaway named George had given himself up to Bell. George's story was that he belonged to "one *Billy Thomas,* in *Jamaica,* from whence himself and 3 more Negroes . . . ran away in a Schooner, and were 9 Months getting to this Country, but after landing [,] the other Negroes, took a different Path." Bell doubted George's account and thought his owner was probably in South Carolina; though he acknowledged George was "artful enough to talk about making of Sugar, and pretends to be intirely ignorant about any Thing that belongs to the Culture of Rice." [17]

A single advertisement in the *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), reveals a compassion for runaway slaves not often observed in public statements of the time. Robert Williams, whose plantation was at Hamlet, Carteret County, gave an account of two "new Negroes" who had been in jail in Beaufort.

> By some Accident, or Act of Humanity [the advertisement read], they got out of Goal, of a cold Evening (almost starved even in the fore part of the Night, and must have inevitably perished before Morning) and Strayed to the Subscriber's Kitchen, who wishes the proper Owner had them, but cannot send them any more into Confinement to starve and freeze to Death according to Law: For the Great Law-Giver *Moses,* had in Command, that we should do no Murder.[18]

Laudable as these sentiments were, they did not represent the general view that slaves were classed with goods and chattels—they were bought, sold, traded, and bequeathed—and North Carolina newspaper advertisements reflected all these activities.

Many advertisements announced sales of imported slaves and were inserted by individual merchants or importing firms. In advertising a "parcel" of slaves for sale, the adjectives "likely," "healthy," or "sensible" were frequently employed to attract buyers. In every case, terms of payment were stipulated in the advertisements. Samuel Cornell of-

[17] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Jan. 13, 1775.

[18] Jan. 7, 1774. Williams noted that the slaves, after getting away from jail, "came in a Canoe to *Bogue* Sound, but where from we cannot understand."

fered to sell slaves for "ready Money or Produce"; Thomas Haslen wanted *"ready Money or store Credit";* Edward Batchelor and Company would sell for "Cash, or Country Produce"; and Alexander Hostler and Company of Wilmington wanted essentially the same for *"Eighteen prime* NEGROES."[19]

Sales of slaves advertised by individuals, in contrast to those by importing merchants, required somewhat lengthier notices and were inspired by a wide variety of reasons. Even these, however, always specified the manner of payment. Adam Boyd, printer of the *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), used his own paper to announce he would accept "cash" or would give "short credit with approved security," if anyone wanted to buy two slaves "who have been accustomed to plantation business, & are well acquainted with every branch of it."[20] John Green and John Cook wanted only *"ready money"* for two slaves *"one a very good cooper, the other a good sailor, . . . "* They also advertised *"a house wench, who is a tolerable good cook, and can wash, iron, spin and weave."*[21] Benjamin Whitaker, who lived about five miles above New Bern on the Trent River road, wanted to dispose of 120 acres of land and two slaves. His advertisement noted: "Pork will be taken the ensuing Season in Payment for the . . . Land and Negroes."[22]

Sometimes debt-ridden North Carolina property holders were unable to meet their obligations except through drastic means. It was then that a man like Christopher Cains, Brunswick County sheriff, might advertise: "FOR ready MONEY WILL be SOLD, at the next Superior Court at *Wilmington,* Six likely Country-born Slaves, taken upon Execution. . . ."[23] Edmund Wrenford, in an attempt to settle with his creditors, offered to sell "cheap for ready Money," several slaves, "con-

[19] *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), Sept. 7, 21, 1764; *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Jan. 13, 1775; *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), May 18, 1774.

[20] Dec. 29, 1773. Boyd's activities concerning slaves were not limited to offers to sell. At various times, he "WANTED to hire or buy a smart handy negro Boy"; would give "A Good price . . . for a Negro Cooper"; and wanted to hire out "AN excellent House Wench." *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Dec. 29, 1773, Nov. 24, 1769, May 11, 1774.

[21] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), July 3, 1778.

[22] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Sept. 2, 1774.

[23] *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Nov. 24, 1769.

sisting of Men, Women, Boys, Girls, and Children," along with crops as they stood in the fields.[24]

Offers to "hire out" slaves were not uncommon in early North Carolina newspaper advertising. Frequently, the announcement that slaves were available for hire came from executors of estates. Security for the hire might be required; and the length of hire varied from as brief a time as a month to as much as a year.[25] Usually the hiring was considered to be a private transaction, but Mary Gordon of New Bern gave notice that if individuals did not come forward soon, her slaves would be "hired out at public vendue."[26]

From the few advertisements extant, it would appear that some slaves were not averse to stealing from their own masters and then quietly selling the goods or produce to white men. Both the guilty slaves and the receivers of stolen goods drew the ire of Thomas Clifford Howe in a strongly-worded public notice. Howe warned everyone concerned not to deal with his Negroes, unless the slaves could produce a "Certificate, signed by Me," giving them permission to sell. Because of "repeated Acts of Villany" in which the slaves stole produce from the plantation, took it to New Bern, and there sold it to "Persons who make it their constant Practice to deal with Negroes," Howe proposed in the future to invoke the full wrath of the law.[27] William Hooper was suffering loss both from his plantation and from his town house in Wilmington. He, like Howe, complained that there were those who were willing to buy what the slaves stole, adding, *"and I have certain information of rum having been sold them and am no stranger to those who are concerned; . . . "* Hooper's advertisement closed with the usual threat to prosecute the guilty parties *"with the utmost rigour."*[28]

Although many of the laws concerning slaves applied with equal force to indentured servants, there was still a major distinction between the two classes for when their indentures

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[24] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Oct. 6, 1775.
[25] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), [Dec. 22?], 1775, June 13, Sept. 4, 1778.
[26] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Jan. 30, 1778.
[27] *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), Sept. 21, 1764.
[28] *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Sept. 22, 1773.

were up, the bondsmen became their own masters. Yet in spite of the freedom that lay at the end of Time's road, many servants preferred to gamble on getting their freedom earlier by running away instead of awaiting the natural course of events. As in the case of runaway slaves, masters turned to the newspapers to offer rewards for the return of indentured servants; the advertisements in turn point up some distinctions between slaves and servants.

Most of the runaway bondsmen were white persons;[29] and, aside from this main point, they differed from slaves in that each usually had a given name and a surname, and in most cases the indentured servants were skilled in some trade or craft. Sheriff Southy Rew of Craven County advertised for Benjamin Bond and Paul Price, both of whom were indentured to John Mitchelson of Virginia. Bond, a miller, and Price, a baker, had run away, had been captured, subsequently "broke out of Goal" in New Bern, and Rew was most anxious to get them again.[30]

No place of origin was indicated for Bond or Price; but, in several other instances, this item of information was noted in advertisements. James Davis used his New Bern paper to label as a runaway "an *Irish* Servant Woman, named *Mary Lambert,* . . . "[31] Herrall Blackmore advertised for "GEORGE THOMAS, a native of Wales," but neglected to indicate Thomas's trade. Printer Adam Boyd slipped up in his typesetting in this advertisement, for Thomas was described as having "black hair about 5 foot high; . . . "[32] James Blythe was somewhat redundant when he advertised for the recovery of "an Irish Servant Man, named PATRICK MURPHEY, . . . " As an afterthought, Blythe informed his readers that "*Said* PATRICK MURPHY [*sic*] *is a Sawyer by Trade.*"[33] Mary Kelly, an Irish bondswoman, ran away from George Barnes, "*at the sign of the Harp & Crown in* Wilming-

[29] An exception appeared in an advertisement inserted in the *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), July 20, 1764, by Richard Fenner, in an attempt to recover a "Free Negroe Wench, named Jenny Spellman," who "is bound to me by Indenture for a Term of Years, yet unexpired, . . ."

[30] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), [July 7?], 1753.

[31] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), April 15, 1757.

[32] *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Jan. 13, 1773.

[33] *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Sept. 22, 1773.

ton." Barnes used the *Cape-Fear Mercury* to let the public know that Mary did not go unequipped. According to Barnes, she *"had on . . . a little round man's hat, green peticoat and black stuff shoes; took with her, two striped blew and white cotton, and one calico with red flowers, short gowns, and 6 yards of dark coloured calico not made up."*[34] In the matter of rewards, Blackmore offered only twenty shillings for the return of Thomas; while Blythe would give four pounds for Patrick Murphey and Barnes three pounds for Mary Kelly.

Though the effect was the same as running away, Henry Young of Wilmington advertised that two "indented Servants" had "Eloped from the Brigantine *Friendship*, . . . " The first was one who "calls himself a Groom or Horse Jockey," and the other was "by Trade a Curryer or Leather Dresser." The escaped servants were thought to be working "at or near *Newbern,*" and Young was willing to pay six pounds, proclamation money, for the return of these two and a Negro slave who had run away at the same time.[35] Another resident of Wilmington, William Campbell, used an advertisement to announce the escape of seven servants from the brig *Roger.* All had either English or Scottish names, and their trades and skills included two tailors, two tinsmiths, a farmer, a cabinetmaker and joiner, and a bricklayer.[36]

Early North Carolina newspapers were particularly lacking in advertisements about apprentices, whose legal status and social position were closely related to those of indentured servants. James Davis, needing someone to help him in his publishing business in New Bern, advertised for an *"apprentice to the printing business. A smart active boy, that can write a legible hand, and read pretty well, will be received."*[37] Isaac Bell, a seventeen-year-old boy apprenticed to James Aranks, ran away; and Aranks, seeking his return, described

[34] *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Sept. 22, 1773.
[35] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), May 5, 1775.
[36] *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Dec. 29, 1773. In this same issue there is the only piece of advertising evidence which shows indentured servants were brought into North Carolina and there disposed of directly. John Burgwin, calling attention to the sailing of the brig *William,* added a *nota bene:* "The Master has the time of a few Redemptioners to dispose of."
[37] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), July 17, 1778.

the boy in unflattering terms as having "a remarkable flat face, and talks a great deal; . . . " [38]

REAL AND PERSONAL PROPERTY ADVERTISEMENTS

Newspaper advertisements between 1751 and 1778 demonstrate beyond question North Carolinians' concern with other real and personal property besides slaves. There were houses, furniture, tools, and livestock to be sold or leased. Other goods and chattels had to be disposed of. Most compelling, however, were the problems connected with land. Landholders bought, sold, traded, leased, or speculated in real estate. Men of property worried about titles, deeds, patents—and how to get yet still more land. Wealth, social acceptance, and political enfranchisement were to a large degree measured or achieved in terms of land and related property.[39]

Size, location, and terms of payment were the usual ingredients of most real estate notices. Frequently added to these basic bits of information were descriptions of noteworthy features of the property, the suitability of the land for various purposes, and sometimes the reasons for the transaction.

Sarah Allen, apparently settling the estate of her late husband, Eleazer Allen, advertised town lots located in Brunswick and Wilmington and a total of 3,415 acres of plantation land. This large acreage was divided into five tracts, the largest of which was a 1,280-acre plantation named *"Lilleput,"* located near Brunswick and having considerable frontage on a creek and the Cape Fear River. The various pieces of property were suited to the production of rice, corn, and indigo.[40]

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[38] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), May 15, 1778.

[39] For other comments on the importance of land, see Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill, 1954), 82. Hereafter cited as Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina.*

[40] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Nov. 15, 1751. Though her advertisement does not say she was acting as sole executrix, she is so designated in Eleazar Allen's will. See J. Bryan Grimes, comp., *North Carolina Wills and Inventories Copied from Original and Recorded Wills and Inventories in the Office of the Secretary of State by J. Bryan Grimes, Secretary of State* (Raleigh, 1912), 8-9. Newspaper advertisements of widely-dispersed and sizeable holdings were not uncommon. The estate of Joseph Montford

Except for the demand that adequate security be provided, there was little uniformity in terms or conditions of sale. "Ready money" was preferred; short credit was better than long; but, upon occasion, long credit was available.[41] When neither credit nor time was offered, other conditions might be imposed. Benjamin Whitaker, hoping to sell five hundred acres, "more or less, old purchased Land" down the river from New Bern, stated: "Staves and Shingles will be taken in Payment; and to accommodate a Purchaser, the Payment will be divided into four Periods, of six Months each."[42] Another advertiser gave notice that "Negroes, produce, continental or approved european bills" of credit were satisfactory payment for the two thousand acres of South Carolina land he wanted to sell.[43]

An important "selling point" in many advertisements was a description of any houses, barns, and other structures erected on the land. Of four tracts advertised by Burwell Lanier, two had such structures. On one piece of property, there was "a House 24 by 16," while the other was improved by "a very good House 24 by 24, Brick Chimney, a Kitchen 24 by 16, and other outhouses, . . . "[44] Sarah Allen's plantation, "*Lilleput,*" was adorned by "a very good Brick Dwelling-house," besides other buildings; while another tract known as "*Spring-Field,* fronting on the *North-East* River," had several buildings, including "a very good Brick Barn, 42 Feet by 23, a Dwelling-house, and other Out-houses."[45] Frederick Gibble described his "large plantation . . . lately cleared" as having "a dwelling house 24 by 16 feet, a kitchen 16 by 12, a milk-house 12 by 8, a smoak-house 12 feet square, and corn crib, . . . "[46] Lanier and Gibble also stressed the presence of

included parcels of six thousand acres in both Tryon and Bute counties, fifteen hundred acres in Halifax County, a mere 370 acres in Orange County, and "sundry other small tracts in different parts of this state." *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Dec. 12, 1777. See also *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), Sept. 21, 1764; *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Sept. 1, 1775, Dec. 29, 1773; *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), April 15, 1757, Nov. 10, 1769, Nov. 28, 1777, April 3, Nov. 30, 1778.

[41] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Dec. 12, 1777; *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Dec. 29, 1773.

[42] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Sept. 2, 1774.

[43] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Sept. 5, 1777.

[44] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Jan. 7, 1774.

[45] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Nov. 15, 1751.

[46] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Dec. 12, 1777.

orchards, both peach and apple; and Gibble noted that his property was "well attended with springs, . . . "

Upon occasion, town property, offered for sale in the advertising columns, was described in considerable detail. One such Edenton notice of a public auction of a "dwelling house, kitchen, store-house and appurtenances thereto adjoining," proclaimed the property to be ideal for a business establishment or an inn. The advertiser in fact boasted that it was "by far the best situation . . . in the whole town," because it stood "the nighest to the court house, and in the very centre of business: . . . " The house must have been an imposing edifice, for it consisted of "four rooms below, three of which have fire places, and six good bed chambers above, wherein are two fire places." There was plenty of room for a garden, "there having formerly been a very fine one on it," with the added advantage of "an exceedingly fine spring thereon." [47]

The sale of property was not always the object of real estate advertising; sometimes the owner desired to sell or lease, or perhaps wanted only to lease. In Wilmington, Robert Wales would either sell or lease his house and lot, located "a little below Mr. Purviance's Tar-House . . . fronting Front street, . . . " The lot, with a frontage of sixty-six feet, extended down to the river; and the buyer or lessee might well build himself a wharf, "with a very small Expense; . . . "[48] A different kind of property offered for rent was a ferry owned and operated by Richard Craven, "near Newbern." Craven obligated himself "to keep the Ferry well supplied with good Boats." [49] John Burgwin, seeking a tenant for the "pleasant plantation lately the seat of *General Waddell,* deceased," pointed out that the property was

> . . . in a very good neighbourhood;—there are about 150 Acres of clear land, properly divided into different fields &c. and all well fenced. The improvements upon it are a large commodious house, though not quite finished, yet several of the rooms are

[47] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), April 3, 1778.

[48] *North-Carolina Gazette* (Wilmington), Feb. 12, 1766. Thomas Clifford Howe advertised the renting of a "Commodious Dwelling-House pleasantly situated in *Newbern.*" *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), Jan. 4, 1765. See also the notice of Frederick Jones who wanted to rent out a "large and commodious" house, "with four dry cellars, . . ." *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Sept. 22, 1773.

[49] *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), Aug. 17, 1764.

completely so, with plenty of cellerage, a convenient kitchen and wash house, in the upper story of which are rooms partitioned off for servants, two good stables and a coach house, with other out houses and a garden.[50]

Among the more interesting and useful advertisements are those in which personal property was offered for sale, usually as a result of the owner's death and the resulting necessity for settling the estate. Through the medium of these advertisements it is possible to catch a glimpse of the sort of tangibles which interested North Carolinians of the period; at the same time, these notices give some idea of the social structure of the community and the individual's place in it as measured by the quantity and variety of personal effects requiring disposition.

An advertisement by Thomas and Elizabeth Howe, joint administrators of the estate of Richard Spaight, announced an auction of a part of Spaight's goods and chattels. The sale was limited to "Stock of Cattle, Work-Horses, and a Parcel of old Plantation Tools" from several plantations, and did not, of course, represent Spaight's entire property.[51] A resident of Cross Creek left rather meager effects, consisting only of "sundry dry goods, hardware, beding [*sic*], wearing apparel, a silver watch, buckles, &c." [52] On the other hand, the personal property of Mary Conway included "Houshold [*sic*] and Kitchen Furniture, Bedding and Books, Cows and Calves," besides a piece of real estate in New Bern.[53]

There was variety in the estate of Simon Bright of Dobbs County. The administrators announced an auction of "a small library of books, several neat guns, a very good compass and chain for surveying land . . . several horses . . . [and]

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[50] *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Dec. 29, 1773. William Palmer of Bath also wanted to rent his three-thousand-acre plantation and a house in town, as well as another plantation near Bath, improved by "a good clapboard house and dairy, . . ." The latter property was a tract of only one hundred acres, but forty of these were cleared, "and under a good fence, a remarkable good savannah contiguous making a fine range for cattle." *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Jan. 16, 1778.

[51] *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), June 29, 1764. Plantation tools, livestock, and furniture were often advertised in general terms. See *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Nov. 24, 1769, Dec. 29, 1773, and *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Jan. 7, 1774, Aug. 29, 1777.

[52] *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), May 18, 1774.

[53] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Sept. 2, 1774.

a parcel of hogs, cattle, and sheep." In the same newspaper, still greater variety appeared in an advertisement by Hope Stanton, who gave notice of an "*Auction*" at Black Creek to settle the estate of Henry Stanton. A large amount of both real and personal property was to be sold. A saw mill, part of a grist mill, and some land made up the real estate; while the personal property consisted of cattle and other farm animals, a "Log Carriage, Chains . . . some planting Utensils . . . Blacksmiths Tools, some Iron, a Set of Turners Tools, some Carpenters Tools . . . Hives of Bees, a small Still, [and] a swift sailing Boat with a Suit of Sails, . . . " Perhaps wearying of her long list, the advertiser concluded with the notice that there were, in addition, "a great many Articles, and other Things, too tedious to be mentioned in this Notoriety, . . . " [54]

When prominent merchants and shippers died, settlement of their estates revealed ownership of other property besides the usual land, slaves, and personal effects. The estate of David Barron included, among other things, "half the Brigantine BETSEY . . . lately launched and now rigging, . . . " Edward Batchelor's executors advertised the auctioning of a "quantity of dry goods . . . also a quantity of melasses. At the same time will be sold, a small sloop and schooner, with their materials as they now lay at the wharf. . . ." The same notice said there would be another sale about three weeks later to auction off "THREE quarters of the Ship HARMONY HALL as she now lies at Mr. Cornell's wharf, with her cargo on board and completely fitted for sea, . . . " Buyers could also bid on "a half share of the schooner POLLY burthen about 95 tons, . . . " [55]

[54] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Sept. 12, 1777. The use of the word "*Auction*" was somewhat unusual; the most frequently used descriptive phrases for such a sale were "public vendue" or "to the highest bidder." For examples, see *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Sept. 2, 1774, Dec. 12, 1777, June 6, Nov. 7, 1778.

[55] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), June 13, 1778, Dec. 12, 1777. For a discussion of the tonnage, rigging, and description of sloops, schooners, brigs, and ships, see Charles Christopher Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789* (New Haven, London, 1936), 9-11. Hereafter cited as Crittenden, *Commerce of North Carolina.* In this instance, the tonnage of the *Polly* made her as large as the usual brigantine. The sloop *Caswell,* "burthen 90 tons," was nearly so. *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), May 15, 1778. It is possible that the advertisers referred to their vessels as schooners and sloops because of the manner in which they were rigged rather than by the classification of tonnage.

Land titles were frequently the subject of real estate advertising in North Carolina's early newspapers. Several notices stated that good titles were assured prospective purchasers, and one man invited holders of mortgages or claims against the property he had just purchased to present themselves.[56] Titles to land offered for sale by John Murray were apparently questioned by James Erwin who, Murray said, was claiming the property for his own. According to Murray, Erwin went so far as to "forbid any person from purchasing" the land. Murray, however, was satisfied as to his right to sell the property, and said he would "warrant the titles to be good" on any land he sold.[57]

On the death of John, Earl Granville, the heirs of North Carolina's sole remaining proprietorship appointed Josiah Martin as "their special Commissioner, Agent and Attorney, . . . " Martin therefore performed the dual function of administering the governorship of the province and at the same time representing the interests of the proprietors of the Granville district. His relationship with the proprietors was advertised in a proclamation in March, 1775, in which he directed all records of land titles, entries, and monies paid in for entries in the Granville district be brought to him, along with all the necessary land books, affidavits, and various certificates of the "former Entry Takers . . . to the End that the strictest Justice may be done to Persons having equitable Claims to Lands: . . . " [58]

Land speculation also occupied the attention of Martin, both in his capacity as governor and later as the representative of the Granville interests. In the middle of 1774, Martin warned the public generally that no one had any authority to survey "vacant Lands" in the Granville district. He repeated the warning more strongly in March, 1775, at the same time telling those who had settled in the area without authority "to depart immediately from the said Lands" and to stop

[56] *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Dec. 29, 1773, May 18, 1774; *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Jan. 7, 1774, Sept. 5, 1777, Nov. 30, 1778.
[57] *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Sept. 22, 1773.
[58] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), March 24, 1775.

"cutting and carrying off . . . Boards, Staves, Shingles, &c." [59]

The western part of the Granville district was occupied by Cherokee Indians who were an obstacle to North Carolinians' expansionist desires.[60] Though in 1763 an Order in Council from the English Crown made it illegal for individuals or groups other than appropriate government authorities to deal with the Indians, North Carolinians evidently paid little heed. On April 25, 1774, Governor Martin published an advertisement warning the public that he had information that "Emigrants from this Province, had settled on the *Cherokee* Lands, in Violation of the most solemn Treaties, . . . " This was a situation which Martin said he could not tolerate because of its "most fatal Consequences"; therefore he sternly directed "the said Settlers immediately to retire from the *Indian* Territories, otherwise they are to expect no Protection from his Majesty's Government." [61]

The warning obviously had little effect; for in February, 1775, Martin returned to the subject in a very lengthy advertisement. First, he set forth the pertinent parts of the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763, forbidding land dealings with the Indians; then Martin quoted a portion of a related law passed by the North Carolina General Assembly. When he had thus stated the legal case, the Governor proceeded to accuse "a certain *Richard Henderson*, late of the county of *Granville* . . . confederating with divers other Persons," of violating all the laws on the subject. What was worse, the Governor fumed, Henderson and "his Confederates" had apparently agreed "to pay the *Indians* for the Cession of Land . . . a considerable Quantity of Gunpowder, whereby they will be furnished with the Means of annoying his Majesty's Subjects. . . ." In addition, Martin said, Henderson was offering haven to some of the worst elements of the population,

[59] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), [July 15?], 1774, March 24, 1775. The July, 1774, issue also carried a notice directing that any books, papers, or other evidence connected with land in the proprietary domain be given to Martin. Although, as Martin stated, the land office for the Granville district was closed in 1763, all the necessary records had not been turned in eleven years later.

[60] Broader aspects of the western land problem of 1763-1776 are succinctly presented in Hugh Talmage Lefler, ed., *North Carolina History Told By Contemporaries* (Chapel Hill, 1934), 121-122.

[61] *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), May 18, 1774.

including those bent on escaping their debts, "to the great Injury of Creditors." The proclamation warned the public to have nothing to do with Henderson's scheme, as the titles to land thus acquired would be "illegal, null, and void, to all Intents and Purposes, . . . "[62]

Governor Martin's fears concerning land speculation and dealings with the Cherokees were in part confirmed by an advertisement later in the same year. An unidentified group announced that it had bought from the Cherokees a "sizeable Tract of their Lands," for which "a large and valuable Consideration," had been paid.[63] The group termed itself "A COMPANY of Gentlemen"; whereas Josiah Martin probably would have applied a somewhat stronger and less complimentary description.

Land speculators were not the only ones who broke laws relating to property. Personal property was constantly being stolen, and the owners took to the newspaper to describe the articles in detail. In addition to advertisements about theft, there were notices about the loss of property from other causes, and occasionally an advertisement announcing the recovery of some item. In a number of instances, the advertiser was not sure whether the article was lost or stolen, but in any event was willing to pay a reward for its return, "and no questions asked."[64]

Some of the thefts and losses involved saddles and saddle bags. Christoper Neale lost a "Pair of Saddle Bags," taken by theft or mistake, along with a quantity of surveyor's equipment. John James in Wilmington advertised for the recovery of a "Man's hunting Saddle, with Silver Furniture and a short cross-barr'd Saddle-cloth; both almost new." James offered a reward for the return of the saddle, and an additional reward for information leading to the capture and conviction of the thief. Unlike some other advertisers, James would pay a higher reward if the thief were a white man than he would if the thief were a Negro.[65]

[62] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Feb. 24, 1775.
[63] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Oct. 6, 1775. The advertisement is badly mutilated and only a small portion remains.
[64] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Nov. 28, 1777, March 6, 1778.
[65] *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), Sept. 21, 1764; *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Nov. 24, 1769.

Many of the items noted in the newspapers were similar to those in present-day "lost and found" columns, while others had a relationship only with earlier times. A man named Biddle had a thousand dollars stolen from "on board the ship CORNELL, . . . " From the modern standpoint, the only unusual aspect of this theft was that most of the money was "in thirty dollar bills." Someone stole from John Rogers's house "a blue Drabb Cloth Cloak, . . . " Solomon Townsend misplaced a "*Box of Boots*" and was willing to pay five dollars as a reward for its discovery. A Wilmington lady either lost or had stolen "a Silver pint mug" which was decorated with an engraved "coat of arms, the crest a Lyon rampant . . . also a table Spoon . . . . " John White "Lost out of a back chamber at Mr. Edmond Wrenford's . . . a chased pint silver bowl" which to White was worth a reward of ten dollars.[66]

Two advertisements for "lost" watches reflected the changing economy of North Carolina. The first watch, lost in 1764, was a "small Pinch beck" from a London watchmaker. The owner offered a reward of only "*Forty Shillings* . . . . " Nearly fourteen years later, the "lost" article was a gold watch from Paris; the reward proposed was "20 dollars" if the watch were offered for sale by a Negro, and if the Negro were captured.[67]

Though "found" items were not advertised frequently, a single issue of the Wilmington *North-Carolina Gazette* contained two. One was a gold ring which was found "in the shop of Rookes and Chaldwell, Peruke-makers . . . The Owner, proving his Property, and paying the Expence of advertising, may have it again, . . . " The other was a "Silver KNEE-BUCKLE" which was "*found by a Negroe, a few Days ago, . . .* "[68]

Most numerous of the "lost, found, strayed, and stolen" advertisements were those which dealt with horses. There were all sorts of horses—large, small, bay, black, galled, branded, trotters, and pacers. Some were stolen, some per-

[66] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), July 24, 1778; *North-Carolina Gazette* (Wilmington), Feb. 12, 1766; *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Dec. 29, 1773; *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Nov. 28, 1777.

[67] *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), Oct. 24, 1764; *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), March 6, 1778.

[68] Feb. 26, 1766.

haps strayed—but whatever the description, North Carolinians were concerned about their horses, for these animals represented both a means of transportation and "motive power" for farming operations.

A couple of Irishmen figured in alleged thefts of two different horses at different times. William Williams, Jr., of Onslow County, accused James Gibbons of having stolen his horse, "a dark bay," as well as a "pair of linnen Spatterdashes," and other items. John Jones stole a "pale chestnut sorrel horse," according to the owner, Robert Harris, and "stole the same day, from one Mr. Skinner, a smooth boar'd gun, . . . " The horse was "branded . . . very plain, with a P, shod before, paces well, and fast, . . . " [69]

In advertisements seeking to recover strayed horses, the descriptions were not always complimentary. That of James Little of New Bern was unusually frank. Little described his horse as having "saddle spots on his back, paces slow, and trots very rough." Of two horses that strayed "from camp near Halifax," Matthias Harvy said disparagingly that one was a "small flea-bitten grey, trots hard . . . and has some old brands not known, . . . " Both horses were "belled when they strayed." [70]

The grant of "head rights" was a commonplace practice in colonial American settlement; but the only known advertisement of such grants of land appearing in North Carolina newspapers was an enticement by the state of Georgia in 1777. Joseph Wood and Edward Langworthy, Georgia delegates to the Continental Congress, inserted a notice in the New Bern *North-Carolina Gazette,* advising Tar Heels that the Georgia legislature had passed certain acts for the purpose of giving "Encouragement . . . to such Persons as will come and settle in the said State, . . . " The inducement was a five-hundred-acre grant to the head of the household, plus fifty acres for each white person in the family, "and also Fifty Acres for each Negro, not exceeding ten in Number." The same grant of land would be given to anyone who would en-

[69] *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), Sept. 21, 1764; *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Nov. 10, 1769.
[70] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Nov. 28, 1777, Jan. 9, 1778.

list for two years in either of "two Battalions of Minute Men now raising, . . . " In addition to the land, the enlistee could count on an extra "Bounty of Thirty Dollars in Money, and Twenty Pence Sterling *per* Day, with the same Rations of Provisions as the continental Troops for the Privates."[71]

TRADE, COMMERCE, AND INDUSTRY REFLECTED IN ADVERTISING

The economy of North Carolina in the last half of the eighteenth century was founded on the growth, production, or extraction of raw materials, chiefly agricultural and forestry products. The commodities produced were to a large degree natural ones, at best only partly modified by a low order of industrial processing. These commodities, supplying raw material requirements of users and manufacturers elsewhere, gave North Carolinians access to an ever-increasing diversity of goods and merchandise that satisfied material needs and appetites. The economic cycle was not completed until the raw materials were exchanged for goods and services.

Advertisements reflecting practices and activities relating to trade, commerce, and industry nearly equal in number and space those relating to other forms of property. There were announcements of provincial and state governmental regulations, notices concerning the availability of various businesses or services, a few industrial or manufacturing items, advices concerning ships and shipping, descriptions of goods wanted for purchase or exchange, notices of partnership dissolutions and settlements of merchants' accounts, and finally a rash of advertisements heralding long and complex lists of imported goods and merchandise offered for sale. Running throughout these paid newspaper notices is evidence

[71] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Oct. 24, 1777. The troops so raised were to be stationed in western Georgia, "where the Lands are granted," and would not be called to duty elsewhere "but in Time of actual Invasion, and then to return to their former Station as soon as the Service will permit."

[72] The acceptance of commodities in exchange for imported goods or in settlement of accounts may be noted frequently. For a few examples, see *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Oct. 18, 1759; *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), Oct. 19, 1764; *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Nov. 24, 1769; *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Aug. 7, 1778.

that North Carolina in economic development was not far removed from the "barter" stage.[72]

Advertisements of governmental regulation of trade in the extant issues of North Carolina newspapers from 1751 to 1778 are not numerous, but the few which remain shed light on the commercial problems of the times. In an advertisement originating with the *"Customs-House"* in London, bearing the internal date of November 25, 1763, the customs authorities were obviously concerned about reports of collusion between shippers and local customs officials in America. The advertisement, which does not appear to have been published in North Carolina until August, 1764, noted that the "Honorable Commissioners of His Majesty's Customs" had been informed that "Compositions have been frequently enter'd into for the Duties . . . payable to His Majesty at the Ports of *America*, . . ." Anyone who knew of such connivance and so informed any port official, "except the Port where such Fraud was enter'd into," would receive a third of the duties involved upon conviction of the guilty parties.[73]

The New Bern town inspector, John Williams, early in 1765 put on notice all shipmasters not to accept for loading any of a long list of commodities which had not been properly inspected according to law, and which did not have "the Inspector's Brand or Stamp thereon, . . ." The shipmasters guilty of breaking the law would be fined a hundred pounds, and any port collector of customs who cleared an uninspected ship would be fined half that amount. In addition, any unstamped commodities found aboard any vessel would be confiscated.[74]

Navigational aids were an absolute necessity for shipmasters who had to pick their way through North Carolina's tortuous and dangerous coastal waterways. If John Bragge is to be believed, however, not everyone appreciated the value of these safety devices. According to Bragge's advertisement,

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[73] *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), Aug. 3, 1764.

[74] *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), Jan. 11, 1765. The list of commodities affected included: " . . . any Pork, Beef, Pitch, Tar, Turpentine, Rice, Tanned Leather, [and] Deer-Skins, . . ." During the Revolution, Governor Richard Caswell applied temporary export restrictions to beef, pork, bacon, and salt, because these commodities were needed to supply the armed forces. *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Feb. 13, 1778.

"Masters of Vessels and other Persons make a Practice" of running over and otherwise destroying "Stakes and Beacons fixed in the Channels from *Newbern* to *Occacock* Bar, . . ." Obviously this sort of thing would not do at all, as it resulted in "great Prejudice of the Navigation, and the manifest Injury of the Subscriber, who is employed by the Commissioners of the Navigation to keep the same up." Bragge concluded by offering a reward to anyone who would help him catch and convict the guilty parties.[75]

A few tradesmen and craftsmen advertised in early North Carolina newspapers, and the various services they offered reveal something of the customs of the times. A potash-maker named Stephens placed an advertisement in the New Bern paper in 1757, calling attention of "all Those concerned in making POT-ASH" to the fact that he was then in Savannah, Georgia, but planned to return to Williamsburg, Virginia, stopping at various places along the way presumably to assist in this specialized work. In addition to visits in South Carolina, Stephens planned to be at Brunswick, Wilmington, New Bern, Bath, and Edenton in North Carolina. The advertisement listed the date and exact location where he could be consulted at each place, with the trip to commence about April 12, and to conclude at Williamsburg on May 25.[76]

Thomas Brown, a "Copper-Smith from Philadelphia," announced he had "set up his business in Wilmington," for the purpose of making and selling various items of copper, including: "Stills, brew-kettles, wash kettles and tea kettles, also all other kinds of copper work, . . ." Brown also wanted his public to know that he was an importer of a "variety of tin-ware and sheet-tin, which he will sell very low; . . ." But the important part of his announcement seemed to be the concluding portion of his sentence: a warning that "he likewise acquaints his friends & customers that he is determined to give no credit for repairing any old copper ware."[77]

James Verrier, styling himself a "*Peruke Maker and Hair*

[75] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Jan. 7, 1774.
[76] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), April 15, 1757.
[77] *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Sept. 22, 1773. The following year, William Rowand, a Glasgow saddle-maker, advertised that he had "taken a Shop in *Wilmington*, near the *Court-House*, . . ." *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), May 18, 1774.

Dresser," came to North Carolina from London by way of Philadelphia to set up an establishment in New Bern. Speaking of himself in the third person, Verrier advertised he proposed to dress "Ladies and Gentlemens Hair in the newest and best approved Fashion," providing for the ladies "all Sorts of . . . full Dress Toupees, Undress [Toupees] . . . plain Rolls, Beads, Pleats and side Curls, . . ." The gentlemen would be served with "Bag and Bob Wigs," both "full Dress" and "Undress," and "false Tails and Curls, . . ." In addition, Verrier was expert in making "Spring Curls for Gentlemen whose side Locks are thin or come off, so natural as not to be discovered by the most curious Eye."[78] Whether or not Verrier was successful in his trade of wig-making is not revealed by the record; but it is not hard to imagine the residents of New Bern, attending some social function, glancing critically at their neighbors to discover whether some of the thin "Locks" of various gentlemen were concealed by "Spring Curls," or to compare notes on the hair styles of the ladies.

By no stretch of the imagination could North Carolina of the late Colonial and early Revolutionary days be considered an industrial or manufacturing region; yet newspaper advertisements occasionally recorded such activity. There were, of course, numerous references to saw and grist mills,[79] a mention of a "Tar-House,"[80] and information concerning copper stills.[81] In this latter connection, an advertisement in the *Cape-Fear Mercury* revealed that Cornelius Harnett and William Wilkinson owned a company operating a distillery in Wilmington. Harnett and Wilkinson used the advertisement to inform the public they had bought the stock formerly owned by John Murgatroyd and Richard Rundle and as a result wanted to get all the distillery company accounts settled.[82] Some three and a half years later, Harnett and Wilkinson terminated their association and offered to sell all the property and equipment, including "three Stills,

[78] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Jan. 13, 1775.
[79] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), June 6, Nov. 30, 1778.
[80] *North-Carolina Gazette* (Wilmington), Feb. 12, 1766.
[81] *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), Dec. 7, 1764; *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Sept. 22, 1773.
[82] *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Dec. 29, 1773.

with Worms and Tubs, the largest Still quite new, and will hold near 2000 Gallons, . . ." They reminded prospective purchasers that they had "every . . . Apparatus necessary for carrying on the distillery Business, situated in a very convenient Place, and at a Distance from other Buildings."[83]

The industry of North Carolina was not limited to distilleries—though that line of endeavor may be presumed to be one engaged in by numerous citizens of the state throughout its history—there were also advertisements of a state-owned "iron works" in Chatham County put up for auction at a Superior Court session in Hillsboro,[84] a fulling mill in Pitt County where cloth might be treated and dyed,[85] and a mention of shipbuilding.[86]

An advertisement quite revealing in its comments on economic and social conditions was the notice of the erection of a paper mill at Hillsboro. The advertiser reminded his readers that, because normal trade was being interrupted by "our unhappy Contest with *Great Britain,*" paper was very scarce in North Carolina and other southern states. The operators, constructing the mill "To remedy this Evil, and throw in their Mite towards the Perfection of *American* Manufactures," were ready to begin work, and promised that "if a sufficient Quantity of Rags can be had, they will be able to supply this State with all Sorts of Paper." To get the rags, the mill owners needed the cooperation of the womenfolk in particular, "whose more peculiar Province it is, to save all their Rags and Scraps of Linen of all Sorts; . . ." Fearing such a task would be beneath the dignity of many women, the advertisers appealed in terms of patriotism, flattery, and self-interest, noting that "the young Ladies are assured, that by sending to the Paper Mill an old Handkerchief, no longer fit to cover their snowy Breasts, there is a possibility of its

[83] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), July 4, 1777. The advertisers did not say, but presumably even in 1777 the odor of fermenting mash was considered socially *non grata.*

[84] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Jan. 16, 1778. The advertisers let zeal overrule logic by claiming the property contained "an inexhaustible fund of excellent Iron Ore."

[85] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Nov. 14, 1778.

[86] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), May 15, 1778.

returning to them again in the more pleasing Form of a Billet Deaux [*sic*] from their Lovers, . . ."[87]

An integral part of the process of carrying on trade and commerce in North Carolina was the shipping necessary in the transportation of imported and exported goods. From advertisements of imported merchandise, it is frequently possible to learn the name and classification of the vessel, its master, its port of origin, and sometimes its route. Before the Revolution most of the shipping originated in British ports. There were advertisements announcing the arrival of "the Snow MARY, Captain Cor[sie?], from Leith; and the Ship CAESAR, Captain Hume, from Glasgow; . . ."[88] From Bristol came the brig *Sally,* and the schooner *Sally and Betsey.*[89] London was the port of origin for the ship *Spencer,* the brig *Peggy,* and the *St. Andrew,* which had come "*last from* Boston, . . ."[90] One exception was a "slaver," the schooner *Hope,* advertised as arriving at New Bern "*from* Africa," with a cargo of slaves for sale.[91]

Following the outbreak of fighting, the advertisements reflect a shift in point of origin. One announced the arrival of the sloop *Nancy* from Martinique; another spoke of "A French vessel lately arrived from Bordeaux, . . ."[92] Other vessels which arrived from France included "the *frigate* FERDENAND," the ship "PENTHIEVRE," and the "*ship* DEANE, Capt. Bernard Margolli, . . ."[93] The sloop *Success,* bound for New Bern from Bermuda with a cargo of salt, ran ashore on Cape Hatteras; and the ship *St. Germain* from

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[87] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Nov. 28, 1777. For other, more prosaic, details of the paper mill, see William L. Saunders, coll. and ed., *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (10 vols., Raleigh, 1886-1890), X, 217-218; and Clark, *The State Records of North Carolina,* XII, 413, 812, 875.

[88] *North-Carolina Gazette* (Wilmington), Feb. 12, 1766.

[89] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Jan. 7, 1774; *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), Oct. 19, 1764. In the latter paper, another note indicated the *Sally and Betsey* had taken about seven weeks from Bristol to New Bern, and had brought British newspapers of August 25, 1764.

[90] *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Sept. 22, 1773; *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Nov. 10, 1769, Oct. 18, 1759.

[91] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Feb. 24, 1775. Contemporaries probably saw nothing ironic in the relationship between the ship's name and the ship's trade.

[92] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), April 24, 1778, Jan. 16, 1778.

[93] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), March 6, July 10, Sept. 18, 1778.

Cape Francois suffered a similar disaster, having been "lately stranded at Occacock bar, . . ."[94]

Notices devoted to ship sailings usually indicated when the vessels were expected to sail, what cargo space was still available, whether there were accommodations for passengers, the ships' destinations, and other items of interest. John Scott, captain of the sloop *Tryal,* was about to sail "For ANTIGUA, Directly," and he wanted the public to know that his vessel was "very well accommodated for Passengers." Anyone who wanted passage or to ship freight could see Scott "at Richard Ellis's, Merchant, in NEWBERN."[95] Captain English, of the schooner *Charming Molly,* had space for passengers who wanted to go from Wilmington to Kingston, Jamaica. He also gave notice that "Any letters for the above Port, may be left at the Bar of Mr. Rogers's Tavern, where they will be received."[96]

The activities of the port of Wilmington are nowhere more clearly pictured than in the *Cape-Fear Mercury* for December 29, 1773. No less than six vessels were referred to by name, and several of these were mentioned more than once. The brig—or brigantine, depending upon which advertisement is read—*William* had just entered Wilmington "directly from Bristol," and was expected to sail again in about a month. Passage or freight, the latter limited to "Flaxseed and Flour," could be arranged with John Burgwin or the vessel's master. The ship *Good Intent* had come in from London, with a cargo of merchandise which Jonathan Dunbibin and George and Thomas Hooper offered for sale. At the same time, the firm of Hogg and Campbell announced that the *Good Intent* had a portion of her cargo space already contracted for and would be ready to sail again for London "in Four Weeks from this Date. . . ." Josias Walker advertised the imminent sailing of the brigantine *Adamant* for Bristol and announced there was space for both passengers and freight. The ship *Grenada Packet* had just come in from

[94] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Jan. 23, April 24, 1778.
[95] *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), Aug. 24, 1764.
[96] *North-Carolina Gazette* (Wilmington), Feb. 12, 1766. For changes in outwardbound shipping caused by the Revolution, see *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), July 18, 1777, Nov. 14, 1778.

Grenada with some slaves. The sloop *Dolphin* was moored "at the Market-Street wharf" where some slaves would be sold "for Cash or Lumber. . . ." Finally, there was a notice concerning indentured servants who had run away from the brig *Roger*. There seems little doubt that the riverfront presented a busy sight to anyone chancing to stroll down Market Street in the village of Wilmington late in 1773.[97]

Newspaper advertisements demonstrate beyond question that goods and merchandise in very great variety were brought into North Carolina between 1751 and 1778. Perhaps only a few North Carolinians had the financial resources necessary to acquire and enjoy the niceties of life, but the niceties were available in wider variety and larger quantity than is popularly thought to have been the case. Wealthy eastern residents, and possibly the wealthy ones living farther west, did not have to lead primitive lives of unrelieved hardship. Comforts, conveniences, and even luxuries were obtainable, if the buyer could pay the price, and if he followed the advertising columns of the New Bern and Wilmington newspapers.

In addition to what was made for his use by local craftsmen in town or on his plantation by his own workmen, a North Carolina aristocrat could buy imported farm tools, milling equipment, rigging and other "furniture" for his ships. There were both plain and fancy building materials and fixtures for his house, which could be equipped with choice and decorative draperies, rugs, curtains, and furniture. There was almost no end of fabrics for wearing apparel for himself and his wife. He and she could wear the latest in shoes, hats, wigs, buckles, watches, ornaments, fancy buttons, and laces. Sometimes he could buy a few books to read; medicines, such as they were, were available in large quantities. For his sport, there were fine saddles, bridles, stirrups, and other *accoutrements* for the horseman; and there were guns, powder, and shot to aid his effectiveness in hunting. Delicacies for his table could be obtained to supplement and give variety to the sturdy fare produced locally.

[97] This issue of the *Cape-Fear Mercury* is a particularly valuable source of advertising information. Of the four pages of the paper, all but about ten column-inches of space are occupied by advertisements.

And in his lighter, more relaxed moments, the North Carolina "gentleman" could play cards; take a pinch of home-grown snuff from an imported snuff box; or bend an elbow in conviviality well stimulated by many kinds of beer, rum, cordials, brandies, wines, and other spirits.

Many North Carolina merchants used considerable space in listing the goods they had "just imported."[98] Samuel Cornell used thirteen column inches in the *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), October 19, 1764, to advertise in small print more than 290 items. In addition to common fabrics, Cornell offered "diaper table cloths," in four-foot widths and ranging in length from six to eight feet. There were "boys [,] youths, and mens felt hats," as well as "castor and beaver" hats for men. Rugs came in four colors—"blue, green, red, and spotted"—and in four sizes, all four feet wide by six, seven, eight, and nine feet long. The lady of the house could dress to her heart's content in such fabrics as "bombazine," various taffetas, brocades, figured silk, ribbons, and "silk and worsted ferreting and gartering, . . ." Nor were the men to be drab in their dress, for their "breeches patterns" came in "red, blue, and black knit. . . ." The necessary buttons were available in five different kinds: "silk and hair twist . . . common metal . . . gilt and pinchbeck. . . ."

For household use, a quantity of pewterware was included, consisting of "plates, dishes, basons," two sizes of pots and "tankards," as well as pewter "porringers, table and tea spoons, . . ." There were knives for the table, besides "common and very neat penknives, cuttoe and clasp" knives. Other tableware included "white stone plates and dishes . . . crates of common yellow ware [as]sorted . . . stone mugs, delf[t] bowles . . . double flint wine and ale glasses, with tumblers and vinegar cruets, . . ." Neither was the kitchen neglected; Cornell's customers could obtain "frying pans, gridirons, and chafingdishes, tea kettles, iron pots sorted from one to 20 gallons, fire tongs and shovels, . . ."

Tools and plantation working equipment were not over-

[98] A long advertisement by Jonathan Dunbibin, appearing in the *Cape-Fear Mercury* (Wilmington), Dec. 29, 1773, is conveniently reprinted in Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 100-101.

looked. Cornell had available two kinds of axes, several sorts of saws, "carpenters, coopers, and shoemakers tools," three kinds of gimlets, a variety of spades and "iron-bound shovels," seven different weights of "flat-pointed nails," two kinds of hinges, some grindstones, "reap hooks and scythes, . . ."

In the riding and hunting department, the customer could choose from "snaffle and short hunting bridle bits, swivel and plain stirrup irons, with sundry other sadlery . . . twig horse whips, half and whole hunters [whips] . . . plain and fringed saddle housing, . . ." In firearms, there were "common trading" and "neat walnut stocked guns," while the accessories included "gun locks . . . gun powder, shot of all kinds, with bar lead . . . [and] best oil gun flints, . . ."

Among many miscellaneous items, Cornell advertised "sewing needles and pins, a large assortment of writing paper . . . playing [cards] . . . window glass" in two sizes, "sad irons . . . wire mouse traps . . . [and] razors, . . ." He lumped together his medicines and kitchen seasonings, and listed "brimstone, allom, copperas, and saltpetre, bohea tea, pepper and allspice, cinnamon and nutmeg, . . ." Then the description of the newly-arrived merchandise ended with: ". . . slates and pencils, bibles, testaments, spelling books, psalters and primmers, gloucester cheese and bottled beer."

In spite of the very large number of items Samuel Cornell advertised, he by no means covered the field.[99] Just a week after Cornell's notice, Robert Williams listed a quantity of merchandise which would be sold "*at the Store of* John Williams," in New Bern.[100] Williams went into greater description of his items, many of which differed from those of Cornell. There were eleven different kinds of saws, as well as files, rasps, "with choice coopers jointer irons, [and] bricklayers and plasterers trowels." Besides these, Williams called attention to useful items like "rosinstrainers, and wire seives [*sic*] of different finesses [*sic*] for rice, wheat, corn meal and

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[99] Compare advertisements by Hutcheson Crozier, William Thompson, Robert Evans, and John Tomlinson, all appearing in the *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), Dec. 21, 1764. Many items not publicized by Cornell are listed in these notices.

[100] *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), Nov. 9, 1764.

flour, . . ." To aid in writing, there were "brass inkpots and fountain pens, . . ."

Williams listed different patent medicines, "fresh and new, from the original warehouse, and true preparers in London," an indication that publicizing brand names is not a recent development in American advertising and that "patent" medicines did not originate in the western hemisphere. Customers were invited to buy: "*James's* fever powder, *Lockyer's* pills, *Turlington's* balsam, *Bateman's* drops, *Hooper's* pills, *Frauncess's* elixir, *Ratcliff's* purging elixir, *Anderson's* pills, *Godfrey's* cordials, antimony and flour of sulphur, . . ." [101]

The needs of craftsmen were reflected in Robert Williams's advertisement and in one by William Watkins of Wilmington. Williams stood ready to supply a "great variety of watchmakers working tools and utensils," along with ten different kinds of watch parts, "and a couple of sound WATCHES,. . ." Watkins, on the other hand, had "an assortment of hair, cauls, ribbons, &c. for peruke-makers." [102]

Under the impact of the Revolution, North Carolina merchant advertising exhibited some changes. First, wartime advertisements of sales of merchandise were fewer in number and shorter in length. In the second place, the notices increasingly advised the public that the goods would be sold at auction. Thirdly, the advertisements seemed to concentrate on fewer items, many of which were staples—salt, sugar, flour—tools and other necessities. And finally, in apparent but not real contradiction, there were some few notices which advertised sales of truly luxurious items.[103]

The employment of a warship as a cargo vessel is somewhat out of the ordinary, to say the least. North Carolinians who chanced to be in the vicinity of Cape Lookout in the spring of 1778 were favored with such a sight, and the New

[101] *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), Nov. 9, 1764. Earlier, Archibald Campbell advertised some of the same brands as did Williams, but added "*Stoughton's Daffey's and Squire's* Elizirs . . . [and] British Rock Oil, . . ." *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Nov. 15, 1751.

[102] *North-Carolina Magazine* (New Bern), Nov. 9, 1764; *North-Carolina Gazette* (Wilmington), Feb. 12, 1766. Watkins also advertised some "very handsome paper hangings, [and] one set of maps. . . ."

[103] For an analysis of these points, see Wallace, "Advertising in Early North Carolina Newspapers, 1751-1778," 183n, 184n. Useful for a discussion of wartime inflation is Crittenden, *Commerce of North Carolina*, 134f.

Bern *North-Carolina Gazette* in March announced that there had "*Just arrived . . . from France, the frigate* FERDENAND, *mounting* 36 *guns, with* 200 *men, Monsieur de Gatinau, one of the king's officers, commander, who has imported . . . goods, which will be sold at the town of Beaufort, . . .*" Sixty-two items made up the list of goods which ranged from "NAILS of all sizes," to "gold and silver shoulder straps for officers, . . ." Among the more unusual items were "shirts and sheets for hospitals, umbrelloes . . . harpsichord and violin strings . . . [and] paintings of all colours, . . ."[104]

The Edenton firm of Savage and Westmore advertised a long array of luxuries just brought in "in the last vessels from France," and the public was advised that the merchandise would be sold at auction. A few of the delicacies included raisins, currants, anchovies, olives, capers, truffles, and brandied fruits. Grouped together were boxes of "*white soap . . . mould candles . . .* [and] *manna. . . .*" A large portion of the shipment consisted of fancy brandies, liqueurs, and "Frontenac Malaga and Muscadel [*sic*] *wines,*" as well as "*scented waters, . . .*" Arriving in cases of a dozen bottles each were such uncommon items as "*orgeat . . . cappalaire . . .* [and] *ratifea. . . .*"[105] Near the end of the advertisement was a single beverage not now considered a luxury but so regarded in 1778. The discriminating customer could, if he wished, buy "*sarsaparella, . . .*"[106]

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[104] March 6, 1778. Printer James Davis seemed not to spell French names with much facility. The frigate commander's name would appear to have been "D. COTTINEAU." *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), March 13, 1778.

[105] Orgeat is a liquor or syrup extracted from barley and sweet almonds, and used as a flavor for beverages and edibles or medicinally as a mild demulcent. Capilaire was any syrup flavored with orange-flower water. Ratifia (there are several spellings) was a spirituous liquor flavored with the kernels of several kinds of fruit.

[106] *North-Carolina Gazette* (New Bern), Aug. 7, 1778. Other items worthy of note included: " . . . *black and white blond lace* [lace made of two threads of silk, twisted and formed into hexagonal meshes] . . . *writing and printing paper, sealing wax,* [sealing] *wafers and quills . . . looking glasses . . . tea in canisters . . . hair powder in pounds,*" twelve-bottle cases of "*fine* Florence *oil,*" and casks of olive oil.

BEDFORD BROWN: STATE RIGHTS UNIONIST

By HOUSTON G. JONES

Part II: The Conciliator

In June, 1840, Senators Bedford Brown and Robert Strange carried out their promises and sent their resignations to Governor E. B. Dudley with the understanding that the effective date would be upon the convening of the General Assembly in November. As a result of this action, the August elections were of utmost importance to both parties—the next General Assembly would select two United States Senators. No holds were barred during the campaign, and, while local issues played a decisive role in the elections, the records of Brown and Strange constituted the major statewide issue.

Jacksonian democracy had lost its ascendancy in North Carolina by 1840 because of a complex internal political situation which resulted in the Western portions of the State turning Whig during the 1830's. In consequence of the development of issues, such as internal improvement, education, and the financial distress, the Whigs made a clean sweep in the August elections in 1840, choosing John M. Morehead of Guilford as governor and sending a thirty-odd seat majority to the Assembly.

The rebuke was unmistakable. Old Hickory had for a time become the idol of the people and had led the masses to participation in political activity, but when he sided with the conservatives of the East on the issues of state rights and opposition to federally financed internal improvements, the people of the back-country, flexing their newly-won political muscles, turned to the Whig forces.

President Van Buren, shocked by the Democratic defeat in the legislative elections, rushed a "strictly confidential" letter to Brown, urging him not to despair but to give renewed vigor to saving North Carolina from the "Old Federalism" in the November presidential election. He said,

> . . . I write to one who has through his whole life stood ready to sink himself for the advancement of the cause he espouses

and to whom it will be sufficient to know that that cause requires his services to induce him to render them cheerfully. . . . Now, my dear Sir, you are the man pointed out by your public and private character—by your political principles—by your known candour and integrity in all things—by a fearless spirit, a clear head and fine brains and last though not least by the position in which your recent defeat has placed you to be the principal instrument in the accomplishment of this great work . . . indomitable spirit and unbending energy — these you have. . . .[1]

In reply, Brown wrote that the party's defeat resulted from Clay's proposition to distribute proceeds of the sale of lands, his proposal for internal improvements along the North Carolina coast at federal expense, and his argument for the national bank. Brown made himself available for a presidential appointment by stating that ". . . there is not that public man living whom it would give me so much pleasure to serve, or whose wishes it would at all times gratify me so much to comply with. I entertain towards you, these sentiments, not only from your uniform kindness to me, in our personal intercourses but from the most sincere conviction of your disinterestedness, honesty & patriotism as a Statesman."[2]

Meanwhile, the Whigs were rejoicing over their control of the newly-elected Assembly. The *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury) set the tenor of the opposition's antipathy toward Senators Brown and Strange by gleefully boasting, "They are down! down! down! . . . They have fallen under the profound contempt of their adversaries and have no sympathy from their friends. Faithless and unworthy servants of an abused people depart! Go into the obscurity you have merited and stay there."[3]

Just prior to the general election, Brown wrote the President, complaining of lack of support by the North Carolina press. Referring to the *North Carolina Standard,* the leading Democratic newspaper in Raleigh, he charged that his

[1] Martin Van Buren to Bedford Brown, August 20, 1840. Van Buren Papers, Library of Congress (typescript copy in North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh).

[2] Bedford Brown to Martin Van Buren, August 30, 1840. Van Buren Papers, Library of Congress (typescript copy in North Carolina Department of Archives and History).

[3] Quoted in *Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette* (Raleigh), August 25, 1840.

speeches and activities in support of the national ticket were being ignored. "It results from the control which an individual has over that press, who imagines that his own importance requires, that the exertions of others to redeem the State, should remain unnoticed," he wrote.[4] This reference, Professor Hamilton concluded, was directed at William H. Haywood who was supposed by many to control the *Standard*.[5]

The names of Brown and Strange were put forward as a matter of formality when the two houses proceeded to the election of Senators in November. The sting of Brown's defeat must have been especially sharp when his erstwhile colleague and political opponent, Judge Willie P. Mangum, defeated him by a vote of 99 to 65. Former Governor William A. Graham was chosen to replace Strange by a vote of 98 to 64.[6]

The Harrison-Tyler forces won a smashing victory in North Carolina. In February, Brown wrote the retiring President,

> I consider the sovereignty of the people, as having been subdued, in the late contest, by foreign influence and domestic corporate influence united together, and brought to bear, on the ballot Box. The nation is bound, by every principle of honor and of freedom to redeem itself, from so humiliating a condition, on the first occasion that presents itself. . . .[7]

Brown, disillusioned but still determined, continued his

[4] Bedford Brown to Martin Van Buren, October 31, 1840. Van Buren Papers, Library of Congress (typescript copy in North Carolina Department of Archives and History).

[5] J. G. de R. Hamilton, *Party Politics in North Carolina 1835-1860. James Sprunt Historical Publications*, Vol. 15, Nos. 1 and 2 [Chapel Hill, 1916], 87. Hereafter cited as Hamilton, *Party Politics in North Carolina.*

[6] *Journals of the Senate and House of Commons . . . 1840-41*, 41, 44, 359, 372. See also *Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette*, November 27, 1840, and *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), December 2, 1840. A good secondary account of the struggle between the Whigs and Democrats in 1840 and the argument over instructions may be found in Clarence Clifford Norton, *The Democratic Party in Ante-Bellum North Carolina—1835-1861* (Chapel Hill, 1930), 74-82. It should be noted, however, that Professor Norton is in error on page 79 when he speaks of the "election of the General Assembly of 1839." The election, of course, was in 1840.

[7] Bedford Brown to Martin Van Buren, February 17, 1841. Van Buren Papers, Library of Congress (typescript copy in North Carolina Department of Archives and History). It is significant to note that Brown's home county in Caswell gave Van Buren a majority of 1169 to 276 over Harrison, a vote which reflected the retiring Senator's personal prestige in the county. See *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), December 9, 1840.

interest in politics from Rose Hill and set his sights on the Senatorial post in 1842 when Graham's term was to expire. He corresponded with party leaders during the next two years and was flattered by James Buchanan who, in July, 1841, wrote the North Carolinian, ". . . I can assure you I have no friend with whom I desire to stand higher than yourself. Your frank and manly character has secured my warmest regard. When Old Rip wakes up again to his true interest, you will again be called into public life." The same letter brought word from a future Vice-President, William Rufus King, who urged Brown to exert his "talents and energies in North Carolina and put down the d---d Whigs. He [King] wants to see you back here again."[8]

As a means of vindicating his loyalty to the party, Brown was the logical choice to be returned to Washington if the elections of 1842 resulted in a Democratic Assembly. But the Calhoun wing of the party had won more and more adherents in the state and, in September, 1842, following the Democratic victory at the polls, Brown intimated to future Governor David S. Reid that the Calhoun forces were out to defeat him by introducing the candidacy of his fellow Caswellian, Romulus M. Saunders, a former legislator, judge, attorney general, French spoliations adjustor, Congressman, and 1840 Democratic gubernatorial candidate. He told Reid that he felt he was bound to vindicate his course even though otherwise he would have been willing to retire to private life.[9] Brown was again elected to the State Senate from Caswell in 1842.[10]

The contest between the two Caswell Democrats involved more than just statewide interest. National leaders unhesitatingly supported Brown, and letters were received in his support from Andrew Jackson, Silas Wright, Thomas Hart Benton, Van Buren, and others. The contest took on a decidedly factional flavor. In order to keep the fight away from the public, the Democratic members agreed that they would

[8] James Buchanan to Bedford Brown, July 30, 1841. Bedford Brown Papers, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. Hereafter cited as Bedford Brown Papers, Duke University.

[9] Bedford Brown to David S. Reid, September 20, 1842. David S. Reid Papers, North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

[10] *Journals of the Senate and House of Commons . . . 1842-43*, 4.

choose their candidate in caucus and that the nominee would have 86 votes (a majority on joint ballot in the Assembly) before the nomination was made. On the first ballot in caucus, Brown received 48 votes and Saunders 35. On the second ballot, this margin was increased to 51 to 31.[11]

On each succeeding ballot Brown led, but the Calhoun-Saunders forces refused to yield. Finally, on November 30, Brown sent his opponent a note suggesting a joint withdrawal in order not to split the party further.[12] Saunders refused, however, and the fight was carried to the floor of the Assembly.

The voting began on December 3 with the Whig candidate, William A. Graham, getting 70 votes to 56 for Brown and 36 for Saunders.[13] As the balloting continued, both Democrats gained at the expense of Graham until Brown led with 63 votes to 57 for Graham and 42 for Saunders on fifth ballot.[14] Still, no compromise was reached. Then, on December 19, the Whigs withdrew Graham's name and many of them threw their support to Saunders in an attempt to prolong the voting and thus further split the Democrats. On that ballot Saunders forged ahead with 78 votes against 61 for Brown. But seeing the futility of the battle, Saunders finally agreed to a joint withdrawal, and on the ninth ballot, William H. Haywood of Wake County was elected.[15]

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[11] R. M. Saunders, *An Address of R. M. Saunders to the People of North Carolina, February 25, 1843* (a pamphlet bound in *North Carolina Politics*, No. 1, North Carolina Room, University of North Carolina). See also *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), March 8, 1843.

[12] Exchange of letters published in *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), December 28, 1842.

[13] *Journals of the Senate and House of Commons . . . 1842-43*, 73, 498.

[14] John H. Wheeler to Andrew Jackson, December 10, 1842. Elizabeth G. McPherson, "Unpublished Letters of North Carolinians to Andrew Jackson," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XIV, 4 (October, 1937), 386; *Journals of the Senate and House of Commons . . . 1842-43*, 73, 498.

[15] *Journals of the Senate and House of Commons . . . 1842-43*, 146-7, 615. The breach between the Van Buren-Brown and Calhoun-Saunders factions never fully healed. Saunders, indignant over his defeat, carried his case to the public through letters to newspapers and at least one pamphlet. The *Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette* of January 31, 1843, carried an exchange of letters involving the two candidates. The *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), which had supported Brown, published Saunders' address to the people on March 8, 1843. Brown lamented his defeat by the Calhoun faction in a letter to Van Buren, but assured the former President that he, Van Buren, was still the favorite candidate of two-thirds of the Democratic members of the legislature and that Saunders' tactics in the senatorial battle had hurt Calhoun's fortunes. See Bedford Brown to Martin

Hurt and disillusioned, Bedford Brown determined to leave both politics and his native state. In the autumn of 1844, he sold his Rose Hill plantation and prepared to depart for Missouri, a state that had already welcomed many North Carolinians, including his political friend, Thomas H. Benton. Just before leaving North Carolina, however, Brown was cheered by another letter from his friend and leader, Van Buren. The New Yorker wrote,

> I do not believe that you were ever duly sensible of the estimation in which you have been held by me, since opportunities were afforded me to become thoroughly acquainted with you, and as no possible motive for misconstruction can any longer exist there is no reason why I should not speak my mind to you without reserve. Long before the Panick [*sic*] Session I held you in high respect but the proceedings of that most extraordinary session and your noble bearing in it, which was not excelled in any of the great points of character by that of a single senator, seemed to satisfy me that I had before fallen far short of doing justice to your merits. From that period until I left Washington, I never failed to bring your name before our friends when they wanted candidates for Vice President. . . .[16]

The Brown family[17] settled at Fayette, Howard County, Missouri, where they remained until the summer of 1847, being "received with noble enthusiasm." The climate, Brown later wrote, forced a decision to return to the East.

That the former Senator from North Carolina was unable to steer clear of politics was indicated in a letter from his son's father-in-law, Congressman (later Confederate Senator) John B. Clark in 1860. In the latter year, Brown was accused of having flirted with free-soilism while in Missouri.

Van Buren, December 31, 1842. Van Buren Papers, Library of Congress (typescript copy in North Carolina Department of Archives and History).

[16] Martin Van Buren to Bedford Brown, October 21, 1844. Bedford Brown Papers, Duke University.

[17] Bedford and Mary Glenn Brown had seven children: William, Livingston, Bedford, Jr., Wilson Glenn, Isabella Virginia, Laura, and Rosalie. Livingston first married a daughter of Congressman John B. Clark of Missouri, and after her death, returned to Caswell where he married into the prominent Gwynn family and represented Caswell in the State Senate in 1866-68. Laura married William B. Gaulden of Georgia, a Unionist who sat in the Democratic Convention of 1860. Bedford, Jr., became an outstanding surgeon and served as inspector of hospitals and camps in the Confederate Army. He was later president of the Virginia Medical Society and a lecturer and writer on medical subjects. See "Dr. Bedford Brown," *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* . . . (New York, 1892-1951, 37 vols.), V, 442.

Not so, said Clark in a letter that was used to refute the charge. "You were regarded while in Missouri as a *strict states right democrat of the Jackson school* warmly attached to the principles of his administration. You were also regarded as a *friend* of Col. Benton," Clark wrote. It was after Brown had left Missouri that Benton had leaned toward free-soilism with the belief that Congress had the power to restrict slavery in the territories, Clark continued, and Brown's friendship with the "Colonel" should in no way be interpreted as support of his ideas.[18]

In 1847, the Brown family moved to Virginia where they first settled at Scott's Ferry, Albemarle County, but later purchased Waveland, "a mansion elegant and spacious . . . a handsome competency and entirely free from embarrassment . . ." in the upper part of Fauquier County, twelve miles from Warrenton.[19] There, less than four hours by train from Washington, the former Senator kept an active interest in national affairs. In 1848, for instance, he cautioned Van Buren against any third party antics. Senator John M. Niles of Connecticut wrote the New Yorker,

> I was gratified to day to shake the hand of an old friend of yours & mine whom I had not seen since 1840—it was Bedford Brown as true hearted a man as there is in the country. He is not changed in appearance or in any respect. He spoke of you and said we should do nothing at the coming election, unless our party should be wise enough; which he feared they would not be—to make you their candidate which he thought might arouse the old democracy to a vigorous & probably successful effort . . . Benton, Bagley and some others in the senate are of the same opinion.[20]

Brown's utter dissatisfaction with the Polk administration was expressed to Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky in January, 1849. "I for one, have uniformly regarded the course

[18] John B. Clark to Bedford Brown, March 20, 1860. Bedford Brown Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Hereafter cited as Southern Historical Collection.

[19] Bedford Brown to Martin Van Buren, August 20, 1852. Van Buren Papers, Library of Congress (typescript copy in North Carolina Department of Archives and History).

[20] John M. Niles to Martin Van Buren, April 18, 1848. Van Buren Papers, Library of Congress (typescript copy in Bedford Brown Papers, Duke University).

of Mr. Polk and his cabinet in regard to Mexican affairs, as more *ultra* unconstitutional, than any assumptions of power ever exercised by any and I will add, all the presidents put together, since our government was formed," he wrote. "I rejoice that the present dynasty will end in a few weeks. It has done more to break down republican principles and the Union than all administrations put together by its doctrines of conquest." [21]

The North Carolinian confided to Crittenden his belief that the old party labels had lost much of their meaning, and that the "patriotic portion of the people of the U. States (and they are an immense majority, composed in part of both parties) require a cessation of those bitter political hostilities, that have so long estranged good men from each other." Now was the time to "restore the patriotic era in our government, founded on a policy of moderation and justice in our internal policy, irrespective of political landmarks." Brown said that he had cast a "reluctant" vote for Lewis Cass, having abandoned his original plans to vote for General Taylor in consequence of "my old friend Van Buren whose movement had so weakened the Southern party to the North, that I considered it the best policy of the Slaveholders of the South with reference to their safety, to elect a Northern man and thus endeavor to rebuild the influence which the defection of Mr. Van Buren had lost them." But, he continued, he had learned since the election that Taylor would command a greater influence in settling the slave question than Cass could have, and he was content to see Taylor elected, especially in view of unqualified disapproval of Cass's Mexican policies.

In the winter of 1849-1850, Bedford Brown and his family resided in Baltimore where they sent their daughters to Patapsco Institute.[22] It was during that winter that the former

[21] Bedford Brown to John J. Crittenden, January 13, 1849. John J. Crittenden Papers, Library of Congress (typescript copy in North Carolina Department of Archives and History).

[22] There is no foundation for Professor Shanks' statement that Brown "was elected to the House of Representatives" from Maryland. Except for temporary residence in Baltimore during the winter of 1849-50, he never lived in that state. See Henry T. Shanks, editor, *The Papers of Willie Person Mangum* (Raleigh, 1950-52, 4 vols.), I, 5.

Senator, distressed at the temper of the country and fearful that civil war was in the offing, made a trip to Washington. On March 4, 1850, he sent his brother, William Brown of Caswell, an extensive account of his visit:

I have been on a visit here for some Days drawn here, by the dangerous and extraordinary state of things on the slave question. When I came here a week ago, I considered the Union in great danger[.] Now, I am gratified to say that the excitement is much less, and the Union is in no immediate danger. The immediate danger arose from the resolutions of Mr. Doty proposing to instruct the committee on Territories to report a Bill for the immediate admission of California, which he accompanied with a motion for the *Previous Question* which prevents all debate. This gave rise to great invitation among Southern members who called the Ayes and Noes on questions near all night and was attended by threats of resorting to violence. I was informed by a Senator, . . . that sixty or seventy Members went into the House of R. daily armed. Apprehending danger and believing that it could be avoided by inducing Mr. Doty to withdraw his motion and resolution, I went to an old friend from New York . . . (Genl. Ward) and requested him to go to Mr. Doty and urge on him the propriety of withdrawing his resolution and motion, and requested Genl. Ward to carry a Southern Member to Doty, who would request him *as a matter of liberality,* to withdraw his resolution and motion. This I suggested, in order to remove the point of pride with Doty as his movement had been met by a great violence from some Southern Members and unless his liberality was appealed to, I knew he would not recede. I also proposed to Genl. Ward, to suggest to Mr. Doty when he withdrew his resolution and motion, to offer a Bill for the admission of California, instead, and to let the debate come upon the whole subject, all of which movements would relieve the House of R. from the awkward and dangerous position, in which they had been placed and the discussion would calm the public mind, when the whole facts and arguments were before the country. . . . He did so; it was instantly arranged and the next day the House of R. was relieved from its dangerous position, which threatened violence and which violence commenced there might have spread civil war through the country.

Brown's closing remarks in this letter to his brother revealed the former Senator's sincere belief that the course of the Southern extremists had brought on the crisis. He concluded

That the Abolitionists of the North have been greatly strengthened by the imprudent and violent course of a certain class of violent *disunion politicians* of the South by the most improvident course, for fifteen years past, I am positively certain. It has been the course of that class to which I refer, to abuse the whole North in their speeches and addresses for the acts of what at one time were the acts of a few. I remember for many years, while I was in the Senate, and when the Northern Democrats were warmly voting with us, that this was the language with Mr. Calhoun and his party for much of the time till they have left us with few friends to the North and have now fallen on Genl. Cass, determined all our friends shall be driven off. This can mean nothing but *Disunion! Disunion! Slave question or no Slave question!*

The patriotic party and people of the South while they ought and must stand ready to resist abolition in the District or the passage of the *Proviso* by Congress have another duty to perform and that is to guard against the extreme movements of the Disunionists of the South. Both of these parties must be resisted with equal firmness. If Congress *abolishes Slavery and passes the Proviso* the Southern States ought to resist it by withdrawing from the Union. But the *admission of California* with her present constitution is no ground for disunion. A policy pursued by Southern politicians which I believed highly inexpedient at the time, brought it on; The people decided the question of slavery for themselves and according to all principles laid down by the South, had that right. To wit; either to establish slavery or prohibit it as they chose. California has done so and it is inconsistent, now to oppose it on that ground. . . . A *pretext for Disunion* is anxiously sought for in certain quarters, and the idea of destroying the Union because California is admitted, as a State, brought in as she was by Southern policy, that is by Mr. Polk's administration, is the height of absurdity.[23]

That the North Carolinian's opposition to Van Buren in the election of 1848 failed to lessen the bonds of affection between the two men was indicated in a letter from the "Little Magician" in 1852. He wrote, ". . . I can with truth say that there was not among my associates in public life a single man in whose patriotism[,] capacity and honor I placed a higher confidence . . . you are not likely to overrate

[23] Bedford Brown to William Brown, March 4, 1850. Bedford Brown Papers, Southern Historical Collection. For an account of Brown's belief that there was "corruption, political intriguing and plotting treason against the Union" by some Southern extremists, see an interview in *The Milton Chronicle* (Milton, North Carolina), July 4, 1850.

either the warmth or the respectful nature of my feelings towards you, feelings which I have embraced every proper opportunity to express."[24]

In reply, Brown wrote Van Buren that he had withdrawn from participation in politics for a time "in part, owing to the inauspicious state of things, produced, by those, assuming to lead the Democratic party—," but that the nomination of Franklin Pierce, "so intimately identified as he is . . . with . . . your administration and Genl. Jackson's," inspired him to new zeal. As a result he had been pressed into the service of the party in meetings and rallies.

The "inveterate prejudices of the extreme Southern faction" were moderating, Brown continued, and more and more people of the South were admitting "that the party of the North . . . were truer on all the great questions of policy and constitutional construction, as contended by our old Southern Statesmen, than any other. . . ." He hoped that the Northern Democrats would not permit anything "that these firebrands, may say, or do, to direct them from their manly and patriotic course." He again charged that "the principal actors among the party of nullification, since the year 1834 [have] agitated the slave question, with the fixed purpose of sundering the ties that existed, between the Northern and Southern Democracy . . . . " He correctly predicted that the Democratic victory in November would be so great that the Whigs would be "annihilated and disbanded, as a party."[25]

A month later, Van Buren replied, saying that he was glad that the principles for which they had battled together were still firmly rooted. ". . . I always knew you to be a root and branch man," he wrote; "Such men may be silenced for a season by the depravity of the times and the ascendency of shiftless and unsound men but they never alter." His health and spirits were not very good, the former President confided, "and all I want to make me happy is a visit from [Francis P.] Blair and yourself."[26]

[24] Martin Van Buren to Bedford Brown, August 16, 1852. Bedford Brown Papers, Duke University.

[25] Bedford Brown to Martin Van Buren, August 20, 1852. Van Buren Papers, Library of Congress (typescript copy in North Carolina Department of Archives and History).

[26] Martin Van Buren to Bedford Brown, September 17, 1852. Bedford Brown Papers, Duke University.

In 1853, Brown bought an additional 866 acres of land in Fauquier County, and a few months later saw dysentery attack his family and take the lives of two of his household servants.[27] The family went to Savannah, Georgia, and remained through the winter of 1853-54 in search of a better climate for the ailing young Rosalie.[28] Then, after another year in Virginia, Brown again turned to his native state and, in the fall of 1855, repurchased Rose Hill and moved his family back to the headwaters of the Country Line.

Francis P. Blair wrote Brown late in 1855, suggesting that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was "pregnant with much danger and that moderation and firmness in the chief Magistrate—somewhat akin to that which distinguished our old Hero—can alone bring the union safely through the trial."[29] Blair suggested that such a man might be found in John C. Fremont and asked Brown to write Fremont for a statement of his views on the slavery issue. There is no evidence, however, that he followed Blair's suggestion, for the following year, less than twelve months after his return to Caswell, Brown was chosen as a delegate to the National Democratic Convention where he served as vice-president for North Carolina.[30]

The North Carolina delegation to the Democratic Convention of 1856, voting under the unit rule, cast ten votes for President Pierce for fourteen ballots, and then switched to Douglas on the fifteenth. With James Buchanan remaining in the lead, however, North Carolina changed over to the Pennsylvanian on the seventeenth ballot and Buchanan was then unanimously nominated.[31] According to his report to the Democratic nominee in September, Brown personally favored Buchanan from the beginning and had consented to

[27] Bedford Brown to William Brown, August 24, 1853. Bedford Brown Papers, Rose Hill, Caswell County, North Carolina. Hereafter cited as Bedford Brown Papers, Rose Hill.

[28] Bedford Brown to William Brown, August 22, 1854. Bedford Brown Papers, Rose Hill.

[29] Francis P. Blair to Bedford Brown, October 30, 1855. Bedford Brown Papers, Duke University.

[30] *Official Proceedings of the National Democratic Convention, Held in Cincinnati, June 2-6, 1856,* 16.

[31] *Official Proceedings of the National Democratic Convention, Held in Cincinnati, June 2-6, 1856,* 39-43.

vote with the other delegates for Pierce only because "delicacy and propriety" dictated that he should make no effort to direct public sentiment due to his recent return to the State. However, he objected strenuously, he wrote, to the decision of the delegation to vote for Douglas after Pierce's chances were exhausted, believing such a course was contrary to the wishes of the North Carolina electorate. Buchanan, he wrote, was clearly the second choice of the Democrats of the State, and never was there "a more noble and honorable triumph of the popular will achieved. . . ." With reference to the approaching election in North Carolina, Brown continued,

> I have never known such intense excitement as there is in N. Carolina, always before so moderate, as prevails with respect to the possible chances of Fremont's election. Many are prepared for separation in that event. Those are not, however, my views believing that acquiescence in an election constitutionally made, is both Democratic and proper, unless followed by practical legislative aggression and then the case is plain, however much to be deprecated.[32]

When the General Assembly met for its new session in November, 1858, the master of Rose Hill was again within the familiar senate chamber representing Caswell County.[33] He was chosen chairman of the committee on banks and currency.

Brown was a delegate from North Carolina to the National Democratic Convention which convened in Charleston on April 23, 1860, and served as vice-president for the state group.[34] The former Senator, who had been mentioned for

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[32] Bedford Brown to James Buchanan, September 21, 1856. James Buchanan Papers, Pennsylvania Historical Society (typescript copy in Bedford Brown Papers, Duke University).

[33] *Journal of the Senate . . . 1858-'9*, 4. It will be recalled that Brown had previously served in the House of Commons at the sessions of 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818, and 1823, and in the Senate for the sessions of 1828, 1829, and 1842-44. He was to be re-elected again in 1860, 1862, and 1868, although in 1868 he was not permitted to take his seat.

[34] *Proceedings of the Convention at Charleston and Baltimore Published by Order of the National Democratic Convention . . .* (Washington, 1860), 11. W. W. Holden, in his Memoirs, claimed that he stayed with Brown during the Convention, and that the night before the Convention opened, an informal meeting of Southern delegates was held at which Brown was the

the vice-presidency of the United States by a number of newspapers, including the *Brooklyn Eagle*,[35] used his influence in an attempt to conciliate the discordant elements. Although he did not compromise his opposition to the Southern extremists, Delegate Brown now saw the danger of veering too far towards the other extreme, and, on April 30, when a clause in the minority report pertaining to reference of questions of slavery in the territories to the Supreme Court came up, he arose with this warning:

> Permit me, in sincerity, candor, and a spirit of patriotism, to warn my northern friends against the adoption of this preamble. Devoted, as I am, to the perpetuity of this Federal Union, and the continuance of the great Democratic party and its organization, I warn them, if they adopt this resolution, which I consider sweeps off every barrier to the reserved rights of the States, that the destiny of the Democratic Party is decided.[36]

The North Carolinians did not secede from the Convention with the majority of other Southern delegations. Instead, they remained and, on first ballot, cast one vote for Douglas and nine for Robert M. T. Hunter of Virginia.[37] The delegation cast the identical vote for twelve ballots, then on the thirteenth ballot threw all ten votes to General Lane of Oregon. On the twenty-fourth ballot, with no candidate approaching a majority, the Convention journal noted that "Mr. Brown,

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only speaker to caution against hasty action on the part of the Southerners. He delivered a "conservative, union speech, and was interrupted, and scraped, and coughed down," according to Holden. When an Arkansas general ridiculed Brown's views, the Caswellian, according to Holden, said, " 'Mr. Holden, let us shake off the dust, from our feet, of this disunion conventicle, [*sic*] and retire.' " See William K. Boyd, editor, *Memoirs of W. W. Holden* (Durham, 1911), 11-12. Governor Holden's information, however, must be used with caution due to his advanced age when his memoirs were written and because of his desire to make his own record appear as acceptable as possible.

[35] Norton, *The Democratic Party in Ante-Bellum North Carolina—1835-1861*, 253. See also *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), May 9, 1860.

[36] *Proceedings of the Convention at Charleston and Baltimore Published by Order of the National Democratic Convention . . .*, 115. Originally printed in *Charleston Mercury* (South Carolina), and quoted in the *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), May 9, 1860. The measure was defeated 238 to 21.

[37] Brown voted for Hunter. Although he has left no record of his reason for supporting an extremist, it is highly probable that Brown believed in the possibility of a compromise between the Douglas forces and those of the South, thus bringing about the nomination of a candidate acceptable to both sides.

of North-Carolina, in casting the vote of North-Carolina on this ballot, said she would vote for that distinguished statesman, incorruptible patriot, and national Democrat, Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York."[38]

Seeing the futility of continued balloting, the Convention on May 3 adjourned to meet again on June 18 in Baltimore. Brown and the North Carolina delegation were on hand for the opening of the new session. During the debate on seating disputed delegations from Southern states, Brown was interrupted and ruled out of order when he arose to say that "it would give me infinitely more pleasure to pour oil on the agitated waves that now disturb us, . . . " and after voting 9 to 1 in a losing cause for the minority report on disputed delegations, Brown and all but three (one voting delegate) of the North Carolinians withdrew on June 22. These seceders, along with others who withdrew from the Baltimore Convention, promptly reassembled at Maryland Institute at noon, June 23, only a few minutes after the adjournment of the other convention, and styled themselves the true "National Democratic Convention," electing Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts, who had served as chairman of both the Charleston and Baltimore meetings, to the chair. This Convention adopted pro-Southern resolutions and unanimously nominated John C. Breckinridge and General Joseph Lane.[39] Meanwhile, the Charleston seceders met at Richmond and also nominated Breckinridge and Lane.

Brown's secession at Baltimore marked the first time in his career that he had lost faith in the liberality of the Democrats of the North. Even then, however, he was unwilling to give up hope, believing that the four-way race would wind up in the House of Representatives where a compromise could be worked out to the satisfaction of moderates on both sides.

Perhaps the last, and certainly the highest, tribute to be paid Bedford Brown by his most loyal political friend, former President Van Buren, came during the transfer of the

[38] *Proceedings of the Convention at Charleston and Baltimore Published by Order of the National Democratic Convention . . .*, 147.

[39] *Proceedings of the Convention at Charleston and Baltimore Published by Order of the National Democratic Convention . . .*, 213-242.

Convention from Charleston to Baltimore. The aging New Yorker wrote a friend,

> Did you make the acquaintance of Bedford Brown of N. Carolina, at Charleston. If you did not let me advise you to do so without fail at Baltimore. He is without exception one of the best and truest specimens of the old Republican School now left in the Country, an old and constant friend of Genl. Jackson and my own, one on whom as much as any other man, we relied for support of our respective administrations in the Senate of the U. States. He has been Gov of his State [40] & represented it for two terms in the Senate; I never knew him to be a candidate for office nor the time when we had any reason to believe that he would accept one or we would have been most happy to offer it to him. I at least would think the country fortunate to get such a man for the office of President or Vice-President. Mr. Wright loved him as a brother and thought as much of his talents and his unsurpassed integrity as I have always done.[41]

In the campaign of 1860, Brown worked for the Breckinridge-Lane ticket, though he must have been uncomfortable in the company of many of the Southern "firebrands" whom he had so consistently attacked. Throughout the summer and fall he was busy attending rallies. A Lenoir County committee wrote that "we would yet desire to hear, once more, the Council of the Fathers in Israel; who received their principles, from the teachings of Jefferson, Madison & Macon, & upon whose aid, even the great name of Jackson leaned for supports";[42] and Thomas Ruffin, Jr., wrote for the Alamance Democrats, "We have all been taught, by long years of happy experience, to listen to your voice, as one that was sure to lead when we ought to go . . . that you can do more, than all other men, towards starting our people in the right direction. . . ." [43]

[40] Van Buren was in error; Brown was never governor, although he was endorsed by several counties in 1840. Hamilton, *Party Politics in North Carolina*, 56.

[41] Martin Van Buren to Theodore Miller, June 11, 1860. Bedford Brown Papers, Duke University.

[42] T. Woodley, H. F. Bond, C. Wooten, and J. C. Wooten to Bedford Brown, October 12, 1860. Bedford Brown Papers, Rose Hill.

[43] Thomas Ruffin, Jr., to Bedford Brown, October 6, 1860. Bedford Brown Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

Meanwhile, Caswell County again elected Brown to the State Senate, where, on December 10, 1860, he introduced a resolution calling for the appointment of Thomas Ruffin, Weldon N. Edwards, William A. Graham, and William N. H. Smith as a commission to proceed to Columbia, South Carolina, and make known to the Convention scheduled to assemble in that State on December 17, that

> . . . while the Legislature of North Carolina fully appreciates the patriotic considerations that have called them together, and feels all the sympathy and respect which historic renown, common interests and their relations as a sister coterminous State should inspire, they appeal to their sister State of South Carolina, in that spirit of patriotism which animated the common ancestry of both, in the resolution to suspend any action by which secession from the confederacy shall be accomplished, and await a common consultation through a Convention of all the States, the result of said Convention to be submitted to the people of the several States which are parties to it, for their assent respectively, before taking final action.[44]

The resolution would have authorized the commissioners to proceed to any other Southern States which might hold a convention, expressing the same views "to forbear State action." However, after several postponements, the resolution was tabled.

On December 19, Senator Hall of New Hanover praised the action that South Carolina was expected momentarily to take and advocated quick action by his own state. Bedford Brown challenged Hall's attitude. Did the people elect this legislature to tear down the federal Union?, he asked. In the campaign, did not the actors of this "drama" with few exceptions "repel the charge of disunion in language indignant?" He continued,

> Are we to be hurried on by the principal actors of this drama—are we to be pressed headlong with no time to think, and told in effect, that we are not free agents to act, and that circumstances and necessity, the latter the tyrant's plea, leave no alernative than to *follow* blindly the lead of one or more States? . . . *They* have spoken—*we* have no right to speak, but to echo

[44] *Journal of the Senate ..... 1860-61*, 99.

their will. *They* have *acted—we* have no right to act, only to say *we are to obey.*[45]

Apparently, Brown thought, only the rights of the states about to secede were to be heard. Was there, he asked, a "*Southern 'higher law'* overruling the will of our people, and overruling the very sovereignty of our States,—showing that Northern and Southern extremes meet in a *'higher law,'* setting aside State rights and constitutional obligation[?]"

The solution to the crisis, Brown said, was for the Southern states to meet and unite in a set of minimum demands which should be presented directly to the free states, appealing to the people to avoid disunion. He believed that the free states were ready to repeal their personal liberty laws and hostile enactments, and to add amendments to the federal constitution, if the Southern states would act as a unit and in good faith. He did not believe that some Southern states would be so moderate; therefore, it was for the border states to save the Union. He hoped that

> . . . even after States have seceded, that by maintaining our position firmly in the Union, the border slave States and those adjacent may yet demand and receive terms to enable them to reconstruct the constitution—about which I have no doubt, and by which we shall be the greatest, happiest, and most prosperous people on earth; and that all the sisterhood of States will again be numbered in one great confederated family with ample guaranties [*sic*] to protect all.

The defeat of the Democratic Party, he charged, was brought about by the conduct of the seven cotton states which seceded at Charleston and "which fatal movement, by a train of events, had compelled constitution, Union-loving men to withdraw afterwards at Baltimore." This precipitant action, he said, had killed any hope of working out a compromise at Baltimore. Furthermore, it had been the Southern extremists who had driven their Northern friends away from a moderate stand. In 1835, Brown said, there

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[45] These paragraphs are based on *Remarks of Hon. Bedford Brown of Caswell, Made in the Senate of North Carolina, on Dec. 19th, 1860 . . .* (a pamphlet bound in *Documents 1860-61*, North Carolina Room, University of North Carolina).

had been not more than eight or ten abolitionists in the House and three or four in the Senate. Yet, in Congressional debates, the Southern extremists had attacked the entire North as abolitionists; newspapers had spread anti-slavery effusions South "in an effort to unite all the South" for political purposes. On the other hand, the speeches of Southern extremists were eagerly spread in the North, gaining strength for abolition. He continued,

> This system ha[s] been kept up by demagogues and disunionists of both sections for twenty-four years past, until it ha[s] enabled the abolitionists to break down the [Democratic Party]. . . .
>
> Thus, by a system of extreme doctrines and extreme measures . . . [have] our noble Democratic, and other constitutional allies of the North been born down, and the abolitionists and other political combinations who [hate] with a deep hate the old Democracy, [have] been victorious; for which, with the causes mentioned, they [have] been largely indebted *to the seceders at Charleston,* for striking a blow at the Democratic organization which render[s] it powerless to contend with the enemies of the constitution.

Brown, as chairman of the Committee on Federal Relations in the Senate, urged caution during the remainder of the session. He supported the bill providing for a referendum on the subject of a convention and voted for a bill to prevent emancipation of a slave by will.[46] And, in the election for United States Senator on January 31, 1861, Brown, in spite of his request that he not be voted for, received eleven votes. Thomas L. Clingman was elected.[47]

The people of North Carolina on February 28 voted against calling a convention. The majority of the voters obviously favored the moderation of Bedford Brown and other anti-secessionists. They were willing to give the Lincoln administration an opportunity to show its colors.

Following the President's call for volunteers after the firing on Fort Sumter, Governor John W. Ellis issued a proclamation for a special session of the General Assembly, and on May 1, Bedford Brown was back in Raleigh. Now the

[46] *Journal of the Senate . . . 1860-61,* 236, 245.
[47] *Journal of the Senate . . . 1860-61,* 254.

die was cast. Virginia had seceded on April 17, and Tennessee was preparing to do likewise. North Carolina's further adherence to the Union in opposition to her sister Southern states around her was impossible. Consequently, the Senator from Caswell sadly cast his vote for a bill providing for a convention to meet on May 20, the issue not being put to a vote of the people. He did, however, work successfully for the postponement of consideration of a declaration of independence by the legislature.[48]

The people of Caswell elected Brown as one of their two delegates to the Convention, and on May 20, 1861, the state rights Unionist who had spent his entire public career singing the praises of the United States, voted to leave the Union. On May 21, he queued up with his colleagues of all political shades to affix his signature to the ordinance[49] that was destined to bring about the disaster that as early as 1835 Bedford Brown had predicted.

On June 18, the Convention having severed relations with the Union and unanimously ratified the Constitution of the Confederate States of America, Bedford Brown's name was placed in nomination for delegate at large to the Confederate Congress. George Davis of New Hanover with 59 votes, and William W. Avery with 57 led the balloting, whereupon Brown, who received 47, and Henry W. Miller, with 42 votes, withdrew in favor of the leading candidates.[50]

For the next year, North Carolina had what amounted to two governments—the convention, which met in three additional sessions before May, 1862, and the General Assembly, which met in special session in August, 1861. Bedford Brown held a seat from Caswell in both the Convention and State Senate, and for the next year his general demeanor was toward a full prosecution of the war. He served on the Conven-

[48] *Journal of the Senate . . . First Extra Session, 1861*, 57.

[49] *Journal of the Convention of the People of North Carolina, Held on the 20th Day of May, A.D. 1861*, 10-12, 17. Brown was not a candidate for election to the Convention, but his name was entered by friends as an independent. He received the highest vote of the five candidates. *The Milton Chronicle* (Milton, North Carolina), May 24, 1861.

[50] *Journal of the Convention of the People of North Carolina, Held on the 20th Day of May, A.D. 1861*, 119.

tion committees on military affairs, the Constitution, basis of representation, and legislative department, and on the Senate committee on banks and currency, of which he was still chairman, and as member of the committee on privileges and elections.

By December, 1862, the General Assembly was beginning to express resentment over some Confederate government policies. Bills were passed prohibiting shipments of certain products out of state, calling for Confederate troops to guard the Carolina coast, and supporting Governor Vance's increasing resistance to the Confederate government. Brown indicated his displeasure by voting to instruct the state's Senators to the Confederate Congress to work for the repeal of certain clauses in the military act.[51] The growing friction continued in 1863 and 1864, and in his final session in the Senate, Brown voted, in May, 1864, for resolutions protesting against "*the repeated and manifest* infractions of the Constitution," especially the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*. The General Assembly, the resolution said, "doth not consent to the sacrifice of the vital principles of free government, in a war carried on solely to secure and perpetuate them. . . ."[52]

By the spring of 1865, Bedford Brown's frequent warnings of thirty years earlier had been justified. The South lay helpless in the wake of a disastrous civil war. Unlike Edmund Ruffin who blew his brains out in an attempt to escape the folly which he had helped bring on, Bedford Brown still saw the possibility of a restoration of the Jeffersonian republic. In April, even before the surrender of all Confederate troops, Governor Vance appointed Brown, with former Governor Graham and John Gilmer, to go to Washington to confer with authorities on the policy to be pursued in regard to North Carolina. Ill health, however, forced the Caswellian to decline the appointment.[53] On August 29, President John-

[51] *Journal of the Senate . . . First Session, 1862*, 100.
[52] *Journal of the Senate . . . Adjourned Session, 1864*, 3, 44.
[53] Bedford Brown to Governor Z. B. Vance, May 2, 1865. Bedford Brown Papers, Duke University.

son signed a full pardon for the aging state rights Unionist from Rose Hill.[54]

Brown re-entered political life in 1865, and when the State Convention met on October 2, he was on hand to represent Caswell County. Four days later, he introduced the following resolution:

> *Whereas,* A diversity of opinion has existed among the citizens of the United States, as to the rightful powers of a State to secede from the Federal Union; and whereas, said question was, under the ordinances of the several States which passed them, submitted among other questions to the arbitrament of arms in the late contest between the two sections and decided adversely to said claim of power; therefore,
>
> *Be it resolved by the delegates of the people of North Carolina, in Convention assembled,* That we recognize this decision as a final and conclusive settlement of the question, that a State had no rightful power to secede from the Federal Union.[55]

The resolution was worded too bluntly for the majority of delegates and it was consequently tabled. Throughout the two sessions of the Convention in 1865-66, Brown generally supported those measures that would most quickly lead to a restoration of North Carolina's relationship to the Union, voting for the ordinance prohibiting payment of public debts incurred in prosecution of the war and for a clause outlawing imprisonment for debt.

Meanwhile, Brown entered the race for Congress from the Fifth District against Lewis Hanes. That the Caswellian ran on a Union platform is evidenced by his handwritten notes used in making the announcement in 1865. The former Senator noted that his record "extending more than thirty years back showed that [I] had been the staunch friend of the Union of the States. In a speech delivered in the Senate of the U. States on nullification I declared that a dissolution of the Union would produce military conflicts. . . ." He said

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[54] Certificate of "full pardon and amnesty for all offenses by him committed, arising from participation, direct or implied, in the said rebellion," dated August 29, 1865, signed by President Andrew Johnson, in Bedford Brown Papers, Duke University.

[55] *Journal of the Convention of the State of North-Carolina, at its Session of 1865,* 21.

ANDREW JOHNSON,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING:

Whereas, Bedford Brown, of Caswell County, North Carolina by taking part in the late rebellion against the Government of the United States, has made himself liable to heavy pains and penalties;

And whereas, the circumstances of his case render him a proper object of Executive clemency;

Now, therefore, be it known, that I, ANDREW JOHNSON, President of the United States of America, in consideration of the premises, divers other good and sufficient reasons me thereunto moving, do hereby grant to the said Bedford Brown, a full pardon and amnesty for all offences by him committed, arising from participation, direct or implied, in the said rebellion, conditioned as follows:

1st. This pardon to be of no effect until the said Bedford Brown shall take the oath prescribed in the Proclamation of the President, dated May 29th, 1865.

2d. To be void and of no effect if the said Bedford Brown shall hereafter, at any time, acquire any property whatever in slaves, or make use of slave labor.

3d. That the said Redford Brown first pay all costs which may have accrued in any proceedings instituted or pending against his person or property, before the date of the acceptance of this warrant.

4th. That the said Redford Brown shall not, by virtue of this warrant, claim any property or the proceeds of any property that has been sold by the order, judgment, or decree of a court under the confiscation laws of the United States.

5th. That the said Redford Brown shall notify the Secretary of State, in writing, that he has received and accepted the foregoing pardon.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto signed my name and caused the Seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this twenty-ninth day of August, A. D. 1865, and of the Independence of the United States the Ninetieth

By the President: Andrew Johnson

Wm. H. Seward
Secretary of State.

that when the slave question was first brought forward "by Southern agitators" in Congress, proposing to abolish the constitutional right of petition, he had resisted it, and he made reference to the part he played in bringing about the Compromise of 1850. To aid in restoring the government would be by far the happiest labor of his public life, he concluded.[56]

The Caswell candidate's strong support of Governor William W. Holden for re-election,[57] however, very likely damaged his chances in other counties of the district, and Hanes was elected by a margin of twenty-four votes.[58] Hanes' election, however, was to no avail inasmuch as Congress refused to seat the North Carolina representatives.

Early in 1867,[59] Brown was back in Washington as a member of a commission appointed by Governor Worth to confer with President Johnson about the most expedient course for North Carolina to pursue in relation to the Union.[60] While there, the Governor wrote Brown with reference to W. W. Holden, whom Worth had defeated in the gubernatorial race, saying that Holden was stirring up Negroes and looking "to the disfranchisement of the great body of the whites and the enfranchisement of *all* the Negroes, whereby the Negroes would become the dominant political power in the State." He charged that Holden was getting up petitions to ask Congress to abolish the present state government and effect a "re-organization according to the most ultra-schemes of the revolutionary Disunionists who now lead the Congress."[61] Brown, who had warmly supported Holden in the election of 1865, now broke with him and occupied a middle ground

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[56] Handwritten notes in Bedford Brown Papers, Rose Hill.

[57] Brown signed a petition in the summer of 1865 urging Holden to be a candidate for re-election. See Boyd, editor, *Memoirs of W. W. Holden*, 65. Brown's own Locust Hill precinct cast the following vote for Governor on November 9, 1865: Holden 65, Jonathan Worth 4, Calvin Graves (Brown's neighbor) 2, Bedford Brown 1. The original vote tabulation, with list of voters, is in Bedford Brown Papers, Rose Hill.

[58] Governor Jonathan Worth to Bedford Brown, February 5, 1866. J. G. de R. Hamilton, editor, *Correspondence of Jonathan Worth* (Raleigh, 1909, 2 vols.) I, 492-493. Hereafter cited as Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*.

[59] In 1866, Bedford Brown stood aside and allowed his son, Livingston, to be elected to the State Senate from Caswell.

[60] Governor Jonathan Worth to Bedford Brown and J. M. Leach, January 9, 1867. Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, II, 864.

[61] Governor Jonathan Worth to Bedford Brown and others, January 12, 1867. Hamilton, *Jonathan Worth*, II, 865.

between the Radical Republicans, whom Holden had joined, and the extreme Conservatives, who Brown thought would provoke harsher measures from Congress.

The Democratic Party again called upon Bedford Brown to be a delegate to its national convention in 1868. Former Governor Thomas Bragg, chairman of the state executive committee, wrote that he was recommending Brown to membership on the national executive committee, saying that the "Northern mind is yet sensitive on the subject of the men who are to represent the South . . . . I can think of no one in North Carolina who can fill the position so acceptably & usefully as yourself. . . ."[62]

Just prior to leaving for New York, the aging North Carolinian wrote his kinsman, Weldon Edwards,

> I have participated so often in such assemblages, heretofore, and feeling sensibly the advances of age, that I feel little inclination, to forego the quiet of retirement although, I know that my old Van Buren friends—many of whom yet survive—would give me a cordial welcome. I have never ceased my attachment to my old friend Mr. Van Buren, notwithstanding his lapses, occasioned probably by the ungrateful treatment, of the Southern States, or at least most of them in the convention of '44. I regard his administration as nearer to the old republican standard, than any since Mr. Madison's and himself the ablest of our presidents, since Mr. Madison, besides he represented a party in the North which combined more in numbers, talent and wealth than any other that ever existed there. It was an unfortunate day, for the South when she repelled such allies.[63]

In spite of his reluctance, however, Brown attended the Convention and served again as vice-president for North Carolina. The state delegation supported Andrew Johnson for two ballots, but seeing his chances of nomination nil, played the field, switching from one candidate to another in an attempt to find a winner. On the fourth ballot, however, the North Carolina delegation caused an enthusiastic tumult by casting their nine votes for the President of the Convention, Horatio Seymour of New York, whose name was not in

[62] Thomas Bragg to Bedford Brown, May 4, 1868. Bedford Brown Papers, Rose Hill.

[63] Bedford Brown to Weldon N. Edwards, May 25, 1868. Weldon N. Edwards Papers, Duke University.

nomination. Seymour rose to express his surprise and made his classic "but your candidate I cannot be" statement.[64] It was not until the twenty-second ballot that Seymour's name was again entered, and on that ballot he was unanimously nominated to end the Pendleton-Hancock-Hendricks stalemate.

The old Unionist was a tired man. Even before the trip to New York, he had written Weldon Edwards that they both were "treading rapidly . . . in the path of time. A few more days and I shall number seventy-three years, if I live." Then, obviously weary of the times, he continued,

> We have both mixed largely, in the busy scenes of this extraordinary age, numbering among our friends, many of the most illustrious men of the times. Alas! most of them are gone and as a people, we may say, "tempora mutantur, et mutamur cummilis." Men are not what they were. Statesmen and men of great purity and intellect were in the ascendant then. Demagogues and intellectual pigmies have taken their place. The indications too plainly, as a consequence, point to a future of anarchy and national degradation.
>
> I enjoy reasonable health, though often depressed from family afflictions of the last few years together with the sad condition of our most unfortunate country.[65]

But there was fight still left in the old patriot. The Radicals in Congress had overruled the healing policies of the North Carolina native who sat in the White House. Congressional "Reconstruction" was forcing respectable men from public life and the ballot boxes were being stuffed with votes for opportunists and invading carpetbaggers. This was no time to quit.

So, in 1868, for the seventh time Bedford Brown was elected to the State Senate, defeating "Scalawag" John W. Stephens. The Senate, however, controlled by Radicals, refused to seat Brown pending an investigation of "fraud" in the campaign. The controversy dragged on for seven weeks

[64] *Official Proceedings of the National Democratic Convention, Held at New York, July 4-9, 1868*, 83.

[65] Bedford Brown to Weldon N. Edwards, May 25, 1868. Weldon N. Edwards Papers, Duke University.

before the Senate suddenly discovered that "Honorable Bedford Brown, Senator elect from the 24th District, is banned by the Constitutional Amendment, [and] he is not entitled to his seat." [66] Brown's pardon from President Johnson did not impress the Radicals. On November 17, 1868, Stephens took his seat in the Senate. Eighteen months later, "Chicken" Stephens was found dead in the Caswell County Courthouse, his reward from his neighbors who had watched him rise from a chicken thief to a leading figure in the Radical forces of North Carolina. The "Kirk-Holden War" was a result.

Brown's senate race in 1868 was his last recorded participation in public life. His loyalty to the Union did not prevent him from being banned from office. His native county was occupied in 1870 by alien troops under General Kirk. Even the ancient privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended. Brown's son, Livingston, had been defeated in his race for the State Senate because of "coercion by military force." [67]

Even death was not kind to the old Unionist. On December 5, 1870, he returned from a trip, ate supper, and retired early. During the night, his final battle was fought, "unknown to his household, until he was found struggling in the last agonies of death." [68]

Today, only some of Mary Glenn Brown's box trees mark the grave of her husband at Rose Hill. He has no monument.

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[66] *Journal of the Senate . . . 1868*, 125.

[67] T. J. Foster to Livingston Brown, October 8, 1870. Bedford Brown Papers, Rose Hill. There are at least three accounts of the murder of "Chicken" Stephens, all biased. A vehemently pro-Stephens view is Luther M. Carlton, "Assassination of John Walter Stephens," in *Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society*, Series 2 (Durham, 1898), 12. The contemporary pro-Democratic account is A. J. Stedman, *Murder & Mystery: History of the Life and Death of John W. Stephens, State Senator of North Carolina, from Caswell County* (Greensboro, 1870). The most recent view is given in Manly Wade Wellman, *Dead and Gone: Classic Crimes of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1954), 137-154, a popularized account but which has the advantage of a long-secret account made available upon the death of one of the participants. It was from the courthouse where Bedford Brown was speaking before a conservative party convention that Stephens walked down the stairway to his death.

[68] [Laura Brown Gaulden] to [Livingston Brown], December 14, 1870. Bedford Brown Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

He has no biography.[69] Textbooks overlook him. Professional Southerners ignore him.

But if a member of the University of North Carolina student body of 1839 was present at Bedford Brown's funeral on December 7, 1870, it is possible that he remembered through the haze of war and defeat the admonition that the Senator, in better days, had given him:

> Carry, . . . Gentlemen, with you, no matter in what pursuit you may engage and no matter in what sphere you are destined to move; whether in that of public or private life, a sacred regard and reverence for the Union of our glorious confederacy; value it as the palladium of our liberties, and remember that in its fate is involved the greatest happiness of man, the noblest hopes of civilization, and the brightest prospects of moral and intellectual improvement.[70]

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[69] There are no good biographical sketches of Senator Brown. The best account by a contemporary, though containing inaccuracies, is found in David Schenck, *Personal Sketches of Distinguished Delegates to the State Convention 1861-2, North Carolina* (Greensboro, 1885), 19-21. A brief account may be found in John H. Wheeler, *Reminiscences and Memoirs of North Carolina and Eminent North Carolinians* (Columbus, 1884), 109. Dr. C. C. Pearson's account in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1929, 20 vols.), III, 104, has several errors, as does the sketch in Samuel A. Ashe, *Biographical History of North Carolina* (Greensboro, 1905, 8 vols.), I, 181, and *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* . . . (New York, 1892-1951, 37 vols.), IX, 458. Even a sketch written from memory by Dr. Bedford Brown, the Senator's son, in John G. McCormick, *Personnel of the Convention of 1861* in *James Sprunt Historical Monographs*, No. 1 (Chapel Hill, 1900), 22, contains several important errors. See also *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774-1949* (Washington, 1950), 160. The bulk of Senator Brown's extant correspondence is in the Southern Historical Collection, at Duke University, and at Rose Hill.

[70] Bedford Brown, *An Address Delivered Before the Two Literary Societies of the University of North Carolina . . . June 1839 . . .* (Raleigh, 1839), 39.

NORTH CAROLINA AND THE BRITISH INVESTOR, 1880-1910

By ALFRED P. TISCHENDORF

The last two decades of the nineteenth century witnessed an intense interest in the United States by British investors.[1] Although the greatest amount of British capital flowed toward the bonanza mining areas of the West, considerable sums were invested in companies organized to work in the southern states. Between 1880 and 1900 at least 23 Limited companies were incorporated in London to develop mines and land in North Carolina.[2] Members of Parliament, titled gentry, and high ranking military officers accepted directorships in many of the enterprises. Leading trade journals printed reports of company meetings and sought to interest the public in North Carolina ventures. With few exceptions the companies returned little or no profit to investors. Lack of capital, the disadvantage of long distance management from London, and difficulty in extracting gold from low grade ore eventually brought most of the companies to collapse. By late 1910, 22 had either been dissolved, closed voluntarily, or had their property seized by creditors.[3]

Seven companies hardly did more than incorporate and issue Articles of Association before disbanding. The Keystone Gold Mining Company was registered on May 5, 1881,

[1] In 1881, for example, 18 British mining companies were registered to work in the United States; 61 in 1888; 43 in 1896, *Mining Journal,* LII (January 7, 1882), 2; *Mining Journal,* LIX (January 5, 1889), 26; *Mining Journal,* LXVII (January 9, 1897), 43. All of the trade journals mentioned are to be found in the British Museum, London, England or in the Colindale Newspaper Library, a branch of the British Museum.

[2] Records of Limited companies that concluded business activities before 1917 have recently been transferred from the Company Registration Office in Bush House, London, England, to the Public Record Office where they may be inspected. Each concern is given a number on the date of incorporation and must be ordered by that number. Files include contracts, lists of shareholders, and summaries of capital and shares. Information regarding development or final disposition of property is seldom included. Hereafter file numbers will be used in the footnotes to designate the companies.

[3] Records of the Howie Gold Mines, which remained on the Register after 1910, may be examined by applying to Bush House, W.C.2. (File No. 46959) A list of other British Limited companies organized to work in North Carolina between 1880 and 1910 is found at the conclusion of this article.

to purchase mining property in Randolph County.[4] No summary of capital and shares was issued and the enterprise was dissolved by the Registrar of Public Companies. Stafford Ltd. organized in 1887 to buy 100 acres from H. B. Tilden of Randolph County for £240,000 in fully-paid company shares but decided to windup in 1889 after releasing one report.[5] Twenty thousand shares were held by 71 investors in the Troy Gold Mines, incorporated in 1887 to acquire land in Montgomery County.[6] On November 12, 1889, the board of directors, headed by Colonel Sir Walter Barttelot-Barttelot, Bart., C.B., M.P., decided to windup voluntarily. Apparently no work was ever done on the property. Two companies with the same name, the North Carolina Syndicate, probably planned operations in the state. But neither carried on any business and were quickly removed from the list of "live" companies.[7] A contract to purchase land in Burke County was signed by the North Carolina Estate Company in 1886. The agreement was never fully carried out and a court order finally ended company plans on July 28, 1888.[8] The property, known as the "South Mountain Lands,' was acquired by the South Burke Estate Company in May, 1892.[9] Thirty-one shareholders held the entire share capital. On May 26, 1898, the company decided liabilities made it impossible to continue.

In January, 1881, the Hoover Hill Gold Mining Company purchased 283 acres in Tabernacle Township, Randolph County, from Alphonza Tilden and two others for £70,000, partly in cash and the remainder in fully-paid shares in the company.[10] George Hopkins, a London civil engineer who at one time presided over 16 British overseas mining companies, was chairman of the board.[11] His associates included a sprinkling of peers and military men. In six months 100,000 shares had been issued and £76,702 paid in by over 900 share-

[4] File No. 15316, Public Record Office.
[5] File No. 24429, Public Record Office.
[6] File No. 26140, Public Record Office.
[7] Files No. 40909 and 61110, Public Record Office.
[8] File No. 22668, Public Record Office.
[9] File No. 34105, Public Record Office.
[10] File No. 14683, Public Record Office.
[11] *Directory of Directors*, 1891, 297.

holders. Development work on the property began immediately. In December a dissatisfied investor complained of the inadequacy of machines being erected at the mines.[12] The company management was denounced in scathing terms:

> Companies, I fear, are not always formed for the advantage of the shareholders; all they have to do is to furnish the capital necessary to create incomes for pennyless baronets, half-pay captains, and decrepit colonels, all of whom know as much about mining as the man in the moon.[13]

For a time reports from the mine were promising. When the company decided to transfer its capital assets and property to a new concern in 1884, shareholders were given a refund of 2s.6d. each, directors believing that sufficient money was available to make the mine pay.[14] Gold worth £15,071 was found during the year ending in September, 1885 and a dividend of 10 per cent was declared. But the mine had passed its peak and directors were soon forced to ask investors to return part of the refunded money. Despite a slight revival in 1889 there was a loss of £2,805 at the end of 1891.[15] In early 1896 shareholders decided to reconstruct and form the Grierson's Gold Mines.[16] Property in western Australia was purchased and by 1898 the mine in North Carolina had been relinquished.

Shareholders in the Gold Hill Mines Company were told by directors that more than £600,000 worth of gold had been taken out of mines on their property since they were discovered in 1842.[17] The company held 500 acres near Salisbury as the result of an agreement of February 23, 1881, with M. L. and R. J. Holmes of that city.[18] The purchase price was £90,000, mostly in company shares. There were about 170 shareholders but more than half the shares were held by Thomas Foakes, a Surrey barrister, and by the Mines Invest-

[12] *Mining Journal*, LI (December 31, 1881), 1616.
[13] *Mining Journal*, LI (December 31, 1881), 1616.
[14] *Mining World*, XXXII (January 1, 1887), 21-22.
[15] *Mining Manual*, 1892.
[16] File No. 46887, Public Record Office.
[17] *Mining World*, XXXII (April 9, 1887), 428.
[18] File No. 15296, Public Record Office.

ment Association of London. Crushing operations began at the mine in the summer of 1883 and a year later the company was reconstructed to get more working capital. In 1887, after spending £10,000 on the mine, the Gold Hill company still needed a further £11,000 to continue exploring and pay its debts.[19] The authorized capital was increased and the company again reconstructed. While directors hunted vainly for methods to work the low grade deposits Gold Hill shares plummeted to 6d. or 1s. for 18s. shares.[20] Directors decided against a further outlay of capital and the property was sold.

The activities of the Hoover Hill and Gold Hill ventures attracted attention in London investment circles. Various technical articles on mineral deposits in North Carolina were published.[21] A letter signed "Gold" said:

> The State of North Carolina apparently presents many opportunities, not only for successful gold mining, but for the profitable employment of capital in the utilization of its large tracts of wonderously productive soil, its immense forests of excellent timber, and the development of its mineral resources, which are of a vast extent and almost infinite variety.[22]

The *Mining World* quoted articles from the *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury, North Carolina) and *Carolina Herald.*[23]

The Russell Gold Mining Company purchased 455 acres in Montgomery County from Henry McCoy of Baltimore in 1884.[24] The price—£280,000—was all in fully-paid company shares. Twenty thousand shares were then offered to the public and quickly subscribed. Merchants, surveyors, bullion brokers, advertising agents, and architects were among the 196 shareholders listed in the annual report for 1896. The company's capital was quickly exhausted when ore on the property proved to contain fine gold that required large stamping power and excellent treatment.[25] Only the generosity of one of the directors saved the undertaking until it was

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[19] *Mining World,* XXXII (March 19, 1887), 339.
[20] *Mining World,* XXXVIII (April 19, 1890), 608.
[21] *Mining Journal,* LII (July 14, 1883), 824.
[22] *Mining Journal,* LII (July 14, 1883), 881.
[23] *Mining World,* XXXIII (July 2, 1887), 14-15.
[24] File No. 20373, Public Record Office.
[25] *Mining Record,* I (October 12, 1889), 2.

reconstructed in 1887. Interest on mortgage debentures was soon in arrears and appeals to directors and debenture holders for more money failed. The company's land was seized by creditors in North Carolina and sold.[26]

Henry McCoy was also the vendor in an agreement of August 6, 1886 that conveyed 60 acres near Lexington, Montgomery County to the Appalachian Company.[27] Incorporated in 1885 with an authorized capital of £300,000, the enterprise issued only £7 in shares to the public. Gold on the property was covered with a slime that prevented successful amalgamation. The chairman of the board, the Earl of Gosford, decided to liquidate the company in April, 1889.

Shareholders in the Stanly Freehold Gold Mines were told by directors after the company's incorporation in 1887 that 12 months was needed to bring their property of about 820 acres in Stanly County to its full dividend power of 35 per cent a year.[28] The vendor's guarantee of a 15 per cent dividend was paid the first year but it was the last nearly 500 shareholders enjoyed. On February 24, 1890, the enterprise decided to close and organize the Parker Gold Mines in an attempt to raise more capital. The company's failure was only postponed. Ten shilling shares sold for 2s. and another reconstruction tried to pump life into the venture. The new concern, the London Estates Company, bought 1,000 acres near New London, Stanly County, and gave its attention to the development of town lots.[29] The *Stock Exchange Year-Book* for 1897 listed the company as being "in liquidation."

The Hambley Freehold and Sam Christian Gold Hydraulic mining companies owned adjoining property of about 2,500 acres in Montgomery County.[30] Three Londoners held directorships in both concerns and Egbert Hambley was mining engineer for each of the companies. Investors in the Hambley company were elated in October, 1889, when gold was discovered at 60 feet. Work was stopped the following

[26] File No. 32459, Public Record Office.
[27] File No. 21419, Public Record Office.
[28] *Mining World*, XXXII (May 21, 1887), 627; File No. 24424, Public Record Office.
[29] File No. 38056, Public Record Office.
[30] Files No. 28108 and 24942, Public Record Office.

April, however, when directors decided there was little prospect of further success. A geologist examined the property and shareholders were advised to sell.

The Sam Christian company was in trouble from the beginning. The soil was found to be too hard for the type of mining planned by directors.[31] Quartz mining was attempted but investors were reluctant to subscribe more capital. At a meeting on November 19, 1890, there was no second to a motion to raise £5,000 by issuing debentures. The company limped on until August 30, 1892, when it was decided to sell the property and dissolve.

Company files unfortunately lack information regarding conditions on property owned by Britishers in North Carolina. The London *Mining World* for December 21, 1889, noted that skilled mill hands at the New Hoover mine received $1.75 a day although much of the labor was paid less than $1. About 50 men worked at the mine under an Englishman, Captain Parkin.[32]

It is difficult to measure the exact amount of British capital in North Carolina enterprises. Many shares were issued fully-paid to vendors or to shareholders when the companies reconstructed. Although the 23 companies had an authorized capital of £3.4 million, much less than this was ever subscribed. Reports prepared by company secretaries each year show that about £330,602 was actually paid in cash for shares in the companies. The Hoover Hill and Stanly Freehold received the largest amounts, £76,702 and £68,271. Bills for machinery, wages, and other expenses were occasionally paid by directors from their own pockets but this is difficult to measure. A number of concerns issued mortgage debentures but available records contain only scanty statistics.

It is certain that few shareholders profited from their holdings. Only two companies, the Hoover Hill and Stanly Freehold, paid dividends and each of these for only one year. Whether more capital or better management would have propelled some of the companies into the dividend list is a

[31] *Mining Record*, I (October 12, 1889), 2.
[32] *Mining World*, XXXII (March 12, 1887), 315 (January 1, 1887), 21-22.

matter for speculation. By the turn of the century the British "boom" in North Carolina had almost run its course.

BRITISH ENTERPRISE IN NORTH CAROLINA

1880-1910

Name	*Authorized capital (£)**	*Registered*
Hoover Hill Gold Mining Company	120,000	January 5, 1881
Gold Hill Mines	40,000	April 30, 1881
Keystone Gold Mining Company	125,000	May 5, 1881
Russell Gold Mining Company	300,000	October 18, 1884
New Hoover Hill Gold Mining Company	60,000	October 23, 1884
Appalachian Company	300,000	July 24, 1885
North Carolina Estate Company	165,000	May 22, 1886
Gold Hill Mining Company	300,000	December 18, 1886
Stanly Freehold Gold Mines	90,000	May 13, 1887
Stafford	60,000	May 14, 1887
Sam Christian Gold Hydraulic	200,000	August 22, 1887
New Russell Gold Mining Company	300,000	November 22, 1887
Troy Gold Mine	20,000	March 23, 1888
New Gold Hill Mining Company	350,000	April 9, 1888
Hambley Freehold Gold Mine	72,500	January 25, 1889
Parker Gold Mines	150,000	April 19, 1890
New Russell Gold Mining	50,000	September 26, 1890
South Burke Estate Company	35,000	May 29, 1891
New London Estates Company	75,000	January 26, 1893
North Carolina Syndicate	20,000	April 11, 1894
Grierson's Gold Mines	100,000	February 18, 1896
North Carolina Syndicate	1,200	March 15, 1899

* The pound sterling may be calculated as equal to $5.

THE INFLUENCE OF JOSEPH RUGGLES WILSON ON HIS SON WOODROW WILSON*

By GEORGE C. OSBORN

Seldom has there been found in history such comradeship as existed between Joseph Ruggles Wilson and his famous son, Thomas Woodrow Wilson. Not only was the elder Wilson an unusual counselor to his intellectually inclined son but the father was his son's most intimate companion and his most generous critic. A man of uncanny abilities himself, the father came to recognize in his son capacities which he could see in no other person. After a long fruitful life as a Presbyterian minister, the superannuated clergyman spent the last days of his life in the home of his son who was widely known as an educator. While a member of this son's household the father died and the son penned the inscription for the tombstone which marks the father's final resting place.[1] Repeatedly, the son, as he grew in the esteem of an increasing number of his countrymen, declared publicly that for his unusual attainments he owed credit most of all to his father. This declaration has been discussed by Wilson's biographers but perhaps it deserves a fuller explanation.

Joseph Ruggles Wilson, born February 28, 1822, was the youngest of seven sons of James and Anne Wilson. Recently removed from western Pennsylvania, these young parents were living at Steubenville, Ohio where the husband was engaged in newspaper work, in politics, and in business ventures. In an atmosphere of intellectual work, of political intrigue and restless energy, Joseph grew into young manhood. Possessed of a retentive mind, a handsome physique and a ready word, this lad was favored among his many brothers and his three sisters. In 1840, Joseph entered Jefferson Col-

* The author wishes to express appreciation to the University of Florida for a grant from its Research Fund which made the research for this article possible.

[1] See Ray S. Baker, *Woodrow Wilson, Life and Letters*, 8 vols. (New York, 1927-1939), I, 72, for this inscription. Hereafter cited as Baker, *Woodrow Wilson.*

lege at Canonville, Pennsylvania from which institution, four years later, he graduated as valedictorian of his class. After a brief tenure as a teacher, Joseph entered the ministry. In further preparation for a career as a clergyman, he attended Princeton College, where in 1846 he was awarded a B.D. Degree. Although licensed to preach in 1847, Joseph returned to his home town as a teacher in the Steubenville Male Academy. Shortly thereafter he met Janet (Jessie) Woodrow, a student in the nearby Steubenville Female Seminary, whose father, Thomas Woodrow, was minister of the First Presbyterian Church at Chillicothe, Ohio.[2] Two years later, 1849, the young people were married. Both families, the Wilsons and the Woodrows, were middle class intelligensia folk. Frequently, the men were clergymen and (or) teachers; the ladies as well as the men were widely read.[3]

After his ordination, the Reverend Joseph R. Wilson found a small church in the Quaker State to serve while he continued teaching at his alma mater, Jefferson College. The Wilsons later crossed the Mason-Dixon line into Virginia, where the Reverend Wilson taught at Hampden-Sydney College. In 1855, Dr. Wilson became pastor of the First Presbyterian Church at Staunton and, with his wife and their two daughters, Marion and Anne, moved there. In the Presbyterian Manse at Staunton on December 28, 1856, Thomas Woodrow Wilson, named for his maternal grandfather, was born.

The father was "very proud of his fine little son." Neighbors saw the infant and pronounced him a *beautiful* baby and his mother testified that he was as "little trouble as it is possible for a baby to be." [4] With his family growing, the father was perhaps more restless than ever to push up the ladder of

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[2] Thomas Woodrow, in 1836, had arrived in America after a most perilous voyage. Thomas Woodrow to Robert Williamson, February 23, 1836. Copy in the Ray Stannard Baker Papers in Library of Congress. Hereafter cited as the Baker Papers.

[3] For a scholarly discussion of Wilson's ancestors see Francis P. Weisenburger, "The Middle Western Antecedents of Woodrow Wilson," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXIII (June, 1936-March, 1937), 375-390.

[4] Mrs. Joseph R. Wilson to Thomas Woodrow, April 27, 1857 in the Woodrow Wilson Papers in the Library of Congress. Hereafter cited as Wilson Papers.

success in his chosen profession. Anyway, within a year of his first son's birth he moved again; this time to Augusta, Georgia, where he accepted the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church.

Here on the banks, near the muddy waters of the Savannah River, there began an intimate companionship between the Reverend Wilson and his son. As recalled by Tommy years later, his earliest recollection was of standing by the gateway to the Presbyterian Manse in Augusta, hearing people talk excitedly of Lincoln's election, and rushing to his father for an explanation.[5] If the four year old son attended his father's church, the lad heard the pastor preach on "the dangers which beset our country and the duties of the Christian in this emergency."[6] In neither case would the child have understood much of what his minister father might have said in conversation or from the pulpit.

But the father knew how to win the friendship of his son and this he did. Together they played games of tag about the roomy yard amid the overhanging branches of the trees and the flowering shrubbery. When short of breath or fatigued by physical exertion, they returned to the Manse where a game of chess or a contest at billiards was begun. Never a match for his father in chess, Tommy occasionally bested him at billiards.

By no means were all the hours that the father spent with his son, and they were many, spent in fun and frivolity. Many were the times that the minister father read aloud to his children. Born with impaired eyesight and supplemented by a natural laziness, Tommy did not learn to read until after his eleventh birthday.[7] Frequently his father, though usually quite busy, found time in which to retire to his study to read to members of his family. Books of a factual nature, especially biography, novels by Dickens or Scott, and poetry, were

[5] Ray S. Baker and William E. Dodd, eds., *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 6 vols. (New York, 1925-1927), II, 83. This statement was made by Wilson in an address on "Abraham Lincoln: a Man of the People," February 12, 1909. In Dr. Wilson's church the wealthiest congregation in Augusta worshipped. See Harold G. Black, *The True Woodrow Wilson, Crusader for Democracy* (New York, 1946), 16.

[6] *Chronicle and Sentinel* (Augusta, Georgia), November 4, 1860.

[7] Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 36.

heard by the Wilson children as their father reclined on the floor with his head on the back of an upturned chair. Possessing a fine, resonant bass voice, the minister would intone the passages of his readings to suit his interpretation of the characters or his narration of the scenes described. As he lay stretched out on the floor near his father, Tommy Wilson was not only informed by what he heard read but he was impressed by the vocal interpretation of his parent's reading. The sound of words, the flow of language, his father's oratory, were stamped indelibly upon Tommy's youthful memory.

From time to time during the week, Parson Wilson dressed as befitted his profession and visited his parishioners at their various places of business—in the stores or offices, at their tasks in the cotton gins or in the corn mills. Tommy frequently accompanied his father. Once the visiting was over and these two were back in the Manse, Tommy was invited to relate to other members of the family his experiences of the morning or the afternoon as his father listened attentively. If Tommy expressed himself in incorrect English, the father would call his son's attention to the error and have him make the proper correction. If the lad uttered a vague or an indefinite sentence, he was asked what he meant by the statement. When the child, now more meditatively, explained precisely what he meant, the father would express approval.

Years later, when a grown man, Wilson recalled these experiences: "When I was a boy," he stated, "my father would not permit me to blurt things out or stammer a half-way job of telling whatever I had to tell. If I became excited in explaining some boyish activity, he always said, 'Steady now, Thomas; wait a minute. Think! Think what it is you wish to say, and then choose your words to say it.' As a young boy . . . at the age of four or five, I was taught to think about what I was going to say, and then I was required to say it correctly. Before I was grown, it became a habit." [8]

In attendance every Sunday at his father's church, Tommy heard sermons regularly which were of lasting influence. Ac-

[8] David Lawrence, *The True Story of Woodrow Wilson* (New York, 1924), 18.

cording to the Augusta papers, the *Chronicle and Sentinel* and the *Daily Constitutionalist*,[9] Dr. Wilson's sermons were orthodox, fundamental theology. The reality of God and the existence of sin became, early in his life, part of Tommy's thoughts and of his unyielding faith. Of his father's eloquence in the pulpit Tommy in early manhood wrote: "I wish that I could believe that I inherited that rarest gift of making great truths attractive in the telling and of inspiring with great purposes by sheer force of eloquence or by gentle stress of persuasion."[10] The acceptance by Tommy of his father's faith was complete and the striving for his father's eloquence was never relinquished.

A phase of the early relationship between Tommy and his father came out of the troublous womb of war. The Southern Presbyterian Church was organized in the Wilson home in 1861. Dr. Wilson in sentiment was definitely pro-Southern and aided in numerous ways the cause of the South. Tommy Wilson saw the sufferings of war, experienced some of the inconveniences of war and must have listened to his father often discuss from the pulpit, in the homes of his parishioners, and among the members of his own family, not only the cruelties of war but also the righteousness of the Southern cause. Certainly Tommy, throughout his illustrious life, was greatly influenced by this definite Southern atmosphere.

As the War Between the States came to a close in April, 1865, schools throughout the South were reopened. Arrangements were made by Dr. Wilson for Tommy to attend a private school operated by Joseph T. Derry.[11] Tommy not only learned to read tardily but his school work was much below the average. With no enthusiasm and with little interest in his studies, Tommy's poor grades and his indifferent, lazy temperament must have caused his father much worry.

An early and continued deep interest in the education of young people prompted Dr. Wilson to accept a call to teach in the Columbia Theological Seminary at Columbia, South

[9] See files (incomplete) of these newspapers for the years 1858-1872 in the Library of Congress.
[10] Woodrow Wilson to Ellen Axson, October 23, 1883, quoted in Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 46.
[11] Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 42.

Carolina. Thence the family moved late in 1870, as Tommy, fourteen years of age, entered adolescence. Shy, queer, not very sociable among boys or girls, frequently seen strolling alone along paths or just sitting in a slouchy position, Tommy continued his formal education in another private school, similar to the one he had attended in Augusta. In this school, kept by Charles H. Barnwell,[12] Tommy was anything but brilliant in his classes. With increasingly grave concern, the boy's father pressed his efforts to create and, if possible, to cultivate an affinity for the better things of the mind. These endeavors of Dr. Wilson for his son's mental development are seen in a three-fold program. First, the habit of reading aloud passages from the best literary authors, begun earlier, was continued with a wider sampling of writing. Essays of Charles Lamb and speeches of Daniel Webster were read. Frequently, the reading was followed by thoughtful efforts to improve the expression or to reduce to fewer words a selection without robbing the passage either of ideas or of eloquence.

Second, from Sunday to Sunday Tommy found his pew in his father's church, for the pulpit of the First Presbyterian Church had been offered Dr. Wilson soon after he went to Columbia. He heard the rhetorical sermons which were listened to with profound interest and rapt attention. The minister's sermons, according to the Columbia *Daily Union*,[13] were uniformly able and interesting, full of fresh and vigorous thought, showed profound erudition and careful preparation. There were times, stated this paper, when Dr. Wilson rose above the plane of his ordinary preaching and spoke with an authority and a power above and beyond himself. These inspired efforts were conditioned on the speaker's belief that he had discovered some Divine truth which had eluded the grasp of others but the knowledge and utilization of which truth was essential to the harmonious existence and to the supreme happiness of mankind. Such ideas, concluded the reporter, Erastus W. Everson, "may strike some as novel and

[12] Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 42.

[13] See *Daily Union* (Columbia, South Carolina), May 13, September 30, October 28, December 23, 1872; January 20, March 10, 17, 28, April 21, 1873, etc. for discussions of Dr. Wilson's sermons.

speculative."[14] What more accurate reporting could be made of Woodrow Wilson's approach, as revealed in his speeches, to the problems and issues which, a generation later, as President of Princeton, as Governor of New Jersey, and as President of these United States, confronted him! Dr. Wilson, the best teacher Tommy ever had, was more successful in molding his son's mind than he realized.

Third, Tommy frequently accompanied his father to the classroom. Here, with much older students, he gave attention to lectures on theology and literature. His father, recalled the son years later, occasionally paused in a lecture to seek the exact word with which to express the idea he wished to convey. The adolescent youth sometimes tried mentally to supply the word but rarely found the inevitable word as swiftly as did his father.[15]

Although the Wilsons lived in Columbia only about four years, this brief period was one in which the father's influence on his first son was great. Other incidents illustrative of the intimate relations between father and son were found in Tommy's joining in July 1873, his father's church, and the son's subsequent departure for a college of his father's choice. Dr. Wilson was soon to be a trustee of Davidson College, located some twenty miles north of Charlotte, North Carolina, and there Tommy went in the fall of 1873. The impact of the father's personality on his son was not perhaps as complete as the elder thought, as evidenced by the fact that Dr. Wilson firmly believed that he had prevailed upon his son, now about seventeen years of age, to begin preparing himself for a career in the ministry.[16] If Tommy Wilson ever had any serious thoughts about becoming a clergyman, he kept them entirely to himself.

Never possessed of a strong physical constitution, Tommy returned to Columbia in June, 1874, at the close of his first year at Davidson, near a physical breakdown. This was his first time to remain, for several months, away from home, and Tommy apparently did not like it. Anyway, he prevailed

[14] This quotation is from the *Daily Union* (Columbia, South Carolina), May 13, 1872, but similar thoughts were expressed repeatedly in this paper.
[15] Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 64.
[16] Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 71-72.

upon his father to permit him to remain under the family roof for the next fifteen months. During this interim Tommy again attended some of his father's lectures at the seminary; he was seen regularly at the services in the First Presbyterian Church. In the home he read what books he could find, listened to his father as he practiced his habit of reading aloud to the family. There were four children now. Joseph Ruggles, junior, had joined the family circle approximately ten years after Tommy's birth.

In the autumn of 1874 the Wilson family moved again, as was their custom, this time to Wilmington, North Carolina. Near this coastal city, Tommy saw for the first time in his life of nearly eighteen years, the white-capped waves as they beat endlessly against the sandy shore. He witnessed the rhythmic rise and fall of the timeless tide, and at the docks watched the crewmen as they loaded and unloaded cargoes of ships which across the seven seas plied the channels of world trade. He, in company with a chum, boarded and explored from stem to stern, a vessel as it lay docked at Wilmington. Tommy was infatuated with the ocean and immediately decided to run away to sea. Had it not been for his mother, to whom he confided his secret, Tommy at eighteen years of age would have joined the crew of a commercial vessel.[17] The decision to leave his parental home may have been influenced in part by the pressure which his father was beginning to exert on Tommy, who seemed entirely too indifferent about continuing his formal education.

Having made the decision to remain at home and get more formal education, Tommy was destined for Princeton College, where his father had received his B.D. degree. In September 1875, Tommy Wilson, a tall, angular youth almost nineteen years of age, arrived on the Princeton campus. Devoid of an overcoat, possessed of a badly worn black valise, which for years had served his father, this adopted North Carolinian was awkward of movement and shy with strangers. With timidity, Tommy entered President James McCosh's office, holding firmly a letter of introduction to the

[17] Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 60-61.

president from a friend, Dr. Wilson.[18] At Princeton Tommy found himself intellectually, as his father before him had realized his intellectual talents while at Old Nassau. Here this youth was to begin his career as an embryonic creative writer, and was to form a few intimate friendships which would last until his death a half century later. Here as teacher and later as administrator Wilson would pass the longest span of his adult life and here he would be elected Governor of New Jersey. Had a soothsayer in September, 1875, expressed such an opinion, the prophecy would have been branded as ridiculous and beyond the possibility of fulfillment.

Tommy soon adjusted himself to his new environment. He entered wholeheartedly into the religious life of the campus, singing tenor in the glee club. He joined the Whig Literary Society and became one of its best leaders. He was a regular attendant at the tables in the library, which were well supplied with current magazines, and a frequent visitor to the library stacks where he was observed browsing as he selected books to check out for reading in his room.

As a Princeton student, Tommy became editor of the college paper, wrote his first literary essay, won acclaim as a participant in his literary society debates, gained recognition for his religious leadership and trained his gifted singing voice. All of these evidences of his son's abilities and of his development brought joy to his father. During the four years that Tommy was enrolled at Princeton he did not, however, for a single semester make the honor roll or the dean's list. Moreover, since this semi-annual list of honor men included from fifteen to twenty per cent of Tommy's classmates, it was not an extremely selective group.[19] Certainly, this fact must have caused anxiety to Dr. Wilson.

In the summer between the regular academic sessions at Princeton, Tommy rushed home to his family in Wilmington. Now on Sundays the son found a place in the choir of his father's church, and regularly attended gatherings of the

[18] Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 84.

[19] See the Baker Papers, as well as the Wilson Papers, for lists of honor men during the eight semesters, 1875-1879, that Wilson attended Princeton.

Presbyterian young people. When an occasional afternoon picnic or a nocturnal hay ride was held for these boys and girls, Tommy Wilson was one of the group. For the first time in his life, this stripling paid his attentions to several girls. Although Tommy carried on a stilted correspondence with one girl for a short time, there was no love affair.

In the Manse, discussion between Dr. Wilson and his son of literary books and their authors, of orators and their orations, of poetry and its writers, and of the impact of science on theology continued. Gone were the days when the father read aloud to Tommy page after page from some book of prose or the stanzas of some poem. Now, these often repeated father-son conferences were more of a give and take affair as Tommy began to measure intellectual lances with his opinionated father.

The Wilson family formed the habit of going into the mountains of western North Carolina or western Virginia for a vacation of rest and recreation. On these annual treks a few books were included in the family luggage. Interspersed with late morning breakfasts, hikes into the nearby mountains where the fresh air was alive with the songs of birds and sweetened with the perfumes of wild flowers, and lazily indulged afternoon siestas, there were intimate chats between Tommy Wilson and his father. Amid the grandeur of nature Dr. Wilson spoke again of his ambition for his son to enter the ministry. At times the father would dramatize and emotionalize his appeal by springing up, embracing and kissing his son, but Tommy continued to shy away from the clergy as a profession.[20]

In 1879 Tommy, now calling himself Thomas Woodrow (and soon to delete the Thomas) graduated from Princeton, *sans honoris*. Dr. Wilson was unable to attend the graduating exercises. According to the Louisville *Courier Journal*, he was winning laurels as moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly. "His rulings were prompt . . . the sting was taken from them by that inexhaustible fund of rich humor which was cropping out on all occasions."[21] Unfortunately, the son

[20] Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 89.

[21] *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, Kentucky), n.d., quoted in the *Morning Star* (Wilmington, North Carolina), May 30, 1879.

did not inherit his father's inexhaustible fund of rich humor which cropped out on all occasions.

During his student days, Tommy chose a profession for himself. "The profession I chose was politics," he later wrote to Ellen Axson. "The profession I entered was the law. I entered the one because I thought it would lead to the other."[22] In 1879 the best law school in the South was at the University of Virginia and there Thomas W. Wilson, just under twenty-three years of age, entered in September, 1879.

This young man continued to dislike strongly his classroom courses and as at Princeton made only average grades. In fields of his own choosing he read more widely than ever. Frequently he participated in singing groups. At Charlottesville, for the first time, Wilson joined a social fraternity, the Phi Kappa Psi. That the boy consulted his father, who would pay the additional cost, about this step may be concluded. Within a few weeks of entering the University of Virginia, Wilson joined the Jefferson Literary Society and entered wholeheartedly into its activities. At Charlottesville under the encouraging spirit of Thomas Jefferson young Wilson delved widely into the early history of the United States and into that of England. His orations and essays were usually on historical characters. As a speaker and as a writer this North Carolina minister's son was gaining a larger audience. While a law student, Wilson began going on weekends across the Blue Ridge Mountains to Staunton to visit Harriet Woodrow, the charming daughter of his mother's brother Thomas. Harriet was attending the Augusta Female Seminary (since 1895, Mary Baldwin Seminary). Soon Wilson was desperately in love with his cousin "Hattie." With an increasing amount of time spent away from his studies—and law, even then, was an exacting master—with great irregularities in his student routine, and with his emotions deeply aroused for the first time, it was not surprising that Wilson's frail constitution failed him again. Precipitately, he withdrew from the University of Virginia in December, 1880, and again returned to the home of his father.

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[22] Woodrow Wilson to Ellen Axson, October 30, 1883, quoted in Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 109.

For some eighteen months Wilson, under the watch-care of his parents slowly recovered his health. During these months this frail, tall young man frequently accompanied his father, over whom the son now towered several inches in height, on his calls to his parishioners. On Sundays he could be seen accompanying his mother to church, but upon arrival usually found a place in the choir. Sometimes there would be church picnics, abominable, Wilson termed them, to attend. With Dr. Wilson this son frequently discussed topics of their mutual interest, such as history, literature, politics, and theology. More than ever before T. Woodrow Wilson became a writer of letters. To Heath Dabney, Wilson's dearest friend at Charlottesville, to Robert Bridges, Charles Talcott and other Princeton classmates there went from Wilmington long letters, sandwiched between ardent romantic messages to Hattie Woodrow.[23] In such routine as this, there was time for reading and study. Permission was secured for this student of law to prepare for and take all of his examinations for the law degree at his father's home. Under these conditions Woodrow Wilson received the LL.B. Degree *in absentia,* June, 1882.

About this time Wilson went Chillicothe, Ohio, to visit in the home of the Thomas Woodrows and to make his proposal to the lovely Hattie. Although he confessed anew his undying love and although he admitted having received his father's blessings on his suit for the hand of his cousin, Woodrow was quickly and firmly rejected. After a sleepless night, with emotions aflame, this lover wrote a final vain plea for Hattie's hand.[24]

Upon returning to his home in Wilmington, Woodrow, in consultation with his father, decided on Atlanta as the most promising place in which to hang his professional shingle. In 1882 this southern metropolis was a thriving city. Freely supplied with northern capital, industries were being rapidly established; ante bellum railroads were rebuilt and new lines constructed. As Wilson wrote Charles Talcott, Atlanta of-

[23] See numerous letters, Wilson Papers.

[24] Woodrow Wilson to Harriet Woodrow, no date but obviously late in in the summer of 1881. Photostatic copy in Baker Papers.

fered all the advantages of business activity and enterprise.[25] Wilson began his law practice as a partner with Edward I. Renick, whom he had known as a student at the University of Virginia.

As a lawyer, Woodrow Wilson, as in his first love affair, was a complete failure. By no means, however, were the months spent as an attorney lost to him. While an Atlanta lawyer, 1882-1883, Wilson made contacts in the deep South which proved beneficial years later. He met Walter Hines Page, whose friendship lasted until Page's death. He continued to read widely in fields of his own choosing and he argued for free trade before a federal tariff commission. He attended a reunion of his class of '79 at Princeton. He sat on the stage with his father at the General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church. Most important of all, he met in April, 1883, Ellen Axson of Rome, Georgia, who as his wife after June, 1885, would influence Wilson in his adult life more than anyone else.

Personally disillusioned and admitting his professional defeat, Wilson, after appealing for sympathetic support from his father, returned in September 1883 to school, this time to the graduate school at the Johns Hopkins University. Immediately, Wilson flung himself into his new work. He did not go home for the Christmas season and again over-exerted himself. A month later, after repeated ominous headaches, reoccurring attacks of indigestion, continued worries, and numerous sleepless nights, Wilson went home to be nursed and admonished by his parents.[26] Weeks went by before he returned to his graduate studies.

In the spring of 1884 Woodrow was in his twenty-eighth year. As yet, his father reminded him, he had never been self-supporting. For an article, "Cabinet Government in the United States," written at Princeton and published in the *International Review*, August, 1879, Wilson had received a small *honorarium* with which he bought a bookcase. His only case as a lawyer was the settlement of a small estate out West inherited by his mother. Obviously, he charged her no fee.

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[25] Woodrow Wilson to Charles Talcott, September 22, 1881, Wilson Papers.
[26] Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 188-189.

Although he applied for a fellowship in the Graduate School at Johns Hopkins for the academic year 1883-1884, it was denied him. Efforts to sell articles to the *Nation* and other periodicals failed for they were rejected and returned to the author. For an article on "Committee or Cabinet Government," which appeared in the *Overland Monthly,* Wilson received no pecuniary reward. His father and his mother agreed to continue to send Woodrow money as they could spare it, but they hoped the adult graduate student would find ways to support himself.

Dr. Wilson's urging his son to financial independence was based upon necessity. The Presbyterians were preparing to open Southwestern University at Clarkesville, Tennessee and wanted Dr. Wilson to accept a place on the faculty as professor of theology. Although economic sacrifices would have to be made, the clergyman deemed this invitation a call of duty which he could not reject.[27] Woodrow's work as a graduate student was such that he was awarded a fellowship of $500 for the year 1884-1885.[28] Perhaps not enough to meet all of Wilson's financial requirements but enough to greatly lessen these demands on his father.

In recognition of his father's influence on him, Woodrow consulted him about the very important question which confronted him, namely, that of striving for the Ph.D. Degree at Johns Hopkins. Dr. Wilson, having received his professional title *honoris causa,* naturally, perhaps, advised against the special study required for the doctorate. "Father advises me not to try for the degree," Woodrow wrote Ellen Axson and added that he was quite sure that he would "profit much more substantially from a line of reading of my own choosing . . . than I should from much of the reading necessary in the Ph.D. Degree course."[29] (Wilson's fiancee waited tactfully until after her marriage to prevail on him to seek the doctorate. She enlisted the support of Carey Thomas, who as Dean of Bryn Mawr and Wilson's employer, exerted the necessary professional pressure to compel Wilson to do the re-

[27] *Morning Star* (Wilmington, North Carolina), February 24, 1885.
[28] Baker, *Woodrow Wilson,* I, 234.
[29] Woodrow Wilson to Ellen Axson, November 8, 1884, quoted in Baker, *Woodrow Wilson,* I, 236.

quired work for the Ph.D. Degree. The faculty of Johns Hopkins cooperated generously by accepting Wilson's *Congressional Government,* although published over a year earlier, as his doctoral dissertation).

While a student at Princeton, Woodrow Wilson became interested in the actual functioning of our national government. During the intervening years he had read widely on the administration of our federal government and that of England. As a graduate student at Johns Hopkins, after years of research—but during which time he never once visited Washington, D. C., to see the government functioning—he wrote a book, *Congressional Government.* This book, Wilson's first, and in some respects his best, he dedicated "to his father, the patient guide of his youth, the gracious companion of his manhood, his best instructor and most lenient critic." For the father the dedication was a complete surprise. Upon receiving a copy of the book, he wrote: "Never have I felt such a blow of love. . . . I wept and sobbed in the stir of glad pain. God bless you, my noble child, for such a token of your affection."[30]

In April, 1885, the Wilson family, minus the two daughters, Marion and Anne, who had married while living on the Atlantic coast, and Woodrow, who was continuing his studies at Baltimore, trekked westward to Clarkesville, Tennessee. As the parents and Joseph, the younger son, were packing to move again, Woodrow accepted his first job. In September, 1885, when nearly twenty-nine years old, he was for the first time in his life completely self-supporting. At this time he became associate professor at Bryn Mawr.

Woodrow Wilson followed the precedent of his father when he chose for his bride the daughter of a Presbyterian clergyman. Ellen Axson and Woodrow, by June, 1885, had been engaged nearly two years and were blissfully happy to begin their lives together. Dr. Wilson assisted Ellen's grandfather, the Reverend I. S. K. Axson, in performing the marriage ceremony in the Independent Presbyterian Church at Savannah, Georgia. The newlyweds spent their honey-

[30] Joseph Ruggles Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, January 30, 1885, Wilson Papers.

moon in a cottage in the mountains of western North Carolina. Before they began journeying northward a few weeks later for Woodrow to prepare for his teaching at Bryn Mawr, Ellen was pregnant with her first child.

Although busy organizing the courses which he taught, participating in life on the college campus in numerous ways, taking time to get acquainted with many strangers, ever attentive to his loving wife who was in increasing physical discomfort, and studying hours on end, Woodrow never forgot his parents, especially his father. The son had himself become the head of a household, yet he and the father corresponded regularly. Hundreds of letters between these two—father and son—covering the last seventeen years the father lived, are in the Woodrow Wilson Papers and in the Ray S. Baker Papers in the Library of Congress. Here we are concerned only with a brief narration of the paternal-filial relations during this period.

Many problems confronted those who opened the Southwestern Seminary. As a recognized leader in the Southern Presbyterian Church, as an experienced educator and as a member of the faculty who arrived on the campus early, Dr. Wilson contributed much towards the solutions of these problems. Not a great many students found their way into Professor Wilson's classes in theology. Of those who sat at the feet of this able lecturer only a very few gave evidence of developing into the eloquent preachers or the excellent teachers that their ambitious professor wished them to be. At least, so he informed his son, Woodrow,[31] now like his father a teacher in a private denominational college. The father sought repeatedly to increase his income by substituting in the pulpit for ill or vacationing pastors. Sometimes the congregation was not as friendly to this visiting clergyman as he thought they should be. On one such occasion he confided to his son: "Never was I placed in such solitude as I am now experiencing. People of the church pay me no manner of attention . . . in addressing them from the pulpit I find only unresponsive

[31] See Joseph Ruggles Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, several letters, 1887-1890, discussing these problems, Wilson Papers.

faces, . . . at prayer meeting . . . the air was chilled by their freezing manner." [32]

If Dr. Wilson's classes were small, some of Woodrow's at Bryn Mawr were even smaller. If the older man was disillusioned at times about his pupils, the younger man repeatedly opposed teaching only girls. "For a long time," he wrote, "I have been hungry for a class of *men.*"[33] If the experienced professor sought to supplement his salary by filling vacant pulpits, the inexperienced teacher endeavored to add to his bank account by lecturing and writing. During this period of his life Wilson secured more money for lecturing than he did writing. Of the former he enjoyed most the series of lectures which he gave annually during the winter for five weeks at Johns Hopkins.

On April 15, 1888, Jessie Woodrow, Dr. Wilson's wife and Woodrow's mother, died suddenly. The bereaved father did not even have time to notify the three older children, married and away, of her illness. Mrs. Wilson's death caused her lonely widower to lean more heavily upon his first born son, who responded gladly.[34]

From Middletown, Connecticut, where Woodrow had accepted a professorship at Wesleyan University a few months earlier, he wrote at the approach of the Christmas season a long letter to his father who, except for his youngest child and namesake, was experiencing his first Christmas alone:

> As the Christmas recess approaches I realize, as I have so often before, the pain there is in a recess of holiday and rejoicing away from you. . . . One of the chief things about which I feel most warranted in rejoicing is that I am your son. I realize the benefit of being your son more and more as my talents and experience grow; I recognize the strength growing in me as of the nature of your strength; I become more and more conscious of the hereditary wealth I possess, that capital of principle of literary force and skill, of capacity for first hand thought; and I feel daily more and more bent toward creating in my own children that combined respect and tender devotion for their

[32] Joseph Ruggles Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, April 9, 1887, Wilson Papers.

[33] Woodrow Wilson to Robert Bridgers, August 26, 1888 in Robert Bridgers Papers, Library of Congress.

[34] A number of letters between Joseph R. Wilson and Woodrow Wilson prove this conclusion, Wilson Papers.

father that you gave your child for you. Oh, how happy I should be if I could make them think of me as I think of you! You have given me a love that grows—that is stronger in me now that I am a man than it was when I was a boy, and which will be stronger in me when I am an older man than it is now—a love, in brief, that is rooted and grounded in reason and not in filial instinct merely—a love resting upon abiding foundations of service, recognizing you as in a certain sense the author of all I have to be grateful for! [35]

During the holiday season, and for weeks thereafter, the father was ill with a cold that lingered. The son in New England was sorely distressed.[36] Dr. Wilson dissipated his gloom in writing to Woodrow:

How in my solitude hour I longed for the presence of that dear son in whose large love I trust so implicitly and in the wealth of whose generously furnished mind I take such delight: him in whom my affections center as my child, and my confidences as my friend.

I can readily sympathize with you in the satisfaction you experience in getting back to Johns Hopkins once more where intellectual life rolls its highest waves—a satisfaction which is augmented by the fact that you are yourself a sort of *magna pars* where there is so much that is great. . . . You are preaching a gospel of order . . . in the department of political morals and conduct. Such has not heretofore been heralded and success is therefore a personal gratification. . . . I feel very proud of you when I think of what you are doing, and doing so well.

Please do not forget to send me that number of the *Political Science Quarterly* [March 1889] which is to contain your review of Mr. [James] Bryce's book [*The American Commonwealth*]. Somehow I feel jealous of this foreigner who steps in to occupy territory that belongs more especially to you—and all the more because his work is spoken of in terms of such high praise, whether deserved or not.[37]

The father, sometimes through preoccupation or perhaps procrastination, would neglect to write as regularly as the son desired. Upon receiving a letter of concern over his health,

[35] Woodrow Wilson to Joseph Ruggles Wilson, December 16, 1888, Baker Papers.

[36] Woodrow Wilson to Joseph Ruggles Wilson, January 13, 1889, Baker Papers.

[37] Joseph Ruggles Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, March 6, 1889, Wilson Papers.

the professor at Southwestern would confess that his only excuse for *not* writing was too much love for his son. The father thought of his son with a plentifulness and a constancy worthy of the object of his affections. The son filled his parent's old heart with a charm which was quite unperturbable, so that the father felt he could never be lonely, "were everything else stricken from my grasp, and you alone were to remain." Woodrow, said his father, was his companion more entirely than any of the other children. The son was not only bound to his father by natural ties, but these two were *friends* in whom community of thought was bound by ligatures which were thicker than blood. "I am sure," concluded the older man, "that we are the two who thoroughly—most thoroughly, comprehend each other—you satisfying my intellect as I believe I am able to contest yours. You gratify my pride also, and I feel assured that your corresponding emotion has its demands measurably met in me." [38] Such was an old man's fondness for his son!

In 1889, Wilson, with the aid of his father and others, secured an appointment to the faculty at Princeton, but remained another year at Wesleyan University so that his place on the staff there could be filled. Recently Wilson had received his first degree *honoris causa*, had been awarded honorary membership in the Phi Beta Kappa fraternity and had been elected president of the Johns Hopkins Alumni Association. With mounting confidence he wrote his father that he was " 'writ down' in the category of 'successful men.' " Although he was grateful for the opportunity at Princeton of doing the studying and writing he wanted to do, yet so far as personal gratification was concerned, he would infinitely rather know that he was going to have a chance to be cured of the heart-sickness from which he suffered because of his separation from his father. "My mind can't give me gratification," he stated, " I have to rely on my heart as the sole source of contentment and happiness, and that craves, oh, so fiercely, the companionship of those I love. It seems to me that the older I get the more I need you; for the older I get the more I appreciate the debt I owe you . . . . My separation

[38] Joseph R. Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, October 5, 1889, Wilson Papers.

from you, instead of becoming a thing of want, becomes more and more unendurable." [39]

As Woodrow, Ellen, and their three young daughters moved to Princeton, Dr. Wilson, sensing the enthusiasm which Woodrow had for the new opportunity, warned his son to arrange his affairs so that overwork would not pull down his constitution and shake the very foundations of his health.[40] For weeks thereafter, the father did not contact his "darling Woodrow" because he did not wish to put his son to the pains of writing while he was in the midst of beginning his new home. Eventually, the older man wrote, however, to explain why he had not penned a note and added that "All the same, my dear one, your letters . . . serve to brighten my life to an extent you might hardly credit." [41]

In the fall of 1890, Dr. Wilson was in his sixty-ninth year and quite naturally thought of retirement. He yearned for the rest which at his age was imperative, and which, while health measurably remained, he would prize.[42] He resolved to visit his son, his daughter-in-law, and the three granddaughters during the Christmas vacation. Together, son and father, "over dishes of talk and goblets of counsel," would discuss the father's retirement.[43] During the visit, apparently, a decision was reached for the father to continue his teaching—except for an occasional sermon, he had given up the pulpit entirely—for a few years more. Apparently, the son did not wish to assume the additional financial responsibility of having his father live with him.

When the son a few months later informed his father of a plan to buy land near the college, the older man expressed surprise. Although Woodrow had made no mention to his aging father of assisting in buying the Princeton property, Dr. Wilson replied that he wanted to help to the fullest extent possible, and enclosed a check for $1,500. He expressed

[39] Woodrow Wilson to Joseph R. Wilson, March 20, 1890, Baker Papers.
[40] Joseph R. Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, September 15, 1890, Wilson Papers.
[41] Joseph R. Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, October 25, 1890, Wilson Papers.
[42] Joseph R. Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, October 25, 1890, Wilson Papers.
[43] Joseph R. Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, December 13, 1890, Wilson Papers.

the hope that he could send a similar amount a year later. The son was warned to be careful to see that the title to the land was cleared.[44] With the additional indebtedness came the responsibility for more off-campus lectures and more writing. Wilson accepted these additional burdens on his strength and on his time with an enthusiasm and a determination that caused his father to renew his caution of the son endangering his health. "I shall be relieved," the father stated, "when the work shall have been completed and your nose freed from its contact with the grindstone."[45]

When Wilson, driven to the utmost of his endurance, failed to pen a note of love to his father, there came a long letter to "My Precious Son and Dearest Friend." According to the writer, Woodrow had plenty of friends and deserved abundance of admirers, yet he had only "one parent, the truest of all your friends, the intensest of all your admirers." Would the busy son not cultivate his Dad by a long letter?[46] The Princeton professor replied at length about his work in the classroom, on the lecture platform, and with his typewriter in his upstairs study.[47] He certainly had "enough work to gratify the incarnate spirit of industry," as the father expressed it.[48]

Early in 1892, Wilson's father had a severe illness. Among his ailments was the "swelling of the prostate gland and inability to pass water from his bladder."[49] He suffered severely and was forced repeatedly to consult a physician. It was absolutely necessary for him, he said, to resign his position at the end of that year.[50]

Although ill and under a physician's watchcare, the father did not lose his vital interest in the professional life of his

[44] There are a number of letters between these two men, in which the subject of Wilson's purchasing Princeton property was discussed and of Dr. Wilson's aid to his children in this business venture. See especially Woodrow Wilson to Joseph R. Wilson, May 2, 1891, etc., and Joseph R. Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, May 6, 1891, etc., Wilson Papers and in Baker Papers.

[45] Joseph R. Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, September 13, 1891, Wilson Papers.

[46] Joseph R. Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, October 13, 1891, Wilson Papers.

[47] Woodrow Wilson to Joseph R. Wilson, October 25, 1891, Baker Papers.

[48] Joseph R. Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, November 7, 1891, Wilson Papers.

[49] Joseph R. Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, January 28, 1892, Wilson Papers.

[50] Joseph R. Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, March 16, 31, 1892, Wilson Papers.

son. Wilson, urged by many to accept the presidency of the University of Illinois, decided finally to remain at Princeton and asked his father's reactions to his decision.[51] As usual the older man expressed himself frankly: "You certainly acted wisely . . . to dance attendance upon a legislature, to entreat for money to carry on one of its own institutions, would be intolerable to the fine nerve of my noble boy. Besides, you would be diverted from the specialty which you are so desirous to lift into conspicuity."[52]

Upon retirement, Dr. Wilson decided to visit his children in New Jersey, South Carolina, and Tennessee. He also returned to see people in Staunton, Augusta, Columbia, and Wilmington, where he had served as pastor. Wherever he went the retired preacher was received gladly. "Never did a returning pastor receive a more flattering welcome," the father wrote Woodrow of his visit to Wilmington. It was to all intents and purposes an *ovation,* he concluded.[53] In retirement Dr. Wilson continued his work as Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church.[54] Invitations to fill vacant pulpits were too numerous for Dr. Wilson's ebbing strength. From Durham, North Carolina, where he preached two Sundays in the First Presbyterian Church, the father lamented to his son that "the people seem utterly soulless."[55]

As the father travelled about over the South, with an occasional journey northward, his letters to his son reveal an abiding interest in his favored child's literary work. Repeatedly Dr. Wilson mentioned an article which Woodrow had in some periodical.[56] Once Wilson's biography of George Washington held his father's enthusiasm; that is, until he read the book and then his ardor cooled somewhat.[57]

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[51] Woodrow Wilson to Joseph R. Wilson, May 20, 1892, Baker Papers.
[52] Joseph R. Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, May 25, 1892, Wilson Papers.
[53] Joseph R. Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, December 18, 1892, Wilson Papers.
[54] J. H. McNeilly, "The Reverend Joseph R. Wilson," in *Southern Presbyterian,* May 18, 1899. Dr. Wilson resigned from the position of stated clerk of the Southern Presbyterian Assembly in 1898.
[55] Joseph R. Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, April 12, 1897, Wilson Papers.
[56] See Joseph R. Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, July 6, 1893, Wilson Papers, for an example.
[57] Joseph R. Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, December 15, 1896, Wilson Papers.

In 1896 Wilson suffered a physical breakdown. Ordered by his doctor to take a long rest, he went to Europe to regain his strength. With neuritis in his right hand and arm, Wilson had to learn to write with his left hand. This breakdown was caused from overwork. At this time Ellen and Woodrow built a beautiful home for which Ellen had drawn the plans. It cost more than they had expected and was called by Wilson's father "an extravagant mansion." [58] Because of Wilson's excessive work, his inability to write, and his months abroad, he largely ignored his father. Finally, after months of waiting, the partially incapacitated son dictated a letter to his father, who in his old age, with no place which he could call home, felt greatly the pain of neglect.[59] Immediately, the aged father seized pen and with emotions wrote: "I knew you had not forgotten me nor had ceased to remember me affectionately. . . . I am always glad to get near you even if it be only through the medium of written words that are not altogether perfunctory." [60]

There was an obvious coolness in the usual feeling of great comradeship between these two men for at least two years, 1895-1897. During this time the father was not even invited to visit in the new, palatial home of his Princeton professor son. Only a very few letters passed between them during this period. The correspondence in which they indulged was stilted and reserved. From a boarding house in Columbia, where in 1897 Dr. Wilson had lived for some time, he wrote feelingly to his son that "Josie and Kate [his younger son and daughter-in-law] usually *seem* to want me with them; at any rate I am glad to believe that this is the case. Old men as well as young like to be welcome." [61]

Early in 1898 the old father returned to Wilmington where he lived among his former parishioners until within a few months of his death in 1902. Once he was established there and seemed happy, Woodrow penned letters of love and

[58] Joseph R. Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, April 16, 1896, Wilson Papers.
[59] Woodrow Wilson to Joseph R. Wilson, December 13, 1896. This letter, mentioned by date in the father's reply two days later, seems to have been lost.
[60] Joseph R. Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, December 15, 1896, Wilson Papers.
[61] Joseph R. Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, November 5, 1897, Wilson Papers.

affection to his father again. To the receiver of these messages it was "like cool water to a parched tongue to read again one of your dear loving letters." Through the past few years the son had never been out of the father's thoughts and had always been in his heart. It was like old days, the father thought, to perceive a revival of his son's affection after so long a burial.[62]

In January, 1901, Wilson's father, still among Wilmington friends, suffered a severe illness. For some days the attending physician feared for the old minister's life. Wilson learned from a friend of his father's severe illness[63] and a few days later went southward to his father's bedside. The Wilmington *Messenger,* in reporting Wilson's visit, dwelt at length on Woodrow's literary and intellectual achievements, not on the near fatal illness of his father.[64] Slowly, the hardy father mended.

Back at Princeton the son concluded his plans for buying an island in a Canadian lake and building a home there in which to spend the summers. This news startled the weakened father. He wrote of his eager desire to share financially in the Canadian venture but of his inability to do so, of his unbounded joy if he could only "look forward to a summer to be spent with you all on your island home."[65] This happiness was never realized.

In June, 1902, Woodrow Wilson was elected president of Princeton. The frail, semi-invalid father was there "casting the benediction of his presence upon the family circle."[66] Shortly before his son's promotion, his devoted father was permitted to do what he had wanted to do for a decade, namely, to live with his favored son and bosom friend. Ellen Wilson, who knew best the old man's condition, wrote that he could not stand up alone or even feed himself. He had to be attended exactly like a baby. He was having a terrible

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[62] Joseph R. Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, March 16, 1898, Wilson Papers. Wilson's letter to his father, though discussed by his father, seems to have been lost.

[63] James Spruit to Woodrow Wilson, January 12, 1901, Wilson Papers.

[64] *Messenger* (Wilmington, North Carolina), January 18, 1901.

[65] Joseph R. Wilson to Woodrow Wilson, February 13, 1901, Wilson Papers.

[66] Daniel Coit Gilman to Woodrow Wilson, November 2, 1902, Wilson Papers.

attack about every fourth day. He seemed to suffer constantly and at times moaned, cried — even screamed — for hours. There was a kind and experienced attendant who took beautiful care of him. Such experiences were harrowing to the grand-daughters who saw and heard much of it. Fortunately, wrote Ellen, Woodrow was out of the house so much that he saw very little of it and could not even *think* of it very much. But Ellen, who thought she had dependable nerves, was habitually lying in bed at night awake and trying to collect herself.[67]

The old minister died January 21, 1903. To Mrs. Edith G. Reid, Woodrow confided that it had taken the heart out of him to lose his life-long friend and companion. Now that his father was gone, a great loneliness possessed his heart. "No generations ahead of me now!", concluded the son. "I am on the firing line." [68] Dr. Wilson was buried by his wife's side in Columbia, South Carolina. Woodrow chose the stone to mark his father's grave and wrote the inscription.

For more than forty years Joseph Ruggles Wilson and Woodrow Wilson engaged in a father-son relationship which was unusual. The elder created in the younger a yearning for knowledge and, in his years, was amply rewarded for his efforts by the literary accomplishments of his brilliant son. Throughout their lives, with perhaps a brief span of two years, the personalities of these two men were *compatica.* It would be difficult indeed to overestimate the influence of Joseph R. Wilson on the development of both the personality and the character of Woodrow Wilson.

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[67] Ellen A. Wilson to Mary W. Hoyt, December 15, 1902, Baker Papers.
[68] Woodrow Wilson to Mrs. Edith G. Reid, February 3, 1903, in correspondence of Woodrow Wilson and Mrs. Edith G. Reid, Library of Congress.

THE MILITARY EXPERIENCES OF JAMES A. PEIFER 1861-1865

By George D. Harmon

[*Concluded*]

On January 30, after spending many long weeks in the United States General Hospital at Annapolis, Peifer wrote his Sister Mary that he expected to go that day to convalescent camp at Annapolis Junction. He said:

> I think we will start at 2 p.m. (today) as so many sick and wounded are coming. Yesterday two steamers arrived with sick and wounded from Murfreesboro, and filled up this Hospital, and we must make way for them.[70]

They arrived at Annapolis Junction, somewhat discouraged, about four o'clock that afternoon. "It is a God forsaken place. In a high field the barracks are erected, frame buildings, about 100 foot long, and about 20 wide. Each building is called a ward, and contains about 60 beds. . . . I don't know how long I [will] remain here but I hope they may send me [to some other place] soon, as I don't wish to stop at this miserable place long, as I am sick of it already, and the sooner I get away the better. We have not been paid yet and *god* only knows when we will be. . . . I am too unhappy to write more.[71]

Peifer's opinion of the efficiency of the medical doctor in charge of the Annapolis Hospital and at the convalescent camp at the *Junction* was extremely low. He said:

> The Surgeon in charge (Dr. McFarlan) of *this* and Annapolis Hospitals is, I am confident, a very poor subject for the position he occupied. He grants no furloughs and no discharges, unless a man has lost several of his limbs, and even then he is rather reluctant. I can state cases which I see every day. We have men here who are completely crippled up, with Rheumatics, and can barely walk with two canes, others wounded, their limbs out of shape, and never [will] be fit for service; still these men are obliged to linger in hospitals, be shipped from one place to another. They're growing worse daily, and finally when they

[70] Peifer to sister Mary, January 30, 1863, United States General Hospital.
[71] Peifer to sister Mary, January 31, 1863, Annapolis Junction, Maryland.

are confined to their beds, he still thinks they may get well. While at Annapolis, the average of deaths was two daily, which, poor fellows! had they been discharged, would probably have recovered. But no! he did not choose to discharge them, and thus they had to die. . . . I pronounce McFarlan a mean man, a hard-hearted wretch, and wish I was out of his charge, and have a *man* over us. . . . We are quartered in poor barracks where snow and rain strikes in on us. It is hardly fit to keep cattle in, much less sick men. For instance, yesterday we had quite a snow storm. In our barracks . . . the snow laid inches [deep] on some of the beds and floor. . . . The rain also strikes in on our beds [so] that we are obliged to shift from one place to another to avoid getting a good soaking. . . . Where we eat it is worse yet. The rain, snow and wind has full sweep inside [the place], and it is so cold . . . that the vinegar freezes on the table in spite of the stoves.[72]

Peifer wrote on May 1 that he had received a letter from Lieut. Fetter in which he said that "they were on the eve of a great battle," that the Army of the Potomac was advancing, that they were all in "good spirits," and that they were anxious for an engagement. Peifer added that he hoped the anticipated battle would prove to be "more successful than the former. As all confidence is placed in the commander and the men feel confident of being victorious. May they not be disappointed. The Rebels have an immense army opposite Fredericksburg." [73]

When Peifer's sister became discouraged in the spring of 1863 with the progress of the war, he wrote her in an optimistic vein:

You appear to be discouraged about the late battles. I am not. True, a great many lives were lost, but we have the best prospects, and I think this summer will show who will be the victors. Hooker has again crossed and is after them, and [I] suppose [he] is now fighting again and I am positive he will be victorious. On Sunday it was reported here . . . that Richmond was taken. . . . I wish it was true. The 46th was also engaged, and I have seen some of the names of killed and wounded, but did not notice any of my company (C). Our major is killed, but of any more I know nothing.[74]

[72] Peifer to sister Mary, February 6, 1863, Annapolis Junction.
[73] Peifer to sister Mary, May 1, 1863, Annapolis Junction.
[74] Peifer to sister Mary, May 12, 1863, Annapolis Junction.

One week later Peifer wrote:

When I shall endeavor to join my command, as it appears they are sorely in want of all available men, especially in my Reg't as it is dreadfully reduced, [I do not know]. . . . They were in the hottest of the fight, [according to Lieut. Fetter]. . . . He [Fetter] says the bullets, shell and cannester were as thick as hail, and it is a God's blessing they were not entirely annihilated, as the Reg't lost half its number in killed, wounded and missing. Our Company (C) went into the battle with 22 men, and only 11 have returned, and as yet [I have] not heard whether they are killed or in the hands of the Rebels. I hope they may all report safe again. . . . Our Brigade is completely broken up, as three of the Reg'ts have gone home, their time having expired. . . . Last night several hundred exchanged prisoners arrived here from Annapolis who were taken in the late battles — the majority belonging to the 128th Penn., who were in our Brigade. . . . They told me our whole Brigade was pretty much captured. . . . They complain dreadfully of the harsh treatment they received while in Rebeltown, and on their march to Richmond as prisoners, being forced to march 25 and 30 miles, and the sick and weary were bayonetted and shot down, when they could not march as fast as they saw fit, and nothing to eat. . . . In fact, such treatment could only be expected from savages, and not from civilized nations. It is dreadful to think of it. We treat their men civil, and they thank us with rough treatment, and abusing our men. We ought to return the compliments and show them no quarters.[75]

Peifer then concluded:

Stonewall Jackson is under the sod and they mourn his loss. He was a good and daring General, and I think we are lucky, as he has given us considerable trouble and bother.[76]

In every war spies are active and women are frequently involved. Corporal Peifer relates this amusing incident:

Quite a stir was created at this depot yesterday, having two girls (can't call them ladies) under guard. They were arrested as spies, and brought from Annapolis, enroute for Washington, and they stopped here [Annapolis Junction] several hours awaiting the train. They were rather a headstrong and desperate

[75] Peifer to sister Mary, May 19, 1863, Annapolis Junction.
[76] Peifer to sister Mary, May 19, 1863, Annapolis Junction.

party. One of them was boasting she belonged to our Army, and was a Corporal in a Ohio Reg't, and she was intoxicated one day and they reduced her to the ranks, and such a thing she would not stand. She could not afford to be a private, and thus she was nabbed. She had on a uniform, and a ladies apparel thrown over it. They were very saucy, and used very rude language.

The other [one] was from Wheeling, Va., and more desperate than her friend. She says, she cut our telegraph wires numerous times, and in fact conveyed information to the Rebels. . . . She started on a run from the depot to make her escape, but the guard soon overtook her. She threatened him with a club, but he soon brought her to terms. . . . When the train arrived . . . they were put on board, and I hope they are now snugly quartered in prison, and have ample time to mourn over their follies and conduct. If I had charge of them they would not be released till this war was over.[77]

In regard to the war in the West, Peifer feared the worst:

The reports from *Grant* are very numerous and unreliable, and as much as can be learned Vicksburg is closely invested, and as good as in our hands. Still I fear a reverse, and Grant may be attacked in the rear with an overwhelming force, and may thus be defeated; but I hope and pray our fears may prove groundless and that in a few days the good news of the capture of Vicksburg, with the entire force, may reach us. What a rejoicing it would be. We, by the way, have fired salutes here occasionally, and a great rejoicing, and I hope we did not rejoice for a mere nothing.

In regard to the War in the East, Peifer added

If reports are true, another battle is anticipated shortly by Gen. Hooker, as the enemy is reported to be moving, and if so I wish we might be more succesful. It is dreadful that our armies are so very unsuccessful in Virginia. We've suffered so many lives and reverses. . . . We ought soon be successful.[78]

By June 17 news had reached the hospital at Annapolis Junction that Lee had planned to invade Pennsylvania. Peifer recorded his impression of the situation in a long letter to his sister:

[77] Peifer to sister Mary, May 19, 1863, Annapolis Junction.
[78] Peifer to sister Mary, May 31, 1863, Annapolis Junction.

Well! everything and everybody is in excitement again at the threatening invasion of Pennsylvania. It is dreadful to think of it. Still it will teach us another lesson. I suppose you have heard all the news ere this, and *Gov. Curtin* apprehends great danger. Phil. also by accounts seems to be dreadfully excited, but I think the enemy's plans will be frustrated in regard to entering with their whole army. I think it is merely a stroke of desperation for provisions. [and] if successful they could obtain and destroy a great deal.[79]

Peifer felt that such an invasion would have a beneficial effect upon the people of Pennsylvania.

One thing is sure. It will encourage the conscription, and thousands will take up arms in defense of their homes, which they should perhaps not have done under any other circumstances. . . . I feel convinced that they will soon be driven from the soil of Pennsylvania, and I wish the whole Rebel army would invade the state and penetrate to the very heart of it . . . there would be some chance of destroying them, and but few would return to their native land *Dixie*. It . . . will open the eyes of the old farmers, who have thus far placed dependence on their safety by remaining at home and looking on with smiling faces, thinking, let the young fight it out. We must remain on our farms . . . . I hope the call of the Gov[ernor] and President will be responded to, and the enemy made to feel that this understanding will prove more disastrous to them than their previous bold conduct.[80]

In the same letter Peifer raised the possibility of a Southern invasion of Bethlehem.

I wonder how they feel at home [in Bethlehem]. Rather dubious I suppose. Still I don't think Bethlehem is in danger yet. It is naturally fortified, and in case of an extreme emergency we might run gunboats up the canal, and hold the place. . . . In case of a retreat, they might fall back on Butztown or Nazareth and take up a good position and drive them back, but what would become of the old ladies. *They'd take fits, I reckon,* and swoon away.[81]

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[79] Peifer to sister Mary, June 17, 1863, Annapolis Junction.
[80] Peifer to sister Mary, June 17, 1863, Annapolis Junction.
[81] Peifer to sister Mary, June 17, 1863, Annapolis Junction.

Again he wrote his sister that

> The reason for this invasion [of Pennsylvania] simply is, the enemy is in need of provisions, clothing, etc. . . . They have brought themselves to want, and in the *end,* utter ruin. . . . They are becoming desperate and we see the effects. They have invaded Pennsylvania and threaten destruction to all and everything they find, but I hope they may receive their just reward, as no doubt ample preparations are being made to receive and repel them, and I don't doubt but what a great many will be captured, and will be rewarded for their desperation. . . . You [Mary] seem to have an idea that the enemy will penetrate as far as Phila. Why, Mary such an idea is preposterous. . . . Before . . . they get as far as that they will find that they have to fight desperately and will get more than they bargained for, and in the event they should make a raid to the city, it would be merely a slim affair, and not much damage done. . . . I expect to hear of a great battle being fought in Penn. before the 4th of July, and enable us to celebrate the anniversary as heretofore, and Crown us with a signal victory.[82]

There was plenty of excitement during this time at the hospital for the convalescent at Annapolis Junction. Information was received to the effect that the Confederates were "advancing in force to destroy the railroad between this point [Annapolis Junction] and Washington. . . . The six companies of a New York Reg't, doing guard duty, were immediately put under orders and marched . . . about two miles towards Washington to a point called Savage Switch. Our [hospital] Surgeon organized all those [patients] who volunteered in a company, and we marched to that point. The place is pretty well fortified. We had an old brass cannon commanding the roads. We expected an attack Sunday night, as the Rebs were reported six miles of us . . . Scouts were sent out [later] who returned in the evening [Monday] and reported no enemy visible; therefore we all marched back to the hospital, but hold ourselves in readiness when called upon."[83]

Peifer was glad that President Lincoln had "issued another proclamation for *three-hundred thousand* men. . . . They will no doubt [he said] all be conscripted. I am glad of it. It will

[82] Peifer to sister Mary, July 1, 1863, Annapolis Junction.
[83] Peifer to sister Mary, July 1, 1863, Annapolis Junction.

be the means of bringing out some of the *'blowers'* who would not enlist." [84]

The outcome of the Battle of Gettysburg caused Peifer to make this observation:

> We have a good result of the great Battle, and a glorious victory but dearly bought. . . . *Vicksburg* is ours at last . . . and I am anxiously awaiting the surrender of Port Hudson. The Confederacy will [then] be cut in twain. . . . The fate of it [the Confederacy] now depends on the next great battle between Meade and Lee. If we are again victorious . . . I should not be surprised if the whole Rebel Army would be captured.[85]

On August 2, James A. Peifer wrote his sister in this jubilant vein:

> Mary! what do you think of the *Rebs* now[?] Do you think Phila. safe[?]. . . . I think it is. They are off enroute for Richmond, and Meade [is] after them. . . . Another battle [is] shortly expected, and I hope we may again be victorious. The news have been very favorable for some time, namely, Vicksburg, Port-Hudson, the guerrilla Gen. Morgan and the majority of his force in our hands, and in fact [we have] been victorious at every point and now the siege of Charleston [is] about being opened. . . . I think and hope a few weeks will decide the fate of Charleston. This morning I heard the whereabouts of the 46th [Pennsylvania Volunteer Regiment]. They are at present at Warrenton Junction. . . . They are now being recruited with conscripts. Three officers have gone after them. I hear they will bring on 500 men. Happily the Reg't were [merely] skirmishers at Gettysburg, and lost but nine men killed.[86]

By this time Peifer had spent almost one year in the hospital recuperating from what he called rheumatism. During that time he had suffered much pain; yet he remained cheerful and continued to prophesy an early Union victory.

> I think the prospects of a speedy settlement are very bright. We have numerous successes in capturing their strongholds, which struck them with terror, and they are becoming every

[84] Peifer to sister Mary, July 12, 1863, Annapolis Junction.
[85] Peifer to sister Mary, July 12, 1863, Annapolis Junction.
[86] Peifer to sister Mary, August 2, 1863, Annapolis Junction.

day more discouraged. . . . [I am] convinced Secession is nearly played out and the unholy cause they are fighting for. . . . The news from Charleston I deem very encouraging, and I feel assured Charleston must fall shortly. . . . I hope to God it may. It was the cause and beginning of the Rebellion, and I wish it may end there.[87]

He wrote a few days later in a somewhat less optimistic vein:

News from the South and Southwest very cheering. Reports were current here last night 'Charleston taken.' I suppose *it is*, by the 'Rebels'; so is Richmond. One year more and my time [in the army] is out. I hope the war may be over, so we can all go home.[88]

After more than one year in the armed service of his country, and another spent recuperating in a United States hospital, Corporal James A. Peifer was permitted for the first time to visit his people in Bethlehem for a few days. In addition to visiting Dan Rice's great circus in South Bethlehem, he voted in the State election without being challenged.

Well, the election is over, and Andy Curtin is elected . . . and the Democrats and Copperheads were down in the mouth . . . Andy is elected no doubt with from 8 to 10,000 majority, and I say *Hurrah for Hooray*.[89]

By the end of October 1863, after spending fourteen months in an army hospital, Peifer was again in the United States army. While waiting for orders to depart for some unknown area in the land of Dixie, he described his life at the distribution camp near Alexandria, Virginia:

Oh! what a dear and sweet life soldiering is. Just imagine yourself in a house of canvass, plenty of flies around you, and the soft side of pine boards to lie down on, the mosquitoes buzzing around, and occasionally lancing you. In the way of a change you reach for him *(like the Irishman and the Bed-bug)* and not find him there, with plenty of hard tack, coffee, etc., and plenty of mud to tramp around in, merely to save shoeblacking . . . We

[87] Peifer to sister Mary, August 24, 1863, Annapolis Junction.
[88] Peifer to sister Mary, September 13, 1863, Annapolis Junction.
[89] Peifer to sister Mary, October 15, 1863, from Bethlehem, Pa.

have so many other luxuries too numerous to mention. I wouldn't change situations with the richest aristocrat in the country, no I wouldn't (over the left) . . . but never mind, it's for 10 months or sooner disposed of [discharged].[90]

Finally Peifer and his 46th Pennsylvania Volunteers left Virginia on November 5 for Tennessee. They passed through Washington, Baltimore, Harrisburg, York, Pittsburgh, Columbus, Cincinnati, and Louisville. Here the Regiment learned of an incident which occurred when they passed through Columbus:

We rec'd two recruits — females in soldier's clothes. They were all right until at Louisville [where] some Dutchman reported one, which was in the Barracks. . . . Presently an officer came in; recruit smelled the rat. She covered up with a blanket, feigning sleep. [The] officer waked her and took her down stairs, when she confessed her sex. She was brought back and gathered up her attire. She was in charge of a party of hard cases. One fellow had her dress in knapsack, another a skirt, one her hat, one the shoes, and so on - quite a joke. She swore she would fight the man that reported her. At the same time [she] displayed a small dirk knife, rather gritty, but one of her Bummers found the Dutchman and knocked him down, skinned his nose a little, nothing very serious, however. They were taken into custody and that was the last I saw of them.[91]

Peifer and his detachment left Louisville, Sunday, November 15, for Nashville, Tennessee, a distance of some 200 miles, and they arrived there about dusk on the same day. They had extremely poor quarters and bad food, but this discomfiture lasted for only a few brief hours because at 2 o'clock the next morning they were aroused from their sleep to travel to some other location.

We were on top of some freight cars, very cold, almost froze, passed Murfreesboro, Tullahooma, where we came across some of our corps. At dusk, Monday, Nov. 16th we arrived at this place [Decherd Station, Tenn.]. . . . We expect to remain here all winter. . . . This morning [November 18] I rec'd a gun and equipments, and am again a soldier. . . . We travelled in 12 days about

[90] Peifer to sister Mary, October 26, 1863, near Alexandria, Virginia.
[91] Peifer to his mother, brother and sisters, November 18, 1863. Decherd Station, Tennessee.

1100 miles, passed through 5 different states, Maryland, Penna., Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. We are about 100 miles from the front.[92]

Peifer was not favorably impressed with that part of Tennessee or the people:

This part of Tennessee is rather a rough looking country, the people but half civilized, what few there are. They generally travel on horseback [and] are dressed very common. I also see a great many of the fair sex, some very fair indeed. They are very sociable. Every day we have from 20 to 30 about our Camp. They peddle apples, pies, eggs, butter, etc. . . . They ask enormous prices, and many of the boys are foolish enough to pay any price; for instance, butter 50 and 60 cts. a lb., eggs 75-1.00 pr. doz., pies (very poor) without lard or butter 25 cts. and 30 cts., apples, small, 25 cts. per doz., potatoes per bushel $2.50 and upwards, 'Richmond prices.' However, we can make trades such as sugar, coffee, rice, bacon, salt, all of which they have none but what they get from us. Salt especially is very scarce. . . . I do no buying or trading; still I would trade *some bacon for a wife,* if I could find one suiting my taste, but the trouble is they chew and smoke tobacco, and use it in every form and shape. . . . Of course I would hate to let people know my wife was endowed with such blessings. It is a common thing for them to ask a soldier for some tobacco, which of course politeness requires [compliance]. They are most . . . all good Union people, as far as that is concerned, men, horse[s], women and all, and I glory in that; but the tobacco practice! Everybody and everything uses it; men, women, children, and I believe ducks, hens, geese, cats, dogs, horses, and cows use it, by all appearances. They all look very emaciated and pale. . . . Oh! what enjoyment it must be for a young man and one of these Southern damsels to be promenading the streets of some Northern city, she smoking a clay pipe or chewing tobacco. I wonder what the people would think. It would be a natural curiosity. If you ask them any questions or converse with them its all *'Right smart ways'* or *'Right sharp weather' or 'Right smart lot of Yankees'* and 'I reckon it is' . . . However, they seem to have a good opinion of the Yankees, also [they are] very fond of Greenbacks. . . . I think I shall try and capture a nigger and one of these damsels and bring them North with me, and exhibit them — money may be earned through such an undertaking.[93]

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[92] Peifer to his mother, brother and sisters, November 18, 1863. Decherd Station.

[93] Peifer to sister Mary, December 3, 1863. Decherd Station.

These amusing people did not cause Peifer to lose sight of the progress of the War:

We have good news from the front. Hooker has again defeated and drove them for miles, capturing 7000 men, and Longstreet attempted to cut Burnside off, when Sherman cut him [Longstreet] off, and he is in a bad fix. I am convinced that this campaign will be a short one. The news from Gen. Meade are . . . very cheering. I hope he may succeed. Charleston, it is stated, has been demolished and therefore if some of the reports are but true, this war cannot last very long.[94]

He added:

Considerable excitement prevails in our Camp, in regard to the re-enlistment Act. In the Veteran Corps orders are read almost daily to us, encouraging all men to enlist for 3 years or during the war. However, this order includes all soldiers who have served two years, etc. Gen. Knipe read the Act to us at dressparade and of course advised all to accept. The Government offers great inducements to all who will re-enlist, viz., $402 bounty, and promise to pay to everyone whose name has been handed in and sworn into service the $100 bounty due them, to be paid immediately, also $75 dollars and a furlough of at least 30 days. . . . Now, what do you think of me enlisting again? I'll tell you . . . I shall not enlist again before my time is *out* (which is in 9 months) for all the 'Greenbacks', furloughs, promotions, etc., Uncle Sam can raise. I want an honorable discharge, and whenever I see that my services are again needed, then I have ample time to enlist again. I don't want to be a veteran, don't want their money, and again, they cannot buy me for 402 dollars. My freedom once more is worth more to me than all their money.[95]

Fifteen days later Peifer wrote on the same subject:

The re-enlisting still keeps up an excitement, and the officers are very anxious that the old men should re-enlist, and Col. Selfridge spoke to us on dressparade. Amongst the rest he said if two-thirds of the Reg't would re-enlist we could all go home together for 30 days. . . . Again [if we did not] when our time had expired, we would be liable to be drafted. Still the men seem to hold back and say 'we can't see the point!' . . . They know they can't compel the men . . . and I don't think the 46th will

[94] Peifer to sister Mary, December 3, 1863. Decherd Station.
[95] Peifer to sister Mary, December 3, 1863. Decherd Station.

turn 'Veterans' or go home before their time is expired. Who cares? I don't want to go until then.[96]

As Christmas was only seven days away, Peifer's thoughts turned to home and food:

Christmas is near at hand again and the war not ended. Next Christmas I expect to spend as a citizen. We have nothing for a [Christmas] dinner, unless we should be lucky to find some Secesh Turkey, Goose, or some such thing, but chances are very slim, and no doubt we will have to fall back on hard-tack, pork and bean-soup. Let her rip! Who wouldn't be a soldier? (Our greasy cook just sung out, 'Fall in for your soup! You must excuse me for a few minutes....!!!!) [97]

When he took up the pen a few minutes later, Peifer added:

Am just through with my dinner. It consisted of beef (tough as sixty and bomb-proof), hard-tack and a soup made of (dessicated vegetables) but (oh! murder) I wonder what the ingredients. It tasted much as if (dirty socks, boots, dish-rags, straw, leaves and sticks) were boiled with it. Still I relished it, being hungry. I can't see that our grub is an inducement for men to re-enlist. . . . I have not succeeded yet in my trade for a wife. I think I will try another plan and advertize for one that will suit my taste, and that I can bring . . . North, and make our grand debut at Fairmount, and walk in the breezes under the shade of the tree-ses. . . . News I have none to communicate, but that Christmas, Washington's Birthday, 4 of July, and the end of my term of service if not the war. . . . I am Veteran enough, I reckon, and they must be *right smart,* if they get me [again].[98]

They must have been "right smart" because within less than four weeks "nearly the whole Reg't" had re-enlisted, including Peifer and apparently every member of Company C, composed largely of Bethlehem boys. They were expecting to receive soon their promised thirty days furlough. "We are now called 46th Penna. [Veteran] Volunteer Regiment. Bully for us . . . Now, Mary, don't get angry at your *Hery-ge-bubbletes Bruederle,* for I will bring you a few mint sticks

[96] Peifer to sister Mary, December 18, 1863. Decherd Station.
[97] Peifer to sister Mary, December 18, 1863. Decherd Station.
[98] Peifer to sister Mary, December 18, 1863. Decherd Station.

when I come. We expect a gay time in old Beth. and will make the Copperheads sing Hail Columbia."[99]

The drive toward Atlanta started in early May. Piefer and his Regiment were active in this campaign. On June 28, 1864, when about fifteen miles from that city, he recorded these observations:

> We are closing in on the enemy daily, and yesterday [27th] our batteries opened on them along the whole line. They have a battery in position in front of us, and threw a few shells in our breastworks, only one however taking effect, wounding two men of Comp. D. Our guns are battering away at them but with what effect is not known. Yesterday [27th at 8 A.M.] the left of our line advanced when severe fighting ensued. About noon all the woods around were on fire. Our men took their first line of works, capturing 1100 prisoners. Our loss is not very heavy. The enemy still holds 3 lines of works. As I understand it, the object is to drive them off two high mountains which command the railroad. They have large batteries planted, and can shell our troops very easily. . . . Our Division was not engaged, . . . we being held as a reserve. In our immediate front nothing but skirmishing is kept up. We still hold our breastwork. However, we do not know when we will have to advance. The Jonny's, it appear, do not feel disposed to make another charge on us. I think they got enough on the 22nd. We are ready for them any moment. However, we are not out of danger as [our] men are wounded daily by their sharpshooters, who keep pegging away continually. Our Compy has been very fortunate as we have not had a man wounded since we were here.[100]

Peifer continued:

> I think the enemy will have to skedaddle when we get possession of the Mts., which will be in a few days perhaps. It is extremely warm, too much so to fight. Still I think our General's plans are to take Atlanta before the campaign will cease. We all wish we were through with this. As we all need a rest very much and an opportunity to change clothes and put on a new rig, we are all very dirty. . . . Writing letters is not a great pleasure here, much as I love it. . . . Imagine yourself in an open field, the sun burning with all its heat, the perspiration rolling down in big drops, no shelter . . . and . . . the whizzing around your

[99] Peifer to sister Mary, January 13, 1864, Decherd Station.
[100] Peifer to sister Mary, June 28, 1864. Written in a field near Kenesaw Mountains some fifteen miles from Atlanta.

head of the Minnie Balls, and perhaps a shell on solid shot will warn you of the position you are in. True, 'old soldiers' (as we are) are accustomed to all such missiles. When a shell . . . comes screeching through the air we generally 'dodge' . . . but sometimes too late. . . . Since the 13th of May we have not seen the day that we did not hear the roar of artillery and musketry and [we] have been under fire almost daily.[101]

To make the trying situation worse, Peifer received word of the death of both his mother and brother, William.[102] In the meantime he had been promoted to the rank of Sergeant, and the fighting for Atlanta continued.

Since [I wrote you on June 28] . . . we have been following up the Johnny's closely, and are now within 4 miles of Atlanta. Yesterday [July 20th] we fought another hard battle. We fought them about 3 hours, until our ammunition was exhausted when we were relieved by another Reg't. We moved a few rods to the rear and replenished our cartridge boxes with 60 rounds. We laid under fire. The fight was kept up until nearly 9 at night when all was quiet. The Rebels had outflanked us right and left, but our Brigade stood firm and we held our ground. We fought desperately. Our Reg't sustained a heavy loss. The casualties . . . [of our Regiment] are 140 killed, wounded, and missing. Our Comp[any] had five men wounded but none killed. I am sorry to say *our* good *Capt.* was wounded in right hand and [was] amputated. There are no Beth. boys among the number. I came out without a scratch. Jule Bealer and myself stood side by side, firing as fast as we could, but none faced us. A man named John Schulz was on my right. He was struck by a ball through the left arm; it passing through and struck the rammer of my gun and knocked off a piece 3 inches long while I was loading my gun. That was the closest shave I noticed. The balls whizzed all around us, but it appears none was doomed for us. Jule, . . . Sergt. Maj. McCarty, Col. Selfredge and the rest of the Beth. boys [are all right]. The Adjutant was wounded, two Lieutenants and one Captain killed of the Reg't. We still hold our ground. Their loss must exceed ours as they charged the whole line of our corps but ours. . . . This morning skirmishing [is] going on briskly on our right again, but it has not come to a general engagement as yet, but the worst can be expected before night. . . . Dear Sisters, you cannot imagine how a body feels in such an engagement, men dropping all around you, and not knowing when you

[101] Peifer to sister Mary, June 28, 1864, near Kenesaw Mountains.
[102] Peifer to sister Mary, June 28, 1864, near Kenesaw Mountains.

are struck. I don't know how I felt. I was really mad and wanted to [get] revenge, but it is just the same as a hanging man becomes accustomed to it. . . . We will take Atlanta in a few days. . .[103]

After the battle of July 21, no severe engagement took place for several days, but Peifer and his regiment remained in their breastworks about one and a half miles from Atlanta. From here he wrote:

The enemies' works [are] in plain sight. Our guns [are] shelling them daily, and they at times replying vigorously. They have some very heavy guns, so have we, and in due time they will be driven out. We have had no engagement since the 20th — nothing but advancing the pickets, and capturing a lot of them. It thus shows that Atlanta is not yet taken by us. . . . Our Division is the nearest one to the city, and we have not made a general attack on their works yet, and I don't imagine we shall as the game is to flank or surround them if possible. Atlanta must fall ere long. It has been shelled and bombarded severely and our flanks are closing in on them. . . . They must either come out of their works and fight us, or retreat without a fight. I wish they would come out. We could . . . bring them to terms.[104]

Nineteen days later, August 21, Atlanta was still not in Union hands, but:

We are gradually moving nigher to the city. On the right and left of our lines there is constantly fighting going on, while in our front, the centre, it is very quiet. The pickets meet each other and make trades and exchange papers—no firing occurring. . . . We have from six to seven very large guns throwing a shell every five minutes into the city. On a hill near and in rear of our Camp, a 32 pound Readman pays its respects to Atlanta for two successive days and nights. Every five minutes we can see the discharge of it [and hear] the shell screeching through the air and finally the explosion. It must bring terror to the citizens if any remain . . . [it] must be a terrible fate for them, they having no rest day or night but the continued exploding of shells around them for one month exactly. . . . They had better surrender the city at once than share such a terrible fate. . . . We will *burn* away at it until [it is] destroyed or they capitulate.

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[103] Peifer to sister Mary, July 21, 1864. The line of battle four miles of Atlanta. The letters henceforth begin with the salutation of "Dear Sisters."
[104] Peifer to his sisters, August 2, 1864, near Atlanta.

. . . Sherman . . . is not anxious for the city, but he wants to capture it and the army. . . . He is trying to surround them and bag them all. . . . The capture of the city alone would be but of little avail as far as termination of the war is concerned, but the army is what he wants. If we succeed in that we may look to a speedy end of this cruel war. I hope they may think we cannot surround them until it is accomplished. They have lost a great many men in defence of this city, as they are almost daily making charges on some parts of the line, and are each time repulsed with heavy loss. Their Army must be nearly used up, and if not reinforced they cannot hold out much longer. . . . We have a battery in position in front of one of their works, which is commanded by a brave officer. He goes by the name of Leather-breeches. Whenever they throw a shell at his battery, he opens on them with six pieces at once, and as a Rebel deserter remarked (who came into our lines a few days ago), we can dodge one or two shells at once, but when 'you'ns' open with your revolving guns, we cannot stand such a fire! [105]

Peifer and a portion of the 46th Regiment of Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers moved from Atlanta during the night of August 21 to the Chattahoochee River. They were ordered to hold the railroad and bridges across this river.[106] Reconnoitering parties, however, were sent out by them daily from their new Camp. At noon, September 2, Peifer's Brigade received orders to move directly for Atlanta "and take nothing with us, but haversacks, arms and accoutrements, we having heard that part of the 3rd Division of our Corps [had] occupied it [Atlanta]. This seemed incredulous at first to us. . . . However we moved on and on . . . [passing] through our works and those of the enemy, and finally reached the outskirts [of the city]. I . . . stared right and left at the houses literally riddled with shot and shell and the streets were lying full of fragments of Yankee shells. The city [had been taken] . . ." [107]

Peifer wrote his sister:

With great rejoicing I inform you that Atlanta is ours, and our Corps, the 20th, took possession of it on Friday afternoon, 2nd inst. Our Brigade entered at that time and the remainder

[105] Peifer to his sisters, August 21, 1864, near Atlanta.
[106] Peifer to his sisters, August 29, 1864, Chattahoochee River, Georgia.
[107] Peifer to his sisters, Sunday, September 4, 1864, Atlanta, Georgia.

of the Corps. During the night, we occupied the Rebel works outside and rear of the city, and are calculated to hold it which we will most assuredly do.[108]

The enormous destruction wrought by the bombardment of Atlanta is thus described:

The city is at least 4 miles long, and may at one time have been called quite a fine city, but the appearance of it now gives one a poor opinion of what it is. To describe everything minutely is impossible, but as far as our line of march through it brought us, I can say I seen [*sic*] a very few houses that escaped our shells. Some chimnies [*sic*] were knocked off, and 3 and 4 holes through the roofs, others [had] the gable ends mashed in, porticos torn away, and in fact it is an awful sight to see that . . . some of those houses are still and have been inhabited during the whole bombardment; stores and large business are all vacant, and everything pretty much carried away by them, but Tobacco and 'Segars.' Some of us succeeded in confiscating plenty of *it* [but] the enemy destroyed all they could not carry with [them]. Their machine shops, foundries, and rolling mills are all in ruins. They moved all their machinery and shipped it still further South, but were not fortunate enough to get it all away, and therefore destroyed it.[109]

Peifer continued:

Near our present Camp on the Augusta R.R. are ruins of three immense trains: 80 cars . . . loaded with ammunition of all kinds, about 15,000 stands of small arms, and 8 or 10 pieces of artillery. They [the Southerners] exploded everything in the vicinity of the railroad. The ground is covered with shells, solid shot, grape and cannister; in fact, everything appertaining to it. It is said 4 miles below us, the destruction of trains and stores is worse yet, and all done by themselves. . . . Yesterday 1500 Rebel prisoners were brought in. They all seem very glad to get out of the business, being tired of it. . . . It is reported . . . Sherman with his army will occupy Atlanta.[110]

The Union Army relaxed for several weeks in Atlanta. The second letter by Peifer after the capture of Atlanta was inscribed on a Confederate "way bill" picked up in the city and used because of the lack of stationery. He said:

[108] Peifer to his sisters, September 4, 1864, Atlanta, Georgia.
[109] Peifer to his sisters, September 4, 1864, Atlanta, Georgia.
[110] Peifer to his sisters, September 4, 1864, Atlanta, Georgia.

Sherman's whole Army is lying in and around this city and day before yesterday, 10th inst., our Brig. moved one mile farther to the left and are now beautifully encamped again in rear of city. We are garrisoning the place. We expect to have a good time for at least one month, when we expect to move forward again. . . . Sherman's Head Quarters are in the city and he has issued very stringent orders to the few citizens that yet remain. . . . It orders that they must all leave the city, go North or South—he furnishing them transportation beyond our lines. It is a sorry thing for them to leave their property and all behind them, and join their Southern brethern in arms against us. It is hard indeed for the poor and innocent women and children but their leaders wanted it so and I say let them have it. We can give them satisfaction enough and more than they bargained for. On Sunday I took a stroll into the city and looked around, and saw that our shells [had] done great execution. The citizens had plenty of places for protection, consisting in holes dug in the ground which they call by the peculiar name of *Gopher-hole.* . . . An order was issued granting furloughs again for 30 days from Nashville. I don't feel at present like taking one unless . . . they would pay all they owe [me].[111]

Peifer demonstrated his early interest in the presidential election when on August 29, 1864, he wrote:

I hope the election may turn out favorable and Honest Old Abe be chosen president again. I shall support him with heart and soul. He is my man, and down with traitors and Copperheads, *it* is played out. McClellan is a good military man, and also a sound Copperhead, and of course, I cannot support him. Nine cheers for *Father Abraham* and the soldiers vote.[112]

On the day before the national election, Peifer again wrote:

[I am] very . . . busy . . . making preparations for the election tomorrow. The Commissioners are here, and we are going to hold an election and see if we can't assist a little in helping 'Old Abe' to his well deserved position. . . . Hoping the election may prove satisfactory to us [for] we are doing all in our power

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[111] Peifer to his sisters, September 12, 1864, Atlanta, Georgia. This letter was written on a "Freight List" of the Atlanta and La Grange, Macon, and Western and Central Railroads. Peifer filled out the following as a joke:

No. of Cars	*Kegs of Beer*	*In Bad Order*	*Sundry Articles*	*Marks*
61,792	25	musty	Tobacco, Whiskey Lager Beer	Pock.

[112] Peifer to his sisters, August 29, 1864, Chattahoochee River, Georgia.

to make it so. We are bound to beat the Copperheads by *ballot*, and whip the Rebels by bullet. We have our hands full, but I think we can succeed. We have the will and the spirit. . . . I have the honor . . . of being one of the Judges of our Election. Hurrah for Uncle Abe and Andy Johnson.[113]

To Peifer the War news was good:

We are under marching orders and expect to leave in a few days, perhaps tomorrow. . . . It is said we will have a sixty days campaign, and therefore expect rather rough times. Our destination is *Mobile* or Savannah. We will have plenty of marching to do. . . . Well let it come, I am in for it, let be weal or woe. . . . I think our campaign and the election will very near 'play out' the Johnny Rebs this fall; at least in this part of the Country.[115]

Peifer was a faithful letter writer, but if he found time to write during Sherman's march to the sea the letters have either been lost or their location is unknown. His communication of November 7 indicated that he believed that Sherman would next attack either Pensacola or Mobile. Sherman, in fact, contemplated making such a campaign but decided to march from Atlanta to Savannah instead, a distance of 300 miles. The army began the journey in perfect autumn weather. The country teemed with an abundant harvest upon which the invaders foraged. Sherman met practically no opposition on his destructive march to the sea. On Christmas eve Lincoln received the following telegram:

I beg to present you as a Christmas-gift the city of Savannah, with one hundred and fifty heavy guns, plenty of ammunition. also about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton.—W. T. Sherman, major-general.[116]

The march to the sea from Sherman's position had been more than successful. Savannah had been eliminated as a Confederate seaport, and the defenses of the city had been destroyed. The South could only rejoice over the fact that Gen-

[113] Peifer to his sisters, November 7, 1864, Atlanta, Georgia.
[114] Peifer to his sisters, November 7, 1864, Atlanta, Georgia.
[115] Peifer to his sisters, November 7, 1864, Atlanta, Georgia.
[116] *Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman*, II, 231. Hereafter cited as Sherman's *Memoirs*.

eral Hardee had escaped capture, and that he had made ready for another battle.

From Savannah, Sherman was instructed to unite his army with Grant's at Richmond by marching overland through the Carolinas. The Federal troops were in excellent condition. Whatever they lacked in supplies were now delivered to them from ships at Savannah. It is needless to say their spirits were obviously high. This was indeed fortunate for them because the task ahead was still difficult. It was now in the dead of winter; the streams were flooded; the roads were exceptionally muddy; the Confederate forces were reorganizing; and Hardee, at Charleston, was still dangerous.

General Sherman started his march northward in January, 1865. Through South Carolina the rains were incessant and the roads and streams were almost impassable. For several days there was almost no fighting, just marching against obstacles which were decreed by nature. The Union soldiers, however, did not want for food; the foraging became more revengeful in South Carolina than in Georgia. On February 17, Columbia, the state capital, was captured, and almost immediately burned.[117] The next day Hardee evacuated Charleston, eliminating another Confederate seaport.

Meanwhile, Stoneman, with the Fourth Corps and cavalry, penetrated the mountains from eastern Tennessee, and captured the much needed Confederate supply depot at Salisbury, North Carolina. Schofield, with the Twenty-third Corps, passed rapidly from eastern Tennessee to the Chesapeake, where he sailed southward and joined Terry on Cape Fear River, a few days after the fall of Fort Fisher.[118] Taking command, Schofield now captured Wilmington, which brought an end to all blockade running. Moving westward from Wilmington, Schofield, after some fighting at Kinston, entered Goldsboro.

On February 23, 1865, at Lincolnton, North Carolina, Gen-

[117] Who burned Columbia? This question is one which is still disputed. The Confederates believed that Sherman ordered it burned, but Sherman denied this. He claimed that the burning of the city resulted from setting fire to cotton in the streets by the southern troops to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Union. Others believed that the fire was started by drunken soldiers without orders.

[118] John M. Schofield, *Forty-six Years in the Army*, 345.

eral Joseph E. Johnston received a telegram from General Lee, now Commander-in-chief of all the Confederate armies, restoring him to the command of the forces being collected and organized for the defense of North Carolina. Lee also ordered Johnston to "concentrate all available forces and drive back Sherman."[119]

Before assuming the command thus assigned to him, Johnston visited General Beauregard at his headquarters at Charlotte to ascertain if he had been consulted on the subject, and if his assignment was agreeable to him. Upon being assured that the appointment was quite gratifying to him personally, he accepted the proffered command.

Upon assuming command of the forces to defend North Carolina, General Johnston gave the numerical strength of the available forces, their location and the more responsible officers as follows:

> The 'available forces' were about five thousand men of the Army of Tennessee, and the troops of the department, amounting to about eleven thousand. Two thousand of the former, commanded by Major-General Stevenson, were near Charlotte. A thousand, under Lieutenant-General Stewart, were near Newberry, approaching Charlotte; and two thousand, under command of Major-General Cheatham, were between Newberry and Augusta, also marching toward Charlotte. The troops of the department under General Hardee's command were moving from Charleston to Cheraw; eleven hundred of them were South Carolina militia and reserves, not expected to leave the State. Major-General Sherman had seventy thousand in his four corps, and about five thousand cavalry in Kilpatrick's division.[120]

The course of the march of the Federal army from Winnsboro indicated that it would cross the Cape Fear River at Fayetteville, and be joined there by General Schofield, who had departed with his forces from Wilmington; therefore, General Johnston transferred on March 4 his headquarters from Charlotte to Fayetteville to impede Sherman's crossing of the river.[121]

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[119] Joseph E. Johnston, *Narrative of Military Operations*, 371. Hereafter cited as Johnston's *Narrative*.
[120] Johnston's *Narrative*, 372.
[121] Johnston's *Narrative*, 378.

Johnston left General Beauregard to protect the line of railroad from Charlotte to Danville and instructed him to send the troops of the Army of Tennessee, as they arrived, to Smithfield by railroad. They were subsequently sent to General Bragg at Goldsboro to take part in an expected battle in that vicinity. The opposing armies met at Kinston, where the Federals suffered severe losses.

On March 11 General Sherman reached Fayetteville with a large Federal squadron that dashed into the town, but Lieutenant-General Hampton routed them with an inferior force.[122] The numerically inferior forces of the Confederates, however, could not possibly hold the town, so the important arsenal there was soon destroyed by the Federal army.

As it was unknown whether General Sherman would take the route through Goldsboro or the one through Raleigh, General Bragg's troops and those of the Army of Tennessee were ordered to Smithfield, about midway between the two places; and Lieutenant-General Hardee was instructed to follow the road from Fayetteville to Raleigh. Lieutenant-General Hamilton placed Wheeler's division on the Raleigh road, and Butler's on that to Goldsboro.[123]

On March 13, Wheeler's division was hard pressed some ten miles from Fayetteville. The next day at Silver Creek, however, it was able to drive off the Federal cavalry. Lieutenant-General Hardee was attacked on March 16 four miles south of Averasboro.[124] He repelled repeated attacks, but he decided to withdraw during the night to Elevation, where the troops were given a few hours of needed rest.

The next scene of military activity was at Bentonville, a small village in Johnston County, near Smithfield. Here General Johnston had collected fifteen thousand men. On March 19, Sherman made the expected attack. Johnston repelled six successive attacks when he ordered his troops to advance. Three successive lines of the Federal defenses were carried in a resolute and brilliant attack.[125] This temporary success had been made possible by much bloodshed and

[122] Johnston's *Narrative*, 382.
[123] Johnston's *Narrative*, 382.
[124] Johnston's *Narrative*, 382.
[125] Johnston's *Narrative*, 387.

clever generalship. The nature of the fighting can be illustrated in the case of the First North Carolina Battalion. This brave fighting unit carried two hundred and sixty-seven men into the battle and it came out of the struggle with one hundred and fifteen.

After the fighting had subsided, General Sherman decided forthwith to march his army to Goldsboro "to rest, reclothe, and get some rations." Here Sherman planned "to collect his army and to post General Terry about Faison's Depot and General Schofield about Kinston, partly to protect the road, but more to collect such food and forage as the country affords, until the railroads are repaired leading into Goldsboro."[126]

The activities of James A. Peifer, the subject of this article, are unknown since November 7, 1864, shortly before Sherman departed from Atlanta. It is unbelievable that such an indefatigable letter writer failed to communicate with his sister for almost five months. The whereabouts of these letters, if written, are unknown. The next observation of Peifer came from Sherman's army near Goldsboro March 26 when he informed his sister that he and his company had marched "over 500 miles . . . [in] 65 days. . . ." The army he said "will rest here for at least one month to be clothed, equipped, and fed. A great many men are barefooted and tattered. We also want something to eat very badly, as we have been very short all along, having to forage our grub. We drew but 4 days rations from the government."[127]

On April 9, Peifer informed his sister that the army was about to resume its march to strike "another blow to this wicked Rebellion, which is now being rapidly crushed."

> The news are very good from all quarters, and Grant having, after 5 days [of] hard fighting . . . nearly destroyed Lee's great army, and we as an army having done so much to bring about this end, and being now fully prepared and ready for another campaign. We have another task to perform, another campaign of 30 days is before us . . . I hope it may be the last. . . . Believing

[126] Sherman's *Memoirs*, II, 314-15.

[127] Peifer to his sister Mary, March 26, 1865, near Goldsboro, North Carolina.

as I do that the Rebellion is on its last legs and that we may be on our way home.[128]

Sherman and Schofield soon united, and Raleigh was occupied, April 13, 1865.

On April 11, before Raleigh was evacuated, Johnston, received a telegram from Jefferson Davis, sent from Greensboro, directing him to leave the troops under Hardee's command, and report to him there. Johnston reached Greensboro early the next morning, and was the guest of General Beauregard. Davis now invited them to his office where they found with him Messrs. Benjamin, Malloy, and Reagan. Instead of asking for information, according to General Johnston, Davis wished to give it. It seems that he still had hopes of reorganizing a strong army to continue the war.[129] The first conference was terminated with no constructive results. However, before departing, they learned that Major-General Breckenridge was expected to arrive sometime during the afternoon, and that he would be able to inform them of the state of affairs in Virginia.

General Breckenridge came as expected, and confirmed the report that General Lee and his entire army had surrendered to Grant on April 9. Generals Johnston and Beauregard, after surveying the military situation, came to the conclusion that since the Confederate soldiers were out-numbered approximately eighteen to one and without ammunition that it "would be the greatest of human crimes for us to attempt to continue the war; for, having neither money nor credit, nor arms but those in the hands of our soldiesr, nor ammunition but that in their cartridge-boxes, nor shops for repairing arms or fixing ammunition, the effect of our keeping the field would be, not to harm the enemy, but to complete the devastation of our country and ruin of its people. I therefore urged that the President should exercise at once the only function of government still in his possession, and open negotiations for peace." [130]

[128] Peifer to his sister Mary, April 9, 1865, near Goldsboro, North Carolina.
[129] Johnston's *Narrative*, 396-397.
[130] Johnston's *Narrative*, 398-399.

After a second meeting with Davis and some of his cabinet members to convince them that the Southern Confederacy was overthrown, President Davis with great reluctance yielded to the position that fighting must cease. He, therefore, dictated a letter on April 13 to Mallory to be signed and delivered by Johnston to General Sherman, calling for an armistice "to permit the civil authorities to enter into the needful arrangements to terminate the existing war." [131] The letter was delivered to the northern commander the next day, April 14.

Meanwhile, Hardee directed the march of the Confederate army from Raleigh on the 12th, in two columns—Stewart's and Lee's corps and Butler's division by the Hillsboro road and the other which was Hardee's plus Wheeler's division by that through Chapel Hill. Hampton kept an eye on the Pittsboro road to detect any possible turn of the Union forces toward Charlotte or Salisbury.

On the morning of April 16 Johnston received a reply from General Sherman, dated the 14th, signifying his willingness to meet with him to arrange an armistice. Johnston attempted to reach Davis at Greensboro, but discovered that he was on his way to Charlotte. As he had already by telegram informed Hampton to arrange the time and place of meeting, Johnston went to his headquarters, about three miles southeast of Hillsboro. There he was informed that they would meet at the house of Lee Larenzo Bennett on "the Raleigh road midway between the pickets of the two armies." [132]

As scheduled, General Sherman met General Johnston at the Bennett House at noon, April 17. While the two were alone Sherman showed him a telegram from Stanton announcing the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. Johnston told Sherman that in his opinion "the event was the greatest possible calamity to the South." [133]

On April 18, near Durham's Station, Sherman and Johnston agreed to terms of surrender. The next day General Sherman published the following orders to his troops:

[131] Johnston's *Narrative*, 400.
[132] Johnston's *Narrative*, 402.
[133] Johnston's *Narrative*, 402.

"The general commanding announces to the army a suspension of hostilities, and an agreement with General Johnston and high officials which, when formally ratified, will make peace from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. Until the absolute peace is arranged, a line passing through Tyrrell's Mount, Chapel University [U. of N. C.], Durham's Station, and West Point, on the Neuse River, will separate the two armies. Each army commander will group his camps entirely with a view to comfort, health, and good police. All the details of military discipline must be maintained, and the General hopes and believes that in a very few days it will be his good fortune to conduct you all to your homes. The fame of this army for courage, industry, and discipline, is admitted all over the world. Then let each officer and man see that it is not stained by any act of vulgarity, rowdyism, and petty crime. The cavalry will patrol the front of the line, General Howard will take charge of the district from Raleigh up to the cavalry, General Slocum to the left of Raleigh, General Schofield in Raleigh, right and rear. Quartermasters and commissaries will keep their supplies up to a light load for the wagons, and the railroad superintendent will arrange a depot for the convenience of each separate army." [134]

In the afternoon of April 24, Johnston received two dispatches from General Sherman. In one he was informed that the Government of the United States had rejected the terms of peace agreed upon by them; and in the other he gave notice of the termination of the armistice in forty-eight hours from noon that day. [135]

Still believing that it would be a great crime to prolong the war, Johnston proposed to Sherman another armistice and conference to bring about a termination of hostilities. The latter agreed; so the two great generals met at the Bennett House again at noon, April 26. On that day Johnston finally accepted the terms offered Lee by Grant.[136]

The pacification was announced by General Johnston to

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[134] Johnston's *Narrative*, 407-408.

[135] Sherman had exceeded his authority in the first agreement because the terms of surrender dealt with civil affairs. See Sherman's *Memoirs*, II, 360-362.

[136] Johnston's *Narrative*, 412-414. Sherman's *Memoirs*, II, 370.

the states immediately concerned, by the following telegram, addressed to their governors:

> The disaster in Virginia, the capture by the enemy of all our workshops for the preparation of ammunition and repairing of arms, the impossibility of recruiting our little army opposed to more than ten times its number, or of supplying it except by robbing our own citizens, destroying all hope of successful war. I have made, therefore, a military convention with Major-General Sherman, to terminate hostilities in North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. I made this convention to spare the blood of the gallant little army, to prevent further sufferings of our people by the devastation and ruin inevitable from the marches of invading armies, and to avoid the crime of waging a hopeless war.[137]

It was published to the Confederate army, in general orders No. 18 in a slightly different form on April 27. The following is an excerpt therefrom:

> By the terms of a military convention made on the 26th instant . . . the officers and men of this army are to bind themselves not to take up arms against the United States until properly relieved from that obligation; and shall receive guarantees from the United States Officers against molestation by the United States authorities, so long as they observe that obligation and the laws in force where they reside . . .
>
> Events in Virginia, which broke every hope of success by war, imposed on its General the duty of sparing the blood of the gallant army, and of saving our country from further devastation, and our people from ruin.[138]

General Sherman in his field-order No. 66 on the same day notified his armies of the cessation of hostilities, and he made many changes in the disposition of the troops in the field. They were dispersed to various parts of the South. The Tenth and Twenty-third Corps and the cavalry corps of the Third Division were to remain in North Carolina.[139] General Sherman's army was sent to Washington.[140]

General Johnston soon discovered that the provisions in

[137] Johnston's *Narrative*, 415.
[138] Johnston's *Narrative*, 415-416.
[139] Johnston's *Narrative*, 416.
[140] Johnston's *Narrative*, 414.

the depots at Greensboro, Charlotte, and elsewhere in North Carolina, which he had expected to use for the subsistence of the troops on their way home, "had all been plundered by the crowd of fugitives and country-people, who thought, apparently, that, as there was no longer a government, they might assume the division of this property. . . . So we had no other means of supplying the troops on their homeward march, than a stock of cotton yarn, and a little cloth, to be used as money by the quartermasters and commissaries. But this was entirely inadequate; and great suffering would have ensued, both of the troops and the people on their routes, if General Sherman, when informed of our condition, had given us two hundred and fifty thousand rations, on no other condition than my furnishing the means of transporting them by railroad from Morehead City. This averted any danger of suffering or even inconvenience."[141]

On a letter written on April 21 from Raleigh, Peifer said:

> Well sisters the War is over, and we will be on our way home in a short time. . . . Thank God that we have overcome the obstacles and are still in the land of the living and may . . . *Peace* again smile on us. The Army mourns the death of *Father Abraham,* very much, hoping that the murderers when caught meet their just punishment.[142]

On May 20 Peifer was in Arlington Heights, near Alexandria, Virginia, and without money due to the fact that he had not been paid in "nearly ten months." He therefore asked his sister to send him "from ten to *twenty* dollars immediately [in] . . . *Greenbacks* and small bills if possible."[143]

On May 24 and 25 a grand military victory parade[144] was held in Washington, D. C. On May 26 Peifer wrote:

> This review is over, and it was a grand affair. It is admitted by all that Sherman's '*Thieves*' marched better than the Army of the Potomac. However, I will not judge it, but leave it to the

[141] Johnston's *Narrative,* 417-418.
[142] Peifer to his sisters, April 21, 1865, written from Raleigh, North Carolina.
[143] Peifer to his sisters, May 20, 1865, written from Arlington Heights, near Alexandria, Virginia.
[144] Peifer to his sisters, May 20, 1865, Arlington Heights.

judgment of the people, and you can by referring to the papers.[145]

Peifer's last military letter was written on July 13, 1865, in which he said that the "*Muster Out Rolls*" had been made and that he expected to be out of the army on Monday, July 16.[146] He and the other hometown boys with him arrived in Bethlehem a few days later and were greeted by the admiring throng as conquering heroes. So end James A. Peifer's four years of military experience in the War between the States. He naturally had prejudices which sometimes dwarfed his analytical powers. Yet we are deeply indebted to him for recording his observations so vividly, colorfully, and forcefully.

[145] Peifer to his sisters, May 26, 1865, Washington, D. C.
[146] Peifer to his sisters, July 13, 1865, Washington, D. C.

BOOK REVIEWS

The North Carolina Guide. Edited by Blackwell P. Robinson. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1955. Pp. xxi, 649. Illustrations. $5.00.)

One of the better numbers of the *American Guide Series,* published during the 1930's, was *North Carolina: A Guide to the Old North State.* That publication has now been revised and brought up to date and, as in the case of the first guide, the new one is a co-operative undertaking. The editor is Blackwell P. Robinson; the advisory editors are Donald B. Anderson, Christopher Crittenden, John Harden, Hugh T. Lefler, Hugh Morton, and George M. Stephens. Other consultants, so-called "County Representatives," come from every part of North Carolina. Part I of the book consists of five chapters written by the following authors: "Folkways and Folklore," by William T. Polk; "Natural Setting," by B. W. Wells; "History," by Hugh T. Lefler; "Architecture," by Louise Hall; and "The Big Change," by Roy E. Larsen. Part II is significant for its descriptions of the larger cities in the state; Part III describes tours that may be followed to various points of interest; and Part IV discusses the state's national parks and forests. Illustrations were collected from many sources, particularly the North Carolina News Bureau of the Department of Conservation and Development. *The North Carolina Guide* was indeed a co-operative undertaking.

The *Guide,* as can be seen from its contents listed above, contains a mass of information. Part I will be of special interest to historians and other scholars, as well as to those persons who are interested in something other than a quick trip to some place of interest. William T. Polk and his associates have, in a limited number of pages, presented their materials, in most instances, in an admirable and interesting manner. The write-ups about the leading cities, Charlotte, Durham, Greensboro, Raleigh, Winston-Salem, and so forth, are packed with information that should satisfy Chambers of Commerce and those thousands of people who pour into

the state as tourists. The "Tours," as projected, are well planned and should be interesting.

Except for Part I, *The Guide* is not to be considered as a scholarly publication. However, an enormous amount of detailed work, correspondence, and editorial activities have gone into the making of the book. The finished product is worthy of the efforts made to bring it together. It is predicted that *The Guide* will serve as a model of similar publications for other states. Indeed, as stated on the dust cover of *The Guide*, it should "prove an indispensable companion to those who travel and a source of pleasure to the armchair traveller who simply wants to know North Carolina better." Moreover, a close reading of the book leaves a Tar Heel with a deep feeling of pride in the accomplishments of his state, particularly during the last one hundred years.

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Records of the Moravians in North Carolina. Vol. VIII, 1823-1837. Edited by Adelaide L. Fries and Douglas LeTell Rights. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History. 1954. Pp. xi, 756 [3613-4369]. $1.00.)

This volume is the eighth and last in a series of volumes published by the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History. The first seven volumes were completed under the direction of the late Adelaide L. Fries, who was working on the material for this volume at the time of her death on November 29, 1949. Miss Fries was succeeded in this work by Dr. Douglas L. Rights, a Moravian minister, of Winston-Salem.

The records of the Moravians in North Carolina began with their first settlement in 1753; volume eight covers the years from 1823 to 1837. This volume relates happenings in the congregations at Salem, Bethania, Bethabara, Friedland, Friedberg, and Hope which are taken from translations of diaries, minute books, memoirs and other sources. Dr. Rights has completed a fascinating account of an interesting group of people. The one thing which stands out most noticeably

in the lives of the Moravians was their devotion to their religion. Their diaries were filled with expressions of hope and faith in their Supreme Being.

The Moravians were vitally interested in spreading the gospel to the Indians, and especially to the Cherokees in Georgia. They were sympathetic with the Cherokees in their contest with the State of Georgia over their removal, and disapproved of Georgia's attitude towards the red man. They were also interested in other social problems such as the evils of slave holding and the lease system.

Other religious groups were slow in coming into the Moravian section of North Carolina. The Methodists and Lutherans were mentioned as having small congregations there by 1830. As a whole, the Methodists and Moravians got along well together though the Moravians disapproved of Methodist proselytism (p. 4305) and the practice of Methodist-shouting as seen from the entry on June 15, 1824, which reads (p. 3682), "In our Negro church a Negress made a great disturbance by all sorts of shouts and motions. This gave Br. Steiner opportunity to express his disapproval of such performances, which are customary in some Methodist meetings."

Dr. Rights has done an exceptionally fine job in the translation and editing of this last volume in the series and he and the State Department of Archives and History are to be congratulated. The book adds much to the field of North Carolina history and to the social history of the United States in general.

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The Papers of Willie Person Mangum. Volume IV, 1844-1846. Edited by Henry Thomas Shanks. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History. 1955. Pp. xviii, 579. Illustrations. $1.00 mailing fee.)

The fourth volume of the *Mangum Papers* affords a rich body of material illustrating Whig views and strategy during the last year of the Tyler administration, the election of

1844, and the first half of the Polk administration. President *pro tempore* of the Senate and one of the principal national leaders of his party, Mangum received reports and advice from Whigs in all parts of the country.

Only rarely did Mangum retain copies of his own letters, and the editor's careful combing of other collections has revealed few significant originals. This, coupled with the fact that negotiations at Washington were carried on largely by word of mouth, means that the Mangum Papers, like similar collections, yields little information on political and parliamentary maneuvers at the capital. The principal value of the papers arises from their revelation of developments in the many states where Mangum had correspondents.

A large number of letters relate to patronage and senatorial confirmation of presidential nominations, a thorny problem for the Whigs in these years because of the confused situation created by President Tyler's excommunication from the party. The reader is particularly struck by the unity of northern and southern Whigs behind the policies of Henry Clay, though the abolitionists were causing them more and more trouble in northern elections. The opposition of most Whigs in all sections to the bellicose expansionism of the Polk administration is also unmistakably demonstrated.

Mangum's papers tell less than might be expected about North Carolina politics. Mangum apparently had little desire to furnish aggressive leadership to the Whigs in his own state, and there were frequent complaints of his backwardness in this respect. The North Carolina Whigs seem, in fact, to have had no guiding spirit and little central direction. Nevertheless, when the story of North Carolina politics between the election of 1824 and secession comes to be adequately told, it will almost inevitably show a Whig bias. The William A. Graham Papers, soon to be published under the editorship of Professor J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, the already published papers of Thomas Ruffin and Jonathan Worth, the *Mangum Papers*, and several significant unpublished collections will furnish abundant documentation on the Whig side; but little of the correspondence of Democratic leaders has survived.

Professor Shanks has maintained here the high editorial standards of his earlier volumes and of the other series in North Carolina's notable program of documentary publication. The manuscripts have been reproduced meticulously. The editor has shown great ingenuity in tracking down Mangum's more obscure correspondents, and the identification and explanatory notes are adequate and authoritative. The index, a particularly vital feature in this kind of publication, is comprehensive. The promptness with which these volumes have issued from the press—at the rate of almost one a year—indicates that we shall not have long to wait for the Mangum biography that Professor Shanks promises as soon as the series is completed.

Charles Grier Sellers, Jr.

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Princeton, New Jersey.

The Home Place. By Nettie McCormick Henley. (New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1955. Pp. 182. $3.00.)

In this rather slender volume the author attempts, without documentation, to portray "life and labor" in a rural community, predominantly Scotch, in Scotland County, North Carolina. While the period covered is not exactly pinpointed, it is easy to deduce from internal evidence that Mrs. Henley is writing about the 'eighties and 'nineties when the transition was being made from the McGuffey to the Holmes's Readers.

The Home Place does not convey a well-rounded picture of the rural scene in Scotland County, in that the author fails to analyze the subjective side of rural life adequately. There is little attempt to point up and to interpret the prejudices, beliefs and, in general, the social attitudes of the people among whom she lived. She doubtless approved the prevailing standards of conduct and was, therefore, not sufficiently detached to view these matters objectively.

What the author does, and does well, is to bring into sharp focus the customs, amusements, ailments, the state of agriculture, and the daily grind in a simple, forthright manner.

When recounting specific events of which the writer had no first-hand knowledge, her memory is none too reliable. For example, (p. 7), Portland, Virginia, was doubtless meant for Portsmouth. If the tracks of the "Carolina Central" Railroad were laid from Wilmington to Laurinburg (p. 6) by 1860 or 1861, then the railroad maps of North Carolina for that period need to be revised. One does not, however, read this book for statistical data. It is to be read rather for the excellent picture (within limits) of the social structure of a rural community at the "grass roots."

Throughout the book, Mrs. Henley stresses the self-sufficiency and practicality of the rural people. She points out that both starch and soap were made at home. Likewise, dyes, stockings, blankets, and a great many remedies for common ailments were homemade. Of the numerous home remedies noted, perhaps "sheep-shot tea . . . for the measles" was the most startling.

The writer demonstrates an encyclopedic knowledge of home furnishings, recipes, old songs and rhymes, designs in quilts, and various other rural customs and appointments. Of special interest to the social historian is the description of what constituted man's work and what constituted woman's work. No man, for example, would wash dishes or clothing or scour the floor; but he would supply the water and firewood for these domestic chores. This division of labor, except in an emergency, was never breached.

The author's style is commonplace. She employs the idiom of her milieu, using such localisms as "somerset" for somersault, "receipt" for recipe, and "lightern" for lightwood without quotation marks.

This volume is presented to the reading public with an appreciative foreword by Christopher Crittenden. It is, however, devoid of illustrations or an index.

After making due allowance for lapses of memory and a tendency to clothe the past with an aura of sentimentality and respectability, Mrs. Henley has preserved for posterity a

rich and rare collection of authentic folkways of a rural Southern community.

Rosser H. Taylor.

Western Carolina College,
Cullowhee.

Dead and Gone. Classic Crimes of North Carolina. By Manly Wade Wellman. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 190. $3.00.)

North Carolina's statistics for homicide have never been a credit to the Old North State. In his introduction to *Dead and Gone,* Manly Wade Wellman points out that in a four-year period, from 1811-1815, the North Carolina courts tried eighty-nine persons charged with murder, when the state had a population of only 600,000. He has accordingly found no lack of material for his collection of murder cases and states that his basis of selection was contemporary interest. Aside from published accounts of some of the trials, Wellman has drawn his material from newspapers, court records, letters, family recollections, and local histories.

Eleven cases are recalled, beginning as early as 1808 and continuing as late as 1914. The stories vary greatly in locale, character and interest. "The General Dies at Dusk" describes the murder of General Bryan Grimes of Pitt County. The Civil War general was killed August 14, 1880. His murderer was brought to trial and acquitted. Eight years later, returning to brag of his ill deed, he was arrested for drunkeness and jailed. During the night local residents took justice or revenge upon themselves, and lynched the murderer.

"Arsenic and Old Lace" tells the tale of murder in Fayetteville in 1850. Ann Carver Simpson, attractive young wife, tired of the neurotic ailments of her unattractive husband, fed him arsenic in his syllabub and coffee. With impressive and adequate counsel she won her freedom but some question of her further career arose when an Ann Bilansky was executed in St. Paul, Minnesota, for the murder of her husband. Similarity of name and crime and the fact that Ann Bilansky admitted living in Fayetteville made some wonder if the two Anns were one.

The stories of "The Preacher and the Gun," "The Corpse in Muddy Creek," and "A Bullet for Nimrod" fail to arouse the same interest as that of "Poor 'Omi," which recalls how Naomi Wise succumbed to the charms of Jonathan Lewis in Randolph County back in 1808, and how he choked her and threw her in the river and left her to drown. One case of kidnapping is related in "Where Are You, Kenneth Beasley?" The pathetic victim disappeared and never returned to his home at Poplar Branch in Currituck County. Echoes of the Kirk-Holden War and carpet-bagging days are found in "The Life and Death of Chicken Stephens." A man admittedly devoted to money and willing to obtain it by fair means or foul, Stephens fell heir to Ku Klux justice. "Two Songs of the Scaffold" relates the ballads, "For Now I Try That Awful Road," in which is told the remorse of Frances Silver for the jealous murder of her husband at Toe River in 1831, and "Bow Your Head, Tom Dula" memorializes the popular and debonair war hero who, in 1866, murdered Laura Foster of Happy Valley after his affections were transferred to the matron, Ann Melton. Despite an eloquent plea in his defense by the ever-popular Zebulon Vance, Dula hung for his crime.

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Raleigh.

William Blount. By William H. Masterson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1954. Pp. viii, 378. Illustrations, map, bibliography. $6.00.)

It is peculiarly appropriate that the first scholarly biography of William Blount should appear during the current Republican administration. Dr. Masterson, no doubt, began his study of North Carolina's speculator-politician some years ago, probably in the Fair Deal—if not the New Deal—era, but the results of his careful research are reaching the public at a time when we are especially conscious of the businessman in politics. I fear the picture this biography offers of a man of affairs as a public servant will give small comfort to those who have been glibly saying that what our govern-

ment needs is to have more businessmen in public office. It is to be hoped that eighteenth century patterns of "ethical" conduct in public office are not being followed by our twentieth century businessmen-politicians.

A member of a family with large commercial and landed interests, Blount pursued throughout his career two objectives: wealth—through a multitude of business ventures, especially the acquisition of vast landholdings beyond the mountains in the Tennessee country—and public office. To a man like Blount, public office was attractive not only because it conferred power and because a man in his social position was expected to render public service, but even more because of the far more compelling consideration that through public office he could promote and protect his own, his family's, and his friends' private economic interests. Thus, honest biographer that he is, Dr. Masterson, in discussing Blount's efforts to be named governor of the Territory South of the River Ohio, observes: "The vast extent of the Western land he held for sale, the power of treaty-making vested in Federal officials, and the need to keep Western taxation low in his own interest, as well as a real interest in the West, were powerful motives in fixing his attention on the new post" (175).

Repeatedly, Dr. Masterson remarks upon the private advantage which Blount gained from public office. Yet it would be a mistake to think of the author as approaching his subject in the manner of the Progressive Era "muckrakers" or the more recent New Deal Liberals with their ready disapproval of "economic royalists." Nor yet does he go to the other extreme and produce an uncritical apologia and defense of Blount's activities. Perhaps a more lively, if less well-balanced, book might have resulted had Dr. Masterson strayed in either direction from the path of historical objectivity which he set for himself. Sympathetic, yet not partisan, he presents the career of an ambitious, able opportunist whose good will and concern for his fellow man, though genuine and admirable, were never allowed to interfere with his own advancement. This is not a biography for the reader who wants his heroes in shining armor and who prefers to

think of our forefathers as made of finer stuff and motivated by higher principles than our contemporaries. Though he had great personal charm, the governor of the territory which became Tennessee was chiefly respected by his contemporaries as a hard-headed, calculating, practical man who through difficult times conducted a profitable business in currency and land speculation and played a leading role in a powerful political faction, first in North Carolina and later in Tennessee.

Blount held an impressive number of public offices, including a commission in the Revolutionary Army (as paymaster and commissary), membership in the North Carolina Assembly and Senate, the Articles of Confederation Congress, the Federal Constitutional Convention, the North Carolina Ratification Convention and the United States Senate, as well as the governorship of the Territory South of the River Ohio and the concomitant superintendancy of Indian Affiairs for the Southern Department. As a member of the various deliberative bodies mentioned above, he was distinguished neither for imaginative leadership nor original ideas. He belonged to the active rank and file of these assemblages, making his contributions in the give and take of private contacts and energetically fostering measures which would promote his own, his faction's, or his state's economic interests. Far from being outstanding, Blount was of the group which, regardless of the century, are legion in any deliberative body.

It is not surprising that as a historian turned biographer, Dr. Masterson is more successful in reporting the events of his subject's life than in conveying a sense of the man himself. In general he has told his story effectively, keeping the focus on his protagonist, yet supplying necessary information about the milieu in which Blount moved. In the earlier chapters he has compressed and generalized about complex political currents and cross-currents in Revolutionary North Carolina to such an extent that the general reader may feel somewhat bewildered. On the other hand, particularly well done is the discussion of Blount's unenviable position as governor in the matter of Indian-white relations, caught as he

was between the pressures of the western frontiersmen and the directives of the administration back in Philadelphia, to say nothing of the complicating factor of his own land interests.

This volume is another in the lengthening list of the Southern Biography Series published by the Louisiana State University Press. Like its predecessors it is a good piece of bookmaking with attractive typography. One wonders whether a map of North Carolina might not have been a welcome companion to the Tennessee map in this book. The author provides an excellent critical Essay on Authorities.

LeRoy P. Graf.

University of Tennessee,
Knoxville, Tennessee.

The Memoirs of Emma Prather Gilmer. Written in Her 90th Year for Her Children, Grandchildren, and Great Grandchildren. (Philadelphia, Pa.: The Cherry Company. 1954. Pp 64. Illustrated.)

This little book of 12 chapters begins with Mt. Airy, North Carolina, where Mrs. Gilmer, her mother, Mr. Gilmer and his mother, and their children were born. Mt. Airy is described as a place where people do not mix too much with "outsiders," but marry and intermarry with their kith and kin.

After setting the stage, Mrs. Gilmer tells about her parents, her husband's parents, their marriage, and other interesting family items. Her husband's work, his ideas of making money and his failures, his changing jobs and moving from place to place are related. Frequent disappointments are recorded because of her husband's schemes of becoming rich which never materialized. Sometimes she felt that she could not continue to move from place to place as her husband wished, but in the end she always followed him and supported him in his business adventures.

The last chapters tell about the children, their education, and marriages. Also the grandchildren are mentioned.

This little volume is delightful reading about the experiences of one family whose successes and failures are simi-

lar to many American families. It was written for Mrs. Gilmer's family and no doubt will be treasured by each.

D. L. Corbitt.

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Raleigh.

The Dulles Family in South Carolina. By Samuel Gaillard Stoney. (Columbia: University of South Carolina. 1955. Pp 29. Illustrations and map. Printed as a Keepsake.)

This delightfully printed and boxed book which commemorates the commencement address of the Honorable John Foster Dulles at the University of South Carolina, June 6, 1955, is not only informative but entertaining. The fourteen page story is novel, the style excellent, and the photographs which complete the little book are interesting.

The Mouzon map of South Carolina, 1775, is used on the slip case and the Samuel Lewis map of South Carolina, 1795, serves as a frontispiece. Both maps are valuable aids in locating the family and its related branches as they firmly entrench themselves into the red clay of South Carolina.

The family history begins with George Sterling who was granted a Congarees plantation (now Calhoun County) in 1704, and continues with the story of his daughter, Mary. Mary Sterling Heatley Russell established a form of matriarchy which was to persist for several generations and was to fulfill the prophecy of an aged Indian squaw who warned the men of the family that the red hills were "woman's land" and that they would never be ruled "well and long" by men. Joseph Dulles who came to Charleston from Limerick married a granddaughter of Mary Sterling and so united the two Irish families who were the ancestors of John Foster Dulles.

The statistical data of marriages, births, and deaths are interspersed with family legends to make this very readable genealogy. One of the more captivating legends tells of Rachel Heatley who was married to a good but profane man. One evening a passing stranger stayed to dinner and when Rachel viewed his mismatched feet and saw smoke curling up from his boots she realized that the Devil had come to call. Quickly she snatched up a Bible and to save her husband,

began to read the Scripture backwards. The Devil sensing his defeat, leapt up with such force and jumped to a distant rock that he left the imprint of his cloven, misshapen feet and today the footprints are still visible.

The plates which are grouped in the back of the book include pictures of the Dulles residence in Charleston, signatures, a communion service, and a miniature of Mary Elizabeth Dulles.

One regrets that the publishing costs for this type of book are perhaps prohibitive as the format, style, and story exemplify a kind of book which is seldom printed (except privately), yet is a book to be treasured not only by genealogists but by readers who are fortunate enough to receive so valuable a "keepsake."

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Raleigh.

The South in American Literature, 1607-1900. By Jay B. Hubbell. (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press. 1954. Pp. xix, 987. $10.00.)

With previous histories of Southern literature few and incomplete, and with the materials for making such a study as this widely scattered, Professor Jay B. Hubbell has in this book rendered a great service to scholarship.

As the title indicates, he begins with the settlement of Jamestown and tells the story of Southern literature up to 1900. Then (as the title does not indicate) he adds, for good measure, an epilogue giving a "brief glance" at twentieth-century developments. And wishing to integrate Southern literature with that of the rest of the nation, he further extends the scope of his study by including writers from other sections who have written about the South. Thus we find him ranging from Captain John Smith to James Branch Cabell and picking up Harriet Beecher Stowe, Emerson, and Lowell along the way.

The main text is divided chronologically into six sections, each beginning with a discussion of the historical background

of the period and with other matter needed to show the conditions—mainly unfavorable—under which Southern literature was produced. Here Professor Hubbell utilizes to good advantage his knowledge of such subjects as agriculture, economics, and geography as well as of history, and discusses topics like "Publishing," "Education," and "Newspapers and Magazines." This is followed by an account of the authors of the period, with biographical data and discussion of their works. Limitations of time and space have prohibited the consideration of some writers we might expect to find here; but, as it is, more than a hundred authors are treated individually. The book also contains an extensive bibliography which adds to its value as a reference work.

A Virginian by birth, Professor Hubbell holds himself to an objective point of view and although he points out the Northern misconceptions of the South he also blames the South for its intolerance and its oversensitiveness to criticism. His literary style, too, always clear and straightforward, contributes to the impression of objectivity.

For this ambitious undertaking the author, professor emeritus of English at Duke University and during the past year visiting professor at the University of Virginia, has been prepared by his experience as teacher and editor, and this book comes as a fitting crown to his distinguished academic career.

Louise Greer.

East Carolina College,
Greenville.

Fourteen Hundred and 91 Days in the Confederate Army: A Journal Kept by W. W. Heartsill. Or Camp Life; Day by Day, of the W. P. Lane Rangers. Edited by Bell Irvin Wiley. (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc. 1954. Pp. ix, 332. Index and illustrated. $6.00.)

In the introduction to this informative and unusual narrative of the experiences of a Confederate soldier, the editor has explained how Heartsill printed the journal from his notes written during the years, April 19, 1861 to May 20,

1865. He also gives a brief outline of Heartsill's life and a resumé of the war period.

Heartsill's original publication numbered one hundred copies; only thirteen are known to be in existence. The journal was run off by the author on an Octavo Press, one page printed at a time, the press re-inked with a handroller. This exceedingly slow process took from 1874 to 1876. Heartsill included original photographs, sixty-one in all, pasted in each copy. In editing the book, the copy owned by the Tennessee State Library was used with the exception of a few marred pages and photographs. The book concludes with two appendices, one of Heartsill's original version of the Chickamauga Campaign and a rewrite of the description of the flight from Bragg's Army, November 7-December 21, 1863. This variation occurred through redrafting and revision of the manuscript as Heartsill ran it off on his press.

W. W. Heartsill was born in Louisville, near Knoxville, Tennessee, October 17, 1839. In 1856 he moved to Nashville and travelled western and middle Tennessee selling merchandise; in 1859 he moved to Texas. In April, 1861, he joined the "W. P. Lane Rangers," Company F. Second Regiment, Texas Cavalry. Briefly, Heartsill's military history included frontier duty in Texas, before being ordered to Fort Hindeman on the Arkansas River. He was a prisoner at Camp Butler, near Springfield, Illinois, and after exchange in April, 1863, when part of the company was sent to the Trans-Mississippi Department, the men were ordered to Bragg at Tullahoma, Tennessee and grouped into an infantry company. The men were discontented, separated from their company officers, and following Chickamauga they left and after a six-weeks journey rejoined their original command assigned to Morgan's Battalion of Texas Cavalry at Camp Ford, Tyler, Texas, where they guarded Federal prisoners. In July they were ordered to Louisiana and then to Arkansas and in December were in Texas again patrolling, catching deserters, and maintaining order until the war was over. After the war Heartsill returned to Marshall, Texas, where he acquired a grocery, saddle and harness business. He died in Waco, Texas, July 28, 1916.

The facsimile printing of the journal makes difficult reading but it is a rewarding experience. Heartsill begins with a dedication to his brother, Napoleon Alexander Heartsill, an early casualty of the war. In his preface he refers to Mark Twain's observation in *Innocents Abroad* relative to the early enthusiasm displayed in keeping journals and observes that within two months eleven out of twelve who began had given up the practice. He explained that his journal was written for relatives and sympathizing friends of the organization. His notes display a keen interest in the countryside and knowledge of counties and towns. His style is highly descriptive and colorful and for the most part very readable. Heartsill admits that there are errors, grammatical as well as typographical, but nevertheless, he achieves an extremely interesting and worthwhile account of an increasingly popular period of American history.

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Raleigh.

They Called Him Stonewall: A Life of Lt. General T. J. Jackson, C. S. A. By Burke Davis. (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc. 1954. Pp. x, 470. Illustrations, maps. $5.00.)

Publication of a new biography of "Stonewall" Jackson—the first full-length study since 1898—is both welcome and important. Though *Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War,* by the British military historian Colonel G. F. R. Henderson, remains impressive after fifty-seven years, there was unquestionably room for a work that would incorporate the results of recent scholarship. It is interesting that a newspaperman-turned-novelist should have attempted the task.

Burke Davis, a native of North Carolina, attended Duke University and graduated in journalism as the University of North Carolina. He then worked for the *Charlotte News* in various capacities for ten years, became a reporter for the *Baltimore Evening Sun,* and now is a feature writer with the *Greensboro Daily News.* His works of fiction are *Whisper My Name,* a "problem" novel, and *The Ragged Ones* and

Yorktown, historical novels with a Revolutionary War setting. *They Called Him Stonewall* is his first work of non-fiction.

That Mr. Davis's latest book should be dramatic, vivid, well paced, and vigorously written was to be expected. It is also a fine contribution to historical literature. The author obviously relies heavily upon Henderson, the writings of Douglas Southall Freeman, Robert L. Dabney's "eyewitness" biography, Henry Kyd Douglas's *I Rode With Stonewall*, the *Memoirs* of Jackson's widow, and other published accounts. He has, however, conscientiously searched and studied the sources. If in large part his book is a synthesis of previous works, it is a judicious and critical synthesis. Davis, for example, notes Freeman's comments on serious errors made by Henderson and also calls attention to minor slips by Freeman himself. On the many controversial points in the Stonewall story the author has weighed his evidence carefully and drawn his conclusions soberly.

In the fashion of many biographies today, the book opens upon a scene of drama and significance in the career of its central character: Major Thomas Jonathan Jackson and cadets from the Virginia Military Institute witness the hanging of John Brown. The next eighty pages follow the eccentric genius through the Valley Campaign of 1862 that first made him famous—Front Royal, Winchester, Cross Keys, Port Republic. Only then, in fifty pages, are we told of Jackson's ancestry, boyhood, West Point days, service in the Mexican War, professorship at V. M. I. and home life in Lexington. The remainder of the text, something over three hundred pages, treats those campaigns of northern and eastern Virginia of which Jackson was a part, from his first battle at Falling Waters on July 2, 1861, to his last at Chancellorsville on May 2, 1863. In between come Manassas (First and Second), the Seven Days, Sharpsburg, Fredericksburg, and the rest. Endpaper maps that trace all the Jackson campaigns, five special maps in the text, two folders of portraits and battlefield scenes, nine pages of notes, a brief bibliography, and an index complete the volume.

Although the life of Stonewall Jackson contained most of the elements of a romance, Burke Davis writes as a realist.

He is quite aware of the legends that have persisted through the years. He describes the General's failures as well as his successes, his shortcomings as well as his virtues. Avoiding the extremes of both debunker and sentimentalist, he achieves balance. The expert craftsmanship of the author makes the men and the scenes of the 'sixties come alive. This, plus the enduring fascination of "Old Jack" and the unflagging interest of the reading public in the Civil War, should guarantee the book's popularity. Mr. Davis's diligent research has made his book good history, too.

Stuart Noblin.

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Raleigh.

P. G. T. Beauregard; Napoleon in Gray. By T. Harry Williams. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1954. Pp. xiii, 345. $4.75.)

It is generally believed that the South succumbed only after its manpower and material resources had been exhausted, but in one respect at least the Confederate government was wasteful: it failed to get the best mileage out of its generals. Personality conflicts and an often exaggerated respect for military protocol kept some officers from being used to the best advantage. Joseph E. Johnston is a prime example; P. G. T. Beauregard is another.

Beauregard commanded the forces that fired on Fort Sumter, he led the Confederates to victory at first Manassas, and he planned and helped to fight the battle of Shiloh. Yet by the summer of 1862 his star was already fading. Having demonstrated promise as a field commander, he was removed from command of the Western army and sent to Charleston, where he conducted a creditable defense against Union naval and land attacks in 1863. The following year he succeeded in protecting the southern approach to Richmond until the arrival of Lee's army, was subsequently given a "paper" command in the West, and spent the last months of the war trying to scrape up opposition to Sherman's invading army.

In *P. G. T. Beauregard* Professor Williams has demon-

strated once again his ability to get the facts and present them in a thoroughly readable fashion. Basing much of his book on manuscript sources (among Confederate leaders, Beauregard must have been second only to Alexander H. Stephens in the extent of his correspondence), he paints a fascinating portrait of this enigmatic Creole. The author properly concentrates most of his attention on Beauregard's Civil War experiences, but gives enough of his earlier career to reveal characteristics that later marred his generalship. Beauregard early displayed "a tendency to question the will of a superior," and he cherished "a rigid belief" in the so-called fixed rules of war.

The Civil War brought out other defects—"a penchant for grand planning, the disregard of logistics, the exaggeration of results to be attained." But if Beauregard never quite fulfilled the promise he showed in 1862, Professor Williams makes it clear that it was not because of these shortcomings but because he never received the opportunity to develop his abilities. Any study of Beauregard would be incomplete without an examination of his relations with Jefferson Davis, and the author, tracing this feud from the first controversy over supply of the army in 1861 to the literary wars that followed Appomattox, concludes that "They were born to clash."

Both the Civil War enthusiast and the scholar should enjoy reading this book. The battle descriptions, particularly of Shiloh, are vivid, clear, and free of burdensome detail, and the author's treatment of Beauregard's post-war career makes a fascinating story in itself. Not the least interesting portion of the book is a chapter entitled "Ghosts and Ghostwriters," in which Professor Williams describes the efforts of Beauregard and his associates to re-establish his military reputation, and the ensuing quarrels with Davis and Johnston. After the war one waggish reporter wrote to the effect that Beauregard might not have been a first-class military man, but that he was certainly a first-rate second-class man—an opinion fortified by this fine biography.

Jay Luvaas.

Duke University,
Durham.

Wormsloe: Two Centuries of a Georgia Family. By E. Merton Coulter. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1955. Pp. xv, 322. $5.00.)

The title chosen for this book by Professor Coulter will need some explanation for all except those intimately acquainted with the history of Georgia. Wormsloe, a plantation near Savannah, was the home of the Jones family and much of the story centers around the plantation. But Professor Coulter has not written the history of the Jones family: rather he has written biographical sketches of four male members, with incidental references to other members of the family, and has given a good account of the colony, the Revolution, and the early history of the state. Included also is a sketchy story of the cultural and economic life of Savannah and south Georgia to the present time

Noble Jones, a physician and architect, migrated to Georgia with Oglethorpe, founded Wormsloe, played a prominent role in the political and economic history of the colony, and supported the Loyalist cause in the Revolution. Noble's son, Noble Wimberly Jones, accompanied his father to Georgia, added to Wormsloe, practiced medicine, joined the patriot cause, and was an influential leader in the independence movement and the framing of Georgia's early constitutions. Father and son held nearly every office in the colony and state except that of governor. George, son of Noble W. Jones, was less significant in politics than either his father or grandfather. Even so, he served in the state legislature, the constitutional convention of 1798, and in Congress, held many municipal offices in Savannah, and was a judge of the state Superior Court. George was influential in the economic and cultural life of Savannah. George Frederick Tilghman Jones, son of George, changed his name to George Wymberly Jones De Renne, traveled much in Europe, studied law at Columbia University, built up a large estate, and became a noted collector of Georgiana and a generous public benefactor.

Professor Coulter is steeped in Georgia history and in this undertaking one should have been able to say *the author* and *the subject* are met. Unfortunately, Professor Coulter has

not maintained the high standard set in his earlier works. The writing gives every evidence of being a rush job. The style is muddy. Long, vague, and rambling sentences tend to obscure the author's meaning. Much insignificant detail is included. And some errors have crept in. For example, "Marat" is written for "Murat" on more than one occasion. A careful editing of the manuscript would have eliminated most of these faults. Again the Joneses were able and important men in their own right but Professor Coulter seems to labor to give them added stature, thus weakening his case. Despite these weaknesses *Wormsloe* is a valuable addition to the literature of the colonial period of Georgia and to the story of the economic and cultural development of the Savannah region to the present day.

Fletcher M. Green.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

The Web of Victory: Grant at Vicksburg. By Earl Schenck Miers. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1955. Pp. xiv, 320. Illustrations and maps. $5.00.)

Vicksburg was the Confederate bastion of the West because it controlled the Mississippi. For this reason the grand strategy of the North called for its immediate reduction. But repeated efforts failed before the then unsung General Ulysses S. Grant reached the Vicksburg scene in January, 1863. The new commander loaded most of his men on Admiral Porter's fleet, successfully ran the Confederate batteries, debarked miles below the city, then swung eastward into the heart of Mississippi. At this juncture Confederate units under the command of Vicksburg's defender, General John C. Pemberton, sallied out to give battle. The clash came at Champion's Hill. When the Confederates fell back on Vicksburg, Grant ordered the assault at once. The Confederates withstood this and repeated attacks, but inside the beleaguered city constant bombardment, inadequate rations and a growing hopelessness worked for Grant. Pemberton finally accepted modified terms of unconditional surrender, taking with him the distinction of yielding to circumstance rather

than assault. Grant won his objective and a reputation that would soon take him East to supreme command.

This is the military picture graphically unfolded in Miers's study. But the volume succeeds admirably in other respects also. Grant comes alive with the greatness and weakness of his unfathomable personality. He is seen both as a superb tactician and hard drinker—dead drunk for three days in the middle of the Vicksburg siege. Pemberton and other chief actors in the drama are also interpreted with unusual insight facilitated by a vigor and vividness of expression not commonplace in historical writing. Another highlight is the masterly presentation of the data, always adequate, yet never overwhelming in quantity. Footnotes are lacking, although chapter source summaries in the rear of the book compensate in part. This volume is a major contribution to Civil War history.

LeRoy H. Fischer.
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Stillwater, Oklahoma.

Benefit of Clergy in America and Related Matters. By George W. Dalzell. (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: John F. Blair. 1955. Pp. xi, 282. $4.50.)

As is indicated on the dust jacket of this interesting and at the same time erudite book, it "has little to do with clergymen and nothing at all with any advantages that may have been derived from the presence of divines in colonial America." In its original sense, the phrase "benefit of clergy" denoted the exemption accorded clergymen in England from the jurisdiction of the secular courts and the right of the clergy to an ecclesiastical trial. The original beneficiaries were ordained clergymen only but the privilege was gradually extended to all persons connected with the church, even to its most subordinate officers. The logical qualification was the ability to read since education was largely confined to the church and the only available books were Latin manuscripts. However, the privilege was ultimately extended to all who could read and with the advent of printed books in

the vernacular and the resulting better educated laity the scope of the benefit was expanded far beyond its original intent. It came to America during the latter stage of its development.

The advantage of claiming benefit of clergy (even in the secular courts and after the disappearance of the ecclesiastical tribunals) was that the accused received a punishment less severe than that prescribed by law. Indeed, it amounted to an absolute exemption from capital punishment when the benefit was granted. Thus, the Fifty-First Psalm, which was usually handed to the prisoner to read so as to test his eligibility for benefit of clergy, became known as "the neck verse." Quite early Blackstone pointed out that the privilege "had the incongruous effect of making learning a mitigation of punishment and ignorance an aggravation." It did operate to mitigate the extreme rigor of the criminal laws but was found to have gross abuses. Benefit of clergy began to go out following the penal reform and improvements in the administration of justice which came at the end of the 18th century. It was abolished in England during the reign of George IV, in American federal courts by act of Congress in 1790, and in the various American states during the following seventy-nine years.

The author has exhibited fine literary craftsmanship as well as scholarship in his compilation and explanation of benefit of clergy as practiced in the various American colonies. He places particular emphasis on its practice in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania and gives a more general treatment to the remaining colonies. Indeed, among the most interesting passages in the book are the narratives of actual colonial cases in which benefit of clergy was granted. It is to be regretted that more space was not given to benefit of clergy in North and South Carolina particularly in view of the fact that the practice survived in those two jurisdictions longer than anywhere else, including England. The Code Commission of 1855 finally abolished it in North Carolina and prescribed instead that all persons be punished as those previously who had claimed benefit of clergy. However, in South Carolina the practice survived the Civil War and

actually became an incident of Reconstruction there. It did not disappear in that state until 1869 thus marking what author Dalzell describes as "the belated disappearance of the clerical privilege from American jurisprudence." An incident of the English practice which had a direct affect on colonial America was the substitution of deportation to America as punishment for all convicted felons who claimed and were granted benefit of clergy. Present day Virginia shintoists will be dismayed to learn that the greatest transportation of convicted felons was to the colony of Virginia and that the colonial family-trees of that state contained more convicts than any other in the New World.

While this book will be of primary interest to lawyers and students of legal history it provides entertaining reading for the discriminating general reader as well. It is certainly regrettable that the author did not live to see it in print, bringing the intended pleasure to those who read it. Its writing for him was quite obviously a labor of love.

John R. Jordan, Jr.

Raleigh.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Kenan professor and chairman of the history department of the University of North Carolina, has been appointed a member of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History to replace Mrs. Callie Pridgen Williams of Stedman. Mr. Josh L. Horne has been reappointed for the same term ending March 31, 1961, and was sworn in with Dr. Green by Justice Emery B. Denny at the meeting of the Executive Board on July 30.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director of the State Department of Archives and History, lectured to the Institute on Historical and Archival Management, Cambridge, Mass., June 22-23, and on July 7 to the Institute on the Preservation and Administration of Archives in Washington, D. C. From July 11 to July 14, he served as consultant at the North Carolina Workshop at Appalachian State Teachers College at Boone.

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, researcher, represented the Department of Archives and History on August 14, at the unveiling of a historical highway marker indicating the route of Sherman's March, 1865, at the Bethel Presbyterian Church near Raeford in Hoke County. General Sherman and his troops camped in the churchyard.

Mr. Tarlton also represented the Department at a meeting of the Historical Halifax Association at its summer meeting.

Mr. Norman Larson, a graduate of Wake Forest College, has been appointed historic site specialist for the Alamance Battleground which is one of the sites transferred to the Department of Archives and History from the Department of Conservation and Development under authority of legislation of the recent General Assembly. Mr. Larson, accompanied by Mr. Tarlton, made a preliminary investigation of the site on July 11, with the idea of further study and development to follow.

Mr. William W. Wood, Jr., has been appointed as historic site specialist at Town Creek Indian Mound. Mr. Wood, an authority on Indian archaeology, is a graduate of Davidson

College and has done graduate work at the University of Chicago and other schools.

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, museum administrator of the Department of Archives and History, accompanied by Mrs. Dorothy Phillips, made a trip on July 1, to photograph an old log house near Smithfield which formerly belonged to the Lee sisters. Mrs. Jordan is assisting the Johnston County Historical Society in its efforts to arrange to move the house to Smithfield and to plan ways to make it into a museum.

Mrs. Jordan, accompanied by Mrs. Dorothy Phillips and Miss Barbara McKeithan of the Department of Archives and History, made a trip on July 12 and 13 through Currituck, Pasquotank, Perquimans, and Chowan counties to photograph old houses and historic sites.

Mrs. Martha Farley of the museum staff accompanied Mrs. Jordan on a trip to Gillespie Gap on June 17 for the opening of the North Carolina Minerals Museum.

Acquisitions by the Hall of History include the presentation of materials from Colonel Westray Battle Boyce which is composed of medals, citations, and a portrait; and a presentation from the National Guard through Adjutant General John Hall Manning of uniforms of Colonel Jasper N. Craig, Reidsville, North Carolina, which was originally given to the National Guard by his daughter, Miss Jean Craig, actual combat pictures of North Carolina's own 30th "Old Hickory Division" which were taken in the European Theater during World War II, and the National Guard Creed "I Am The Guard," a complete background of the National Guard since its beginning (prior to the Revolution) through every major conflict and disaster in which this country has been involved.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director of the Department of Archives and History, made the address on August 21 at the unveiling of a historical marker at Flat Rock commemorating the Farmer Hotel (now Woodfield Inn), built in 1852. Mr. Clarence W. Griffin presided and presented the marker which was accepted by Mr. and Mrs. Joseph N. Clemons. Other persons appearing on the program were Rev. W. H. K. Pendleton, Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton, Miss Diane Lyne, Mr. William John Lyne, Miss Delores Cathey, Mr. Mathew Singleton

Farmer, Miss Ann Clairborne Kershaw Fishburn, and Dr. George F. Taylor.

The Tryon Palace Commission met in New Bern, June 9, and paid particular attention to landscaping the Palace grounds. Representing the Department of Archives and History were Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan and Mr. W. S. Tarlton.

The commission to celebrate the 250th anniversary of the Town of Bath met in Beaufort County, July 18. The dates agreed upon are October 1-4. There will be a pageant and other features. Mr. Edmund H. Harding of Washington, N. C., is chairman of the Commission.

At Halifax, June 29, the historic gaol was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies. Governor Luther H. Hodges delivered the principal address. The Department of Archives and History was represented by Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, and Mr. W. S. Tarlton.

Mr. M. B. Andrews, president of the Wayne County Historical Society, reports that there are now 266 charter members of the society which was organized on April 17.

Mr. Worth Bailey, consultant for the National Trust for Historic Preservation, was in Raleigh during the latter part of July to consult with the members of the Andrew Johnson Memorial Commission.

The Gaston County Historical Bulletin, which has completed its first year of publication, featured in the July issue articles dealing with the history of iron furnaces in the county and the Wilson home, built in 1805.

At a dinner meeting of the Pitt County Historical Society on July 28, Dr. Paul E. Jones, State Senator from Pitt County, who was introduced by Dr. Howard B. Clay gave a summary of the legislation of the recent General Assembly relative to historical matters. Dr. Jones discussed the transfer of the

administration of historic sites to the Department of Archives and History; enumerated various sites to be developed; and explained the authority granted cities and counties to appropriate non-tax revenues for the use of historical organizations.

Miss Jessie Roundtree Moye reported that the plaque which commemorates the signers of the Pitt Association would be dedicated at a special luncheon meeting in October and made a brief talk. An exhibit of old items was displayed and the society agreed to obtain space on the East Carolina campus for the exhibits until a suitable building could be obtained. Most of the items are a gift of Mr. J. L. Jackson, a former Pitt countian. An open forum discussion followed the program and a suggestion was made that plans be made for the bi-centennial celebration of Pitt County in 1960. Two new members were added to the society.

Two historical papers were presented at the quarterly meeting of the Carteret County Historical Society which met in Morehead City in July. Mrs. T. T. Potter of Beaufort had as her subject "The Early Anglican Church and the Episcopal Church Societies in Carteret County." Mr. A. D. Ennett of Cedar Point gave a review of the early days of the town of Stella and the White Oak section of the county. Mrs. Nat Smith presided at the meeting and appointed a nominating committee to present names for officers for the coming year at the October meeting. Two new members were added to the society.

The centennial observance of the Town of Franklin, county seat of Macon County, which was held June 16-18, was opened by Governor Luther H. Hodges and featured a parade and a Homecoming Day attended by hundreds of former residents. The celebration, which was sponsored entirely by the town and Macon County, was well attended and the venture was financially successful.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians sponsored a historical tour of Henderson County, June 12. About 125 people went on the trip which began at

Edneyville, made a number of stops in Flat Rock, included a coffee hour at historic Woodfields, and ended with a picnic lunch atop Jump Off Mountain. The tour was conducted by Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton and Mr. Beverly M. Middleton.

The World Methodist Council announces that construction work has begun on a new building at Lake Junaluska which will be used as an exhibit center, library, and archives building. Material on the history of the Methodist Church will be collected from all parts of the world and stored here for the use of scholars and other interested persons.

Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, managing editor of *The Forest City Courier* and a member of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History, was re-elected historian of the North Carolina Press Association at the convention on July 8 in Winston-Salem. This is the fifteenth consecutive time that Mr. Griffin has been given this honor.

The Beaufort County Historical Society reports that the following officers have been chosen from the members named by the Board of County Commissioners: Mr. Edmund H. Harding, president; Mrs. Ford S. Worthy, vice-president; and Dr. Allen H. Moore, secretary-treasurer. A committee composed of Mrs. Marcia M. Knott, Mr. J. D. Grimes, and Mr. P. H. Johnson has been named to recommend twelve directors including themselves.

The State Literary and Historical Association and the Western North Carolina Historical Association held a joint summer regional meeting on August 19-20 at Mars Hill College, Mars Hill. Dr. Fletcher M. Green, president of the State Literary and Historical Association, presided at the Friday meeting which opened with a welcoming address by Dr. Robert L. Holt, vice-president of Mars Hill College. Dr. J. A. McLeod of Mars Hill gave a paper on "Centennial History of Mars Hill College," and Mr. S. T. Henry of Spruce Pine presented a paper on "The North Carolina Minerals Museum." Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, president of the Western North Carolina Historical Association, presided at the Friday

evening session at which time Dr. Fletcher M. Green gave an address, and Mr. Arthur Stupka, naturalist with the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, gave a slide-illustrated lecture, "The Wonders of the Smokies." Mrs. Sadie S. Patton presided at the meeting on Saturday morning which included talks, "Conditions in Western North Carolina During the Civil War," by Mr. James Elliot, Wofford College, and "The Toe River Valley," by Mr. Jason B. Deyton, superintendent of the Mitchell County Schools. A business session concluded the meeting. Members of the Department of Archives and History attending were Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, and Mrs. Dorothy Phillips.

Faculty changes at the University of North Carolina include the appointment of Dr. J. Carlyle Sitterson as Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, and the appointment of Dr. Cecil Johnson as Dean of the General College. The following appointments have been made from among the graduate students in history: Dr. John W. Martin, associate professor, Tennessee Wesleyan College; Dr. W. Magruder Drake, assistant professor, Southwestern Louisiana Institute; Dr. George Mercer Brooke, promoted to associate professor, Virginia Military Institute; Mr. Horace J. Sheely, Ph.D. candidate, research assistant, Colonial Williamsburg; Mr. Robert D. Ward, Ph.D. candidate, assistant professor (temporary appointment), Georgia Teachers College; Miss Susan S. Armstrong, M.A., research assistant, Colonial Williamsburg; Mr. Philip Thayer, Ph.D. candidate, assistant professor, Randolph-Macon College; Mr. William Waddy Moore, Ph.D., candidate, teacher of history, Gardner-Webb College; Mr. Irving A. Hamilton, Ph.D. candidate, assistant professor, Furman University; Mr. Lawson A. Pendleton, Ph.D. candidate, assistant professor, College of the New Church; Mr. Edward B. Jones, M.A., assistant professor, Stratford College; and Miss Elizabeth Anne Barber, Ph.D. candidate, history teacher, Coral Gables (Fla.) High School.

The following are recent publications by members of the history department: Dr. Frank W. Klingberg, *Southern Claims Commission*, University of California Press; Dr. Hugh T. Lefler, *A Guide to the Study and Reading of North Caro-*

lina History, University of North Carolina Press; Dr. Fletcher M. Green, "The Spirit of '76," *Emory University Quarterly,* and "Northern Missionary Activities in the South, 1846-1861," *The Journal of Southern History.*

Dr. Joseph Steelman, who received his Ph.D. degree from the University of North Carolina in August, has been appointed a member of the social studies department at East Carolina College.

Mr. Marvin R. Farley, who has been on a leave of absence from Western Carolina College for the past two years, has resumed his duties as assistant professor of social science.

Dr. Richard N. Current, who became head of the department of history and political science at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, September 1, announces the following faculty changes: Dr. Franklin D. Parker, on leave for the academic year, 1955-1956, has gone to Central America to continue his research of that region's history, aided by a grant from the Southern Fellowship Fund and by a Doherty Fellowship awarded by the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University; Dr. Eugene Pfaff and Dr. Lenore O'Boyle have returned from leaves of absence which were spent respectively at the University of Florida and in Germany; and Dr. Louise B. Alexander has been promoted to the rank of professor.

Among appointments of doctoral candidates for the next year at Duke University are the following: Mr. Burton Beers, North Carolina State College; Mr. Eugene Drozdowski, Duke University; Mr. Raymond Esthus, University of Houston; Mr. Houston G. Jones, West Georgia College; and Mr. Burl Noggle, New Mexico A. and M.

Recent publications are "Ellen Glasgow," by Dr. Alice Baldwin, *South Atlantic Quarterly* (July, 1955); "Renaissance Realism in the 'Commonwealth' Literature of Early Tudor England," by Dr. Arthur B. Ferguson, *Journal of the History of Ideas* (June, 1955); "What Scholars Expect of Library Cataloging," by Dr. William B. Hamilton, *Problems*

and Prospects of The Research Library, 1955; and three articles by Mr. Harry R. Stevens, "Henry Clay, The Bank, And The West in 1824," *American Historical Review* (July, 1955); "Bank Enterprisers in a Western Town, 1815-1822," *The Business History Review* (June, 1955); "David Everett Wade, 1763-1842," *Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* (July, 1955).

General Robert L. Eichelberger, U.S.A. Ret., has presented his papers to the Duke University Library. This large collection will be of special interest to students of the Far East and the Second World War in the Pacific area. Other additions to the manuscript collections are fifteen letters of William Pitt, 1779-1806; nineteenth century transcripts of correspondence of the rulers of Hanover and their agents, 1660-1716; fourteen volumes of the diaries of Edgar A. Bowring in the 1840's and 1850's (Bowring was secretary to the Board of Trade, to a number of officials, and to the Crystal Palace Exhibition Commission); two hundred and thirty letters and papers dealing with the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery in the British Empire (including a number of letters from William Wilberforce).

Mr. Harold T. Parker spent the last half of the summer in Paris engaged in research on the administration of the Napoleonic Empire.

Mr. Robert Irving Phelps, history major at Elon College, will study at the University of Chicago for the academic year, 1955-1956, in the field of religion. Mr. Phelps received a fellowship grant in the spring of 1955.

Dr. Archibald Henderson has presented a copy of his booklet, *Cradle of Liberty, Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, May 20, 1775,* to the Department of Archives and History. The booklet was published by the Mecklenburg Historical Association and is a group of historical essays concerning the declaration.

Students of the Civil War and other readers will be interested to learn of the formation of a new book club, The Civil War Book Club, whose purpose it is to select books of

merit from the increasing number of volumes which are being published dealing with this period, and to offer them to members each month. The copies will be autographed first editions selected by the editorial board composed of the following members: Dr. Bruce Catton, editor, *American Heritage*; Mr. Stanley F. Horn, president, Tennessee Historical Society; Dr. Allan Nevins, professor, Columbia University; Dr. Benjamin P. Thomas, author; and Dr. Bell I. Wiley, president of the Southern Historical Association. Further details may be obtained by writing The Civil War Book Club, Inc., Attn. Marda Alexander, 18 East Chestnut St., Chicago 11, Illinois.

Books received during the last quarter are: Walter Hart Blumenthal, *American Indians Dispossessed* (Philadelphia, Pa.: George S. MacManus Co., 1955); H. Hale Bellot, *Woodrow Wilson* (London, England: The Athlone Press, 1955); Theodore Bolton and Irwin F. Cortelyou, *Ezra Ames of Albany, Portrait Painter. Craftsman. Royal Arch Mason. Banker. 1768-1836* (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1955); Rita Susswein Gotteman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1777-1799* (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1954); E. Merton Coulter, *Wormsloe, Two Centuries of a Georgia Family* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1955); Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., *Early American Science: Needs and Opportunities for Study* (Williamsburg, Va.: Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1955); William Peden, *Thomas Jefferson: Notes on the State of Virginia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955); Samuel Gaillard Stoney, *The Dulles Family in South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1955); Frank W. Klingberg, *The Southern Claims Commission* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955); Mary Gilmore Simms Oliphant, Alfred Taylor Odell and T. C. Duncan Eaves, *The Letters of William Gilmore Simms, Volume IV* (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 1955); Weymouth T. Jordan, *George Washington Campbell of Tennessee: Western Statesman* (Tallahassee: Florida State University, 1955); Joseph Penn Breedlove, *Duke University*

Library, 1840-1940 (Durham, North Carolina: The Friends of Duke University Library, 1955); Malcolm Cook McMillan, *Constitutional Development in Alabama, 1798-1901: A Study in Politics, the Negro, and Sectionalism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1955); G. Glenn Clift, *Guide to the Manuscripts of the Kentucky Historical Society* (Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 1955); Hugh Talmage Lefler, *A Guide to the Study and Reading of North Carolina History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955); Hudson Strode, *Jefferson Davis, American Patriot, 1808-1861* (New York, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955); and John Morrison and Bob Hamsley, *The Real David Crockett, Tennesee's Famous Hunter, Soldier, Legislator, Hero of the Alamo* (Lawrenceburg, Tennessee: The Democrat-Union, 1955).

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